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Hooker, Richard, 1553 or 4-
1600.
The works of that learned
and judicious divine, Mr.

THE

WORKS

OF

THAT LEARNED AND JUDICIOUS DIVINE.

MR. RICHARD HOOKER:

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF

HIS LIFE AND DEATH,

BY

ISAAC WALTON.

ARRANGED BY THE

REV. JOHN KEBLE, M.A.
LATE FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD,
PROFESSOR OF POETRY.

FIRST AMERICAN, FROM THE LAST OXFORD EDITION.

WITH A COPIOUS GENERAL INDEX; TO WHICH IS APPENDED A COMPLETE INDEX OF THE TEXTS OF SCRIPTURE, PREPARED EXPRESSLY FOR THIS EDITION.

"All things written in this booke I humbly and meekly submit to the censure of the grave and reverend "Prelates within this land, to the judgment of learned men, and the sober consideration of all others. "Wherein I may happely erre as others before me have done, but an heretike by the help of Almighty God "I will never be."—HOOKER, *MS. Note on the title leaf of the "Christian Letter."*

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE first object of the present publication is, to exhibit the remains of the great and venerable writer (all, unfortunately, more or less imperfect) in as correct a form as could be attained, by reference, throughout, to the original editions; and in some few cases, to MS. copies.

1. In respect of the Life of Hooker, by Walton—which has a sort of customary right to appear first in all collections of his remains, and a right, surely, which no one would wish to disturb, who can enter into the spirit either of the biographer, or of his subject—the reader will find some considerable variations from the copy which appears in most former editions: of which the following is the account. The life was first written at Archbishop Sheldon's suggestion to correct the errors of that by Bishop Gauden, which had come out in 1662. The first edition bears date 1665; the date of the introduction is fixed to the year before, by the expression, "I must "look back to his death, *now sixty-four* "*years past:*" for Hooker died Nov. 2, 1600. In 1670, it was reprinted, together with the lives of Donne, Wotton, and Herbert, and the collection was dedicated, as the separate life had been, to Walton's intimate friend (if he might not be called his patron) Bishop Morley. It was so popular as to reach a fourth edition in 1675; and from that, which was the last that had the author's corrections, the present reprint has been made. To the best of the Editor's knowledge, the copy of the Life prefixed to the editions of Hooker since 1666, was taken from Walton's first edition. For although there were at least two reprints of Hooker before Walton's death, one in 1676, and one in 1682, (he died Dec. 15, 1683,) the Life remained uncorrected: and this circumstance not being observed by Dr. Zouch led him to select for his edition a text which undoubtedly Walton himself had discarded. Dr. Wordsworth in his Ecclesiastical Biography saw and corrected the mistake. It is remarkable that it should have escaped Strype's notice when he inserted his corrections and additions in the reprint of 1705. Some of the principal variations are set down in the notes to the present edition: but without exact collation of the two texts.

The general result, in the Editor's opinion, is favourable to Walton's veracity, industry, and judgment. The advantage he possessed was great in his connexion[1] with the Cranmer family, Hooker's near neighbours and most intimate friends. Of this connexion Walton's biographers do not appear to have thought much, if it was at all observed by them; though it was this in all probability which gave the colouring to his whole future life, introducing him into societies and pursuits from which otherwise he seemed far removed. At the same time the Editor has no wish to deny, that which is apparent of itself to every reader—the peculiar fascination, if one may call it so, by which Walton was led unconsciously to communicate more or less of his own tone and character to all whom he undertook to represent. But this is like his custom of putting long speeches into their mouths: we see at once that it is his way, and it deceives no one. Perhaps the case of Hooker is that in which the biographer has on the whole produced the most incorrect impression of his subject. He seems to have judged rather from anecdotes which had come to his knowledge, than from the indications of temperament which Hooker's own writings afford. Otherwise he might perhaps have seen reason to add to his commendation of him for meekness and patience, that those qualities were by no means constitutional in him. Like Moses, to whom Walton compares him, he was by nature extremely sensitive, quick in feeling any sort of unfairness, and thoroughly aware of his own power to chastise it: so that his forbearance (which those only can judge of, who have acquainted themselves

[1] This marriage of the Archbishop's great-niece with a simple London shopkeeper would seem to shew that Hooker's own marriage, however ill-assorted in other respects, would not be considered as disparaging to his station in society. The woman might be, as Antony Wood describes her, "clownish and silly," but in point of rank and education, according to the fashion of that time, there was no reason why she might not become the wife of a country clergyman, though of an old family, and nephew of a member of parliament. Churchman, her father, had been wealthy, and the family bore arms, as appears by the Hookers' pedigree.

with the writings of his opponents) must have been the result of strong principle, and unwearied self-control. Again, Walton or his informants appear to have considered him as almost childishly ignorant of human nature and of the ordinary business of life: whereas his writings throughout betray uncommon shrewdness and quickness of observation, and a vein of the keenest humour runs through them; the last quality we should look for, if we judged only by reading the Life. In these respects it may seem probable that if the biographer had been personally acquainted with his subject, the picture would have been somewhat modified; in no others is there any reason, either from his writings or from contemporary evidence, to doubt the accuracy of his report.

It will be observed that in the Notes and Appendix to the Life, some use has been made of the collections of Mr. Fulman, which are preserved in C. C. C. Library, to the number of twenty-two volumes; of which an account may be seen in Dr. Bliss's edition of the Athenæ Oxonienses, iv. 242: as also an account of the collector, who had been the *alumnus* and amanuensis of Hammond, and was the friend and literary adviser of Antony Wood. He was also acquainted with Walton, as appears from his Appendix to the Life of Hooker, p.102, note [3]: and from an indorsement in Fulman's hand, on some papers which will be found, vol. ii. p. 117, of this edition. All, therefore, that he knew about Hooker he had communicated to Walton, no doubt, before 1675: and therefore little or no direct additional information was to be expected, or occurs in his papers.

The chief use now made of them has been to extract a few passages relating to Reynolds, Hooker's tutor, and undoubtedly the leader of the moderate Puritanical party in the University at that time. A specimen of his tone and principles may be seen in the Further Appendix to the Life, No. ii: which letter, with all that we read of Reynolds, tends to put in a strong light his pupil Hooker's entire independence of thought, and the manner in which he worked his way towards other views than those in which he had been trained. For it may be observed that his uncle, John Hooker, or Vowel, was rather a keen partisan, as he had been at one time an associate, of Peter Martyr and others of the more uncompromising foreign Reformers: as his historical fragments, inserted in Holinshed, may shew. Hooker's connection again with Bishop Jewel; with Dr. Cole, President of C. C. C., who had been forced on the society by the Queen's government [2]; and with Cole's party in the College; were all things calculated, as far as they went, to give him a bias towards the extreme which was accounted most contrary to Romanism. And indeed the deep and sincere dread with which he regarded the errors and aggressions of Rome, is apparent in every part of his writings: and so much the more instructive will it prove, should we find him of his own accord embracing those Catholic opinions and practices, which some, in their zeal against popery, may have too lightly parted with, but which Rome alone could not give, neither should we allow her indirectly to take them away.

The other short pieces, subjoined to the Life in this edition, are accounted for by notes as they severally occur.

2. If Hooker's works were arranged in the order of their composition, (a course which is so far preferable to any other, as it gives the completest view of the progress of the writer's own mind, and any modifications which his opinions may have undergone,) the Sermons relating to the controversy with Travers, 1585-6, would naturally come first in order. For that controversy not only preceded the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity in order of time, but actually led to the first idea and undertaking of the great work [3]. However, in the present publication, the precedent of all former ones has been respected: but it will be for future editors to consider whether they may not advantageously invert this order.

The statement of Walton, that the dispute in the Temple led immediately to the design of Hooker's Treatise, is incidentally confirmed by a passage in the Sermon on Pride, which appears from internal evidence to have been a subsequent part of the same course, to which the discourses censured by Travers belonged. The passage occurs in a portion of the Sermon now for the first time printed [4]. He is speaking of the difference between moral or natural, and positive or mutable law: "which dif-"ference," he says, "being undiscerned, "hath not a little obscured justice. It is "no small perplexity which this one thing "hath bred in the minds of many, who be-"holding the laws which God himself hath "given abrogated and disannulled by hu-"man authority, imagine that justice is here-"by conculcated; that men take upon them "to be wiser than God himself; that unto "their devices His ordinances are con-"strained to give place: which popular dis-"courses, when they are polished with such "art and cunning as some men's wits are "well acquainted with, it is no hard mat-"ter with such tunes to enchant most reli-"giously affected souls. The root of which "error is a misconceit that all laws are pos-"itive which men establish, and all laws

[2] Strype, Parker, i. 528.

[3] See Life, p.83, 89.

[4] See vol. ii. p. 362.

"which God delivereth immutable. No, it "is not the author which maketh, but the "matter whereon they are made, that caus- "eth laws to be thus distinguished." Such as are acquainted with the argument of the first three books of Ecclesiastical Polity, will perceive at once in the paragraph just cited the very rudiment and germ of that argument: which, occurring as it does in a sermon which must have been preached within a few months of the discourse on Justification, shews how his mind was then employed, how ripe and forward his plans were, and how accurate Walton's information concerning them.

Accordingly, the summer of 1586 may be fixed on as the time of his commencing the work: and after six years and more, i. e. on the 9th of March, 1592-3, the four first books were licensed to "John Windet [5], "dwelling at the signe of the "Cross Keyes "near Powle's Wharffe." Most of the work was therefore composed in London, amidst the annoyance of controversy, and the interruption of constant preaching to such an audience as the Temple then furnished. For it was only in July 1591, that he obtained what he had so long wished for, a quiet home in the country, viz. at Boscomb near Salisbury.

Four days after the entry at Stationers' Hall, the MS. was sent to Lord Burghley: and it is not unlikely that the delay which ensued in the printing was occasioned by him. For the first edition bears date 1594. There is a MS. note of Hooker's on a pamphlet called "the Christian Letter," &c. (hereafter to be spoken of) which would lead to the supposition that Burghley as well as Whitgift had seen and approved the unpublished work. The writers or writer of the Letter, having brought sundry doctrinal exceptions to the books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, had appealed to the author [6], as to what he thought in his conscience would be the sentence of bishops and divines, were his work, and two others just then published [7], to be authoritatively examined by such and such persons, and compared with the formularies of the Church. To this challenge part of Hooker's reply is, "The books you mention have "been perused. They were seen and "judged of before they came abroad to "the open view of the world. They were "not published as yours is. As learned as "any in this nation hath saw and red them "before they came to your hands. And "for any thing that I could ever yet learn, "the learneder they are that have given "sentence concerning the same the farder "they have differed from this your virulent, "uncharitable, and unconscionable sen- "tence."

Besides Whitgift and Burghley, we know that Hooker availed himself of the judgment of his two friends, Cranmer and Sandys [8], (if they are within reach;) and there is much reason to suppose that Dr. Reynolds also was consulted [9]. With Saravia he was unacquainted until he went into the neighbourhood of Canterbury [10].

As for assistance in the way of books, there is every mark of his having been abundantly supplied during the preparation of his work. In several cases he quotes foreign productions, which from the dates of their publication could have been only just out of the press in time to be so cited. Every thing probably was sent to Whitgift: and his stores, it may be supposed, were placed at Hooker's command.

He observes a remarkable accuracy in citation, especially of the passages which he means to refute. Sometimes indeed he abridges, where Cartwright is unnecessarily verbose (a fault against which that writer was not much on his guard): but there is not (as the Editor believes after minute examination) a single instance of unfair citation. That the reader may judge of this for himself, the rule of the present edition has been, scrupulously to point out all particulars in which the passages produced to be refuted, or otherwise in the way of argument, at all vary from their originals. We learn from a note of Sandys [11], on the sixth Book, that Hooker's "discourse had credit of sincerity in "the former books especially by means of "setting down Mr. Cartwright's and W. "T[ravers]'s words in the margent where- "soever they were impugned." As an instance of his care we may observe, that the copy of the Christian Letter, on which his notes are made, has nearly all the errata, which are marked at the end, corrected in the body of the pamphlet by his own hand.

The *Editio Princeps* [12] itself is a small fo-

[5] Windet was one of the publishers commonly employed by persons of Hooker's way of thinking: we find him about this time publishing a work of Dr. Bridges, and the tract called "Querimonia Ecclesiæ."

[6] Page 44.

[7] "Querimonia Ecclesiæ:" and "Bancroft's Dangerous Positions."

[8] See Life, App. p. 109; and vol. ii. notes on B. vi.

[9] B. vi. App. in vol. ii. 118, 119.

[10] Life, p. 93.

[11] Vol. ii. 131.

[12] The Editor takes this opportunity of acknowledging his obligations to the Rev. Dr. Bliss, Registrar of the University of Oxford, for the use of a copy of this rare volume, including also the fifth Book, first edition, in correcting the press: and also for the following note regarding the two. "The four first books were, according to Maun- "sel, printed in 1592–3. Walton however (and "he is probably right) says that they did not ap- "pear till the year 1594. The fifth was pub- "lished by itself in 1597, the printer being the

lio, very closely, but clearly, and in general most accurately, printed. The present edition professes to be a reprint of it, except in some matters of punctuation, and in many of orthography. As to the former: amidst great general exactness (to which also the little remaining MS. bears witness) there occur sometimes whole pages in which almost all the smaller stops are omitted in a manner which could scarcely be intentional: and there the liberty has been taken of arranging them in the way which seems most agreeable to the author's general system of punctuation. Care however has been taken not unwarrantably to determine by this process the meaning of clauses, which might fairly be left ambiguous. However, both in this question and still more in that of spelling, the Editor acknowledges that he should himself prefer an exact reprint of the original, excepting of course palpable errors of the press. In one respect especially, i. e. as a specimen and monument of language, ancient books lose very much of their value by the neglect of ancient orthography. But this, it was feared, could not be remedied without making the work less fit for general use. All that remained was to take care that no word should be lost, added, or mistaken; and this it has been endeavoured to ensure by more than one exact collation.

In verifying the quotations, there has been occasional difficulty; first from their being very often no otherwise appropriated to a particular spot in the text, than as standing opposite to it in the margin, without any letter or mark of reference: a circumstance which has caused them to be misplaced in subsequent editions, not unfrequently by whole pages. The author seems to have become aware of the inconvenience before he published the fifth book; for in that, with few exceptions, letters of reference are inserted. It is remarkable amidst so much accuracy that the titles of books quoted should have been given in many cases so very erroneously and imperfectly, as to lead to the supposition that the press was not corrected by the author, nor by any scholar on his behalf. This has added considerably to the labour inseparable from the task of verifying quotations of that date, when "Chrysostom saith," "Augustine saith," or the like, was the received method of alleging the Fathers and Schoolmen. And in more cases than the present Editor could have wished, his endeavors to trace the quotation have as yet proved fruitless: a thing particularly to be regretted in such a writer as Hooker, much of whose argument depends on authority, and on the exact wording and context of passages produced. Where tracing the reference was not beyond his skill, the Editor has with few exceptions thought it right to insert the whole passage referred to in the notes: and in doing so, has been almost invariably impressed with admiration, not only at the depth and fulness of the writer's knowledge, but also at his fairness as well as skill in the conduct of his argument. It will be found of course, that in disputing with Romanists, he generally alleges by preference Roman catholic authorities; and with Puritans, the writings of the reformers of Zurich and Geneva. And in some cases, where his authorities at first sight might be accounted but a gratuitous ostentation of learning, it may appear that they were severally representatives of so many classes or schools whose agreement in some common point it was of consequence to exhibit. An example may be seen in b. vii. c. xi. 8. note [81]: and another in b. i. c. viii. 3. note [80]; where an array of quotations is produced in support of what appears at first sight a truism; but it will perhaps be found that the writers quoted are in fact, as has just been said, representatives of those systems in philosophy and theology which are most opposed to each other, and that it might be of use to shew them expressly assenting in common to that one principle of natural reason at least.

The greatest liberty taken with the text by the present Editor has been the breaking it up into numbered paragraphs and sections, and inserting, by way of running title, the chief topics of as many paragraphs as the space would conveniently receive. In doing this he is well aware that he has to a certain extent taken on himself the duties of a commentator. As such he has endeavored to execute his task faithfully: but he cannot flatter himself that in so long a work (the arrangement of which, in many places, is rather fine and subtle, than easy and prominent) he has always succeeded in drawing his partition lines exactly, or in hitting and describing precisely the characteristic topic of each paragraph. However, it was but a choice of two evils: and it seemed better that critical students should occasionally have to correct such errors for themselves, than that popular readers should be altogether deterred by the wearisome uninviting form of the text.

3. These remarks apply as well to the second portion of the work as to the first. That second portion, containing the fifth book alone, came out, as is well known, in 1597, altogether in the same form as its predecessors. It seems to have excited great and immediate attention; one result

"person who executed the first part in 1594. It "is singular that neither Ames nor Herbert" (who notice the first part, Typograph. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 1230,) "knew any thing of the fifth book. "What they say of the four first, is quoted from "Maunsel" (Catalogue, part i. p. 59) "and the "Stationers' Register."

of which was the appearance of a pamphlet often to be mentioned in the notes to the present edition, of which therefore in this place it is necessary to give some account. It is entitled, "A Christian Letter of certaine English Protestants, unfained favourers of the present state of Religion, authorized and professed in England: unto that Reverend and learned man, Mr. R. Hoo, requiring resolution in certain matters of doctrine (which seeme to overthrow the foundation of Christian Religion, and of the Church among us) expreslie contained in his five books of "*Ecclesiastical Policie*, 1599." It is a small 4to. of 49 pages, and bears no printer's name. Some account of it may be seen appended to the Life of Hooker in Dr. Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography; and the whole has been annexed, in the form of notes, to Hanbury's edition of Hooker, London, 1831. Its general drift may be gathered from the opening sentences[12].

"[13] When men dreame they are asleepe, and while men sleepe the enemy soweth tares, and tares take roote and hinder the good corne of the Church before it be espied.. Therefore *wisemen through silence permitt nothing looselie to passe away as in a dreame.* Your offer then, Maist. *Hoo*, is godly and laudable, to *enforme men of the estate of the Church of God established among us.* For the teachers of righteous things are highlie to be commended. And he that leadeth men rightlie to judge of the church of God is to be beloved of all men. Howbeit sometimes goodlie promises are meere formal, and great offers serve onely to hoodwinke such as meane well. And as by a faire shew of *wishing well*, our first parents were fowlie deceaved; so is there a cunning framed method, by excellencie of wordes, and intising speeches of man's wisdome, to beguile and bewitch the verie Church of God. And such as are used for this purpose come in sheepes clothing. For he translateth himself into an angel of light, who blindeth all men with utter darknes.

"When we, therefore, your loving countrymen, (unfaynedlie favouring the present state, and embracing from our heartes the gospel of Christ, as it is preached and professed in England, being readie every hower to give up our lives for God's glorie and the honour of our Queen[14],) having so goodlie a champion to offer combat in our defence, were made verie secure, and by the sweete sounde of your melodious stile, almost cast into a dreaming sleepe wee happelie remembring your preface that there might bee some *other cause*, opened at the length our heavie eyes, and casting some more earnest and intentive sight into your manner of fight, it seemed to us that covertlie and underhand you did bende all your skill and force against the present state of our English church, and by colour of defending the discipline and government thereof, to make questionable and bring in contempt the doctrine and faith itselfe. For we saw the theme and the cause you have in hand to be notable simples, whereof a skilful popishe apoticarie can readilie make some fine potion of sweete smelling ointment, to bring heedlesse men into the pleasant dreame of *well-weening*, while they closelie set on fire the house of God. And may wee not trulie say that under the shewe of inveighing against Puritanes, the chiefest pointes of popish blasphemie are many times and in many places by divers men not obscurelie broached, both in sermons and in writing: to the great griefe of many faithful subjectes, who pray for the blessed and peaceable continuance of her most gracious Majestie, and of the estate of the Church of Jesus Christ as it is now established among us? And verelie such a thing offered itselfe unto our eyes in reading your bookes, and we had not skill howe to judge otherwise of the handling of your penne and of the scope of your matter." Then, challenging him to reconcile his positions with the Thirty-nine Articles, and the Apologies and other writings of the defenders of the Anglican Church, they produce their charges against him, to the number of twenty-one; of which the following are the heads. 1. The Deity of the Son. 2. The Coeternity of the Son, and

[12] Here and elsewhere the copy of the "Christian Letter" referred to is one in the library of C. C. C. Oxon.; with the use of which the Editor has been most kindly favoured by the President: a copy enriched with a good many notes in Hooker's own hand-writing. Nearly all these notes will be found in this edition, subjoined (with so much of the pamphlet itself as seemed necessary to make them intelligible) to those portions of the work respectively to which the pamphlet in each case referred.

[13] Hooker, marg. note. "That it was not my purpose though it were my profession to write for men's information concerning the state of the Church of England. That they which are sincere minded men indeed were almost deceyved by the faire speeches wherewith I cloke and colour mine intent. That calling at the length their wittes unto them they saw very great presumptions whereby I might be taken for a close enimy to the faith and doctrine of this Church, in shew a mainteiner of the government of God's house, indeed an incendiarie, one set to fier the house of God for other men's better opportunitie to rifle it."

[14] Hooker, marginal note. "Who driveth you to this profession?"

proceeding of the Holy Ghost. 3. The Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to Salvation. 4. Holy Scripture above the Church. 5. Of Free-Will. 6. Of Faith and Works. 7. The virtue of Works. 8. Works of supererogation. 9. None free from all Sin. 10. Predestination. 11. The visible Church, and the Church of Rome. 12. Of Preaching. 13. Of the Minister's Office. 14. Of the Sacraments. 15. Of Christ's Institution. 16. Necessity of Baptism. 17. Of Transubstantiation. 18. Of Speculative Doctrine. 19. Of Calvin and the reformed Churches. 20. Schoolmen, Philosophy, and Popery. 21. The Stile and Manner of writing. Specimens of the method of attack adopted on most of these heads will be found in the notes to this edition, appended to those passages in the Ecclesiastical Polity, which drew forth the several criticisms. It was considered unnecessary to reprint the whole pamphlet; enough appearing in this way to inform the reader's judgment concerning it, and to enable him to decide whether there be much probability in a notion which some entertained at the time, that the appearance of so formidable an antagonist actually hastened the death of Hooker.

On this point, over and above the presumption arising from the pamphlet itself, we possess the unquestionable evidence, curious on many other accounts, of Hooker's own MS. memoranda towards a vindication of himself, entered, as above stated, on the margins and fly leaves of a copy of the "Christian Letter," now preserved in the library of C. C. C. Oxford. These memoranda are in a very rough state, having been evidently set down at various times, some of them quite on the spur of the moment, and all clearly without the smallest intention of their ever meeting any eye but his own. So that the Editor for some time had serious doubts of the propriety of making them public. Some of them however are intrinsically so valuable; others so curious, as affording specimens of the way in which important discussions begin as it were to germinate in such a mind as that which planned and executed the Books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity; a third sort again such perfect samples (so to speak) of his manner and sentiments, that inserting them seemed on the whole more just to the truth, and to the Author's memory. Accordingly almost all of them will be found *in locis* among the notes to this edition: and amongst other things, it is apprehended they will clearly shew, whether any annoyance which he may have felt was at all mixed up with the notion, that he had a dangerous adversary to encounter, or whether it arose simply from disgust at what he considered to be malicious and unfair treatment: although in general his tone is rather playful than angry. It is clear that he knew, or strongly suspected, who the writer of the pamphlet was. For in p. 44, making answer to a passage which challenged him to submit his books to revision by authority, and which designated them as "notable bellows to blow up the "coals of sedition and fiery civil war be-"tween all Christian churches, and to "make all people who read them to fall "either flatly to atheism or backward to "popery;"—in answer to this, which he calls a "virulent unconscionable and un-"charitable sentence," having stated, as before, p. vii. of this Preface, that his work had already undergone such a revision as was demanded, he proceeds as follows: "But the best is, they are not many that "sate on the bench from which this sen-"tence hath proceeded. It is your owne. "As for them against whom you give it, "I think they take you for no competent "judg." In the same page, they call on him to "tell them roundly and soothly, If the "reverend Fathers of our Church, *assisted* "*by* some of the approved divines of both "universities, did reade, peruse and exam-"ine your bookes and those two other "bookes[14], whether they would not judge in "their conscience and give sentence with "their mouthes, that by those three writ-"inges the Church of England, and all other "Christian churches are undermined." His note is, "Why *assisted*? Are your rever-"end Fathers insufficient to judg of such a "matter without assistants from the univer-"sities. Besides, what a wise question this! "I must tell you what other men will "speake and think in their consciences "touching bookes which you condemne." "Again I must tell you whether I have not "as bad an opinion of myself and mine "own writings, as you have of both. Did "ever man heere such questions proposed "by one that were (*sic*) in his right witts? "But see how coler and rage doth make "you forget yourself. You plainly avouch "that all the ministers which be godly and "all the churches which be Christian are "in those three books traduced openly and "notoriously detected: and all the articles "of our religion checked.

"You have asked my judgment of three "books. Let me ask yours touching three "other, and as I find your answere reason-"able so I will accordingly frame mine "own. I pray sir what sentence will you "give concerning M. Calv. Lectures upon "Amos[15], touching the booke called Vin-"diciæ contra Tyrannos[16], and of the Ec-

[14] "Querimonia Ecclesiæ." and Bancroft's "Dangerous Positions."

[15] Specified no doubt on account of the famous passage on c. vii. 13; in which the royal supremacy was attacked by Calvin: see E. P. viii. iv. 8.

[16] For some account of this book see E. P. viii.

"clesiastical History [17] almost fully printed "out in the Blackfriers [18] ?"

From this and other portions of the memoranda which will be found here and there in the present edition, it is manifest that the author considered himself as dealing with a single opponent in the name of many: and that he did not rate that opponent very highly in any respect: in short, that there is no reason to question the statement of Dr. Covel, in his reply to the Christian Letter, dedicated to Archbishop Whitgift, and published by authority, A. D. 1603. Covel was patronised by Whitgift, and seems to have undertaken the Defence at his suggestion. In his address to the reader, he says, "Our Church hath had some "enemies, more openly discontent in the "case of discipline, than they now appeare; "whom to satisfie with reason, Maister "Hooker indeavoured with much paines: "that which might have contented all, was "in divers a spurre to a more violent coler; "for medicines howprofitable soever worke "not equally in all humours. From hence "proceeded a desire in some to make a "question of things whereof there was no "doubt, and a request for resolution of some "points wherein there was no danger: to "this end a Letter (which heere is answer-"ed) was published by certaine Protestants "(as they tearme themselves) which I heare "(how true I know not) is translated into "other tongues; *this they presume hath "given that wound to that reverend and "learned man, that it was not the least "cause to procure his death.* But it is "farre otherwise; for *he contemned it in "his wisdome* (as it was fit) and yet in his "humilitie would have answered it if he "had lived." He adds, "I staid the time, "and a long time, until some elder and of "riper judgment might have acquitted me "from all opinion of presumption in this "cause; which being not done by them "whom many reasons might have induced "to this defence, I could not for that part "which I beare in that church, whose gov-"ernment was defended by Maister Hook-"er, with patience endure so weake a let-"ter anie longer to remaine unanswered. "And herein I have dealt as with men (al-"though to me unknown) of some learning "and gravitie, to whom peradventure in "manie respects I am farre inferiour; and "yet for anie thing I know, or appeareth "in this letter, they may be clothed with "the same infirmities that I am. But if "this had beene by himself performed "(*which I heare he hath done, and I desire "thee to expect it*) thy satisfaction (gentle "reader) would have beene much more; "yet vouchsafe in thy kindnesse to accept "this." In p. 9, Covel begs the writers of the letter to receive from him what they had required from Hooker: "a charitable, "direct, plain, and sincere answer: which, "no doubt of it, from himselfe had bin far "more learned and more speedy, if he could "either have resolved to have done it, or "after he had resolved could have lived "to have seen it finished. But first of all, "he was loath to entermeddle with so weake "adversaries, thinking it unfit (as himselfe "said) that a man that hath a long journey "should turne backe to beate everie barking "curre; and having taken it in hand, his "urgent and greater affaires, together with "the want of strength, weakened with much "labour, would not give him time to see it "finished. Yet his minde was stronger "than his yeares, and knew not well how "to yeeld to infirmitie. Wherein if he had "somewhat favoured himselfe, he might "peradventure have lived to have answered "you; to the benefite of the Church, and "the comfort of a great number."

Evidently the writer of these sentences had no access to Hooker's papers, and his general reasonings shew as much: for he is commonly content to clear up the points objected to by production of his author's context, and collections from other parts of his writings. However, the same impression seems to have been made on him as on Hooker, by the perusal of the Christian Letter: viz. that it was the production not of many, but of one; and that one, a person before versed in the Puritan controversy, and now desirous, under cover of anxiety for evangelical doctrine, to insinuate the principles of the Genevan discipline in all their disturbing force. Thus in p. 3, Covel says, "It is much easier to answer those "shadows of reason, wherein these *admon-"ishers* do please themselves, than by their "silence to make them confesse that they are "fully answered:" where the word "ad-"monishers" printed in Italics evidently points at the compilers of the famous Admonition to the Parliament. Again, p. 5; "Those whom we must make adversaries "in this cause are men not known either by "name, religion, or learning....It may be "peradventure the zeal of some one, who "desirous to gain an opinion among his

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ii. 8. note 32. It may seem by the manner in which the mention of it is here introduced, that Hooker was inclined, with Bancroft, to ascribe it to Beza. The argument however depends not on who was the writer, but on the acceptation which the book obtained among the reformers both here and abroad: which seems to have been at any rate very considerable.

[17] On this work the editor has not been able to obtain any information. If it were a translation, abridgment, or reprint of the Magdeburgh Centuries, it would come under the same description as the two former; see b. viii. *ubi supra.*

[18] This instance may shew how well informed Hooker was about works *in the press*, &c.; no doubt by Whitgift's means. See p. vii. of this.

"followers undertaketh to speak as from "the minds of many....Whosoever they "are, as I cannot easily conjecture, so I am "not curious to know." In p. 46, he speaks to the unknown compilers of "the rest of "their writings in that kind:" and in p. 136, tells them, "themselves were able to wit- "ness that Hooker had not shunned to "encounter the best of the Disciplinarian "faction in our land."

Covel, therefore, as well as Hooker himself, countenances the idea that the pamphlet proceeded from some veteran or veterans in the cause of Puritanism, afraid to speak out, for what reason is not hinted, but probably because of late the government had been acting decisively against that party: and also on account of the great effect on men's minds, which had been produced by the publications as well of Hooker himself, as of others hereafter to be specified. On the whole, it seems very clear that the Christian Letter may be regarded as a kind of document, expressing the views and feelings of the Puritans of that generation: which being understood, the question as to the author's name, however curious, is comparatively of little moment. Cartwright and Travers were both living at the time, the one in Warwick, master of the hospital, the other in Dublin, Provost of Trinity College: but both of them apparently had finally retired from the controversy; and the style of the letter will be found on examination very unlike either of theirs. John Field, another leading admonitioner, had been dead since 1588 [18].

Hooker's notes on this pamphlet are here printed from the original, preserved (as above mentioned) in the library of C. C. C.; and collated with two transcripts, in interleaved copies of the tract, the one also in C. C. C.[19], the other in Trinity College, Dublin (A. 5. 22.): for which latter collation, as for all that comes from the Dublin library, the reader will understand that he is indebted to Dr. Cotton, the present Dean of Lismore. These transcripts have been eminently useful in supplying portions where the original had worn out, and in confirming readings which might have been otherwise doubtful. On comparing the two, they appear to have been made independently of each other: that in C. C. C. seems the earlier and more accurate. In one instance, the Dublin copy inserts a note, of which no vestige occurs in the original. A few of the memoranda, which the Editor conceived might be worth preserving, but for the insertion of which in the notes no convenient place had occurred, will be found at the end of this Preface.

4. But Hooker's preparations in his own defence had proceeded further than these brief and scattered hints. In the library of Trinity College, Dublin, (MS. B. 1. 13.) is what is described in the catalogue as "a Treatise by Hooker, on Grace, the Sacraments, Predestination, &c.:" which in three passages[20] clearly indicates itself to have formed part of the intended reply to the Christian Letter. It contains much valuable matter, although in a very undigested and imperfect form: with the exception perhaps of the portion concerning Predestination, which is much the largest of the three, containing in the MS. twenty closely written folio pages, whereas the other two, on Grace and on the Sacraments, contain but six and four respectively. We may conjecture that this more finished part was not now for the first time written, but rather that the revival of the dispute on Predestination led the author to revise papers which he had prepared more than ten years before, when Travers first attacked him on the subject. For in the Answer to Travers's Supplication, § 23, he states himself to have "promised at some con- "venient time to make the points then agi- "tated clear as light both to him and to all "others." Now the points were the very same which the Christian Letter had now called in question. If this conjecture be warrantable, it will follow, that we cannot certainly reckon upon these fragments as exhibting Hooker's latest and most matured judgment on all the mysterious topics introduced in them: although the distinct reference to the Lambeth Articles at the end must undoubtedly be regarded as a deliberate summary of the general conclusions at which he had then arrived. Of the second fragment, that on Sacraments, it may seem questionable whether it is rightly placed as part of this controversy. As far as it goes, it is wholly defensive, against Romanists; but it might be intended as introductory to a view of the question from the other side. The whole of these fragments will be found in the Appendix to the fifth book. Their genuineness is morally demonstrable. The writer uses the first person in speaking of the books of Ecclesiastical Polity, and refers to the Christian Letter in a way which coincides remarkably with Hooker's own MS. memoranda. Compare (e. g.)

[18] Dr. Wordsworth in his Christian Institutes, i. 90, states the writer of the Pamphlet to have been Dr. Andrew Willett, Author of the *Synopsis Papismi*.

[19] Thus described in the Catalogue of MSS. C.C.C. 1682. "215." (now E. i. 15.) "A letter "against Mr. Hooker's Polity, printed in the year "1599, interleaved, with some part of an Answer "to it of Mr. Hooker's. Sed hic videtur esse ex- "emplar recentius, ipsum vero autographum est "penes me Tho. Norgrove."

[20] Compare in this edition, vol. ii. 29, with i. 166. note 68; and ii. 38, with p. 338, i. note 61, and Chr. Letter 15–17; and see ii. 542, note 16.

the mention of *aptness* and *ableness* in the Fragment, p. 538, with a note in p. 11, of the pamphlet, which will be found in this edition, E. P. i. vii. 6. But indeed it is hardly necessary to dwell on minute marks of this kind, so strong and clear is the internal evidence throughout. To say nothing of favourite idioms, and turns of language; the views themselves, philosophical and theological; the mode of developing those views; the allegations from the Fathers and Schoolmen, and the way of translating them; the introduction and management of rapid historical sketches; the quiet and sustained majesty of style; and more perhaps than all, the deep awe with which sacred things are approached: are so many tokens of ownership, impossible to be counterfeited. One quality indeed is wanting: there are few if any traces of that instinctive playfulness of humour, which breaks out so often in his former controversial writings. It would seem as if he had determined to be more than usually guarded in his manner of speaking of his adversaries on this occasion; a circumstance not a little remarkable, when compared with the notes on the Christian Letter, many of them so keenly expressive of his first sharp sense of their unfair usage of him.

5. The Appendix to the fifth Book contains moreover the letter of George Cranmer to Hooker, which in all editions since 1666 immediately follows the life of Walton. Being in a great measure historical, it was judged more convenient to place it in the order of time; and so placed, it bears a striking testimony to the effect of Hooker's labours even at that early period, and to the apparently declining condition of the Puritan interest[20]; and we may judge a little of the support and encouragement which it must have afforded to his wearied and anxious mind, when he found his old friend and pupil, now rapidly rising, in the expectation of all their contemporaries, to the highest places of the state[21], yet unchanged in affection for him, and bringing his varied experience and independent judgment to the zealous support of the views to which he was himself devoted.

This letter is reprinted from the original, first published in 1642: the year in which, as may be gathered from Wood, Ath. Oxon. iii. 577, the parliamentarians plundered the library of Henry Jackson, Rector of Meysey Hampton, Gloucestershire, who had had the care of Hooker's remains committed to him by Dr. Spenser[22]. In that way possibly some loyal person might get hold of the letter, and publish it as a seasonable warning. That Jackson himself was not the publisher is evident from the mistakes in the prefixed advertisement[23], which he could not well have passed over: that Walton was not, may be gathered from his silence on the subject, where he introduces the letter at the end of the Life of Hooker. At the same time, connected as he was with the Cranmers, such introduction on his part undoubtedly proves the document genuine. Some remarkable differences appear on collating the letter as printed by him (1675) with the edition of 1642, which would lead to a suspicion that he was not aware of that publication. The result of the collation the Editor proposes to give at the end of this preface; where whoever will take the trouble of examining it will see, it is hoped, sufficient reason for the preference given to the text of 1642 above that of Walton's copy.

6. So far, the task of verification has proved easy; but on proceeding to the sixth book, the ground, as is well known, entirely changes. The clearest way perhaps of exhibiting

[20] The conclusion is particularly calculated to excite serious reflections on the possible cause of the revival of that interest in so fearful a way, within the very next generation. "The clergy," says Cranmer, "especially those of both universities, are to be exhorted to preach Christ crucified, the mortification of the flesh, the renewing of the spirit: not those things which in time of strife seem precious, but passions being allayed, are vain and childish." There is a remarkable coincidence between this and the language of King Charles I. about thirty years after, when being at Woodstock he commended to the faculty of divinity at Oxford, as the best subject whereof to treat, "Jesus Christ and Him crucified." See Jackson's Works, ii. 565.

[21] "Queen Elizabeth, confiding in her own princely judgment and opinion, had formed so favourable an opinion of Cranmer's worth and conduct, that she would have him and none other, to finish and bring the Irish war to a propitious end: which not deceiving her good conceit of him, he nobly achieved, though with much pains and carefulness." Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 665. as quoted by Dr. Bliss, in his edition of the Ath. Oxon. i. 701.

[22] See Life of Hooker, Further Appendix, No. I. p. 108.

[23] Life, p. 68. It may be as well to specify the corrections there made by Walton in the extract from the version of Camden. The advertisement says, "In C. C. C. he proceeded and continued "M.A. *of six years standing* before he removed:" Walton, "he continued M.A. *for some time* before," &c. The Advertisement, "He then betook himself *to secretary Davison*:" Walton, "He then betook himself to *travel, accompanying "that worthy gentleman sir E. Sandys*," &c. The Advertisement, "After sir H. Killigrew's death, he accompanied sir E. Sandys, &c. and after his return was sought after by the most noble lord Mountjoy:" Walton, "After sir H. Killigrew's death he was sought after by the most noble lord Mountjoy." These corrections, which Walton must have obtained from the Cranmers, seem to shew that they were not, any more than Jackson, concerned in the original publication of the letter.

the whole case, will be first to recapitulate all that is known of the fate of the three last books in common, and then to explain the course taken in the present edition severally with each of the three; for it so happens that they stand respectively upon distinct and very unequal grounds of evidence.

First, there can be no reasonable doubt that the author left them completed for publication. Of this fact, we have two, if not three, contemporary statements, independent of each other: first, that of Dr. Spenser in his preface to the first edition of the collected five books; "[24] He lived till he saw "them perfected:" secondly, that of Covel, (Just and Temp. Defence, p. 149;) "Those "three books of his, which from his own "mouth, I am informed that they were fin-"ished." To which in all probability might be added the testimony of the Cranmer family, of whom, it may be supposed, Walton received the anecdote related in the Life, p. 79.

Next, his papers with the rest of his chattels were given by his last will to his wife, whom he left sole executrix under the supervision of a person of the name of Churchman, probably her father, (see Bishop Andrewes' Letter, p. 101, note 7.) in conjunction with his own friend and pupil, Sandys. The will is dated Oct. 26, and Hooker died Nov. 2. Only five days afterwards Dr. Andrewes, being then at the court, wrote to Dr. Parry, who was, as it may seem, intimate with the Churchman family, and near at hand, requesting him to provide without delay for the security of the papers. He writes in a tone of the greatest anxiety, and regrets that he should be so late in giving this hint, having but just been informed of Hooker's death. Inquiry, it may be presumed, was made accordingly, and nothing satisfactory elicited from the widow. For the next thing we are told is, that at the end of a month, the archbishop sent one of his chaplains to inquire after the three remaining books, "of which she would "not, or could not, give any account:" but that after an interval of three months more, suspicions having arisen, she was summoned before the privy council, and in a preliminary examination confessed to the archbishop, that many of her husband's writings had been burned and torn by a Mr. Charke, (probably the same who married her daughter,) and another minister who dwelt near Canterbury. Here her statement closes; for she died suddenly before the examination could be resumed.

Such is the narration of Walton, communicated to him about the year 1624, "by one "that well knew Mr. Hooker and the affairs "of his family:" i. e. apparently, by William the brother of George Cranmer, or by one of his sisters: the father and aunts of Walton's first wife. To which must be added the statement of Bishop King, also a contemporary of Hooker's, communicated through the Bishop's son to Walton, with the express intention of its being made public in his name. See hereafter, p. 108. This evidence is surely distinct enough, and has as much claim to be attended to as contemporary evidence has in general. Of course it does not prove that the widow's account was true, but it does prove that the papers were not forthcoming, that she was called on to undergo official examination regarding them, and that such and such was the result of the examination, according to the belief of those who were most concerned to know. It is true, no record of the transaction remains in the council books; but it does not appear from Walton's account that it ever came officially before the council. On the whole, the conclusion is irresistible: that the completed books were irrecoverably gone; and all that remained was to secure and arrange what was left of the rough draughts. These, it may be supposed, Mrs. Hooker gave up to the archbishop, on occasion of the aforesaid inquiry, i. e. about March, 1600. And he committed them to the care of Dr. Spenser, not only, doubtless, as an intimate college friend of the author, but also as one of the nearest surviving representatives of George Cranmer, who of all others would have been fittest for the trust, had he been alive. But he unfortunately had fallen at the battle of Carlingford, Nov. 13, 1600, only eleven days after his friend and tutor, and in all probability before he could be aware of his death.

To Spenser then, who had married Cranmer's sister, and who afterwards became President of the college, the task of editorship was by preference intrusted: the rather, as it may seem, because he was one of those with whom Hooker had most freely communicated on his great work, during its progress. And the single remaining composition of Spenser himself (single, if we except his preface to his edition of the Polity) is quite sufficient to evince his entire sympathy with Hooker's views; at least, his thorough aptness as a learner in that school. It is a posthumous publication, a sermon of St. Paul's Cross on Isaiah v. 2, 3: full of eloquence and striking thoughts; the theological matter almost entirely, and sometimes the very words, being taken from those parts of Hooker, in which he treats of the visible Church. It may be added, that Spenser from the beginning appears to have belonged to that party in his college, which feared Puritanism as well as Romanism, and that his appointment to the office of Greek Lecturer, in 1577, had been vehemently opposed by Reynolds[25]. Both he and Bishop King

[24] See hereafter, p. 105.

[25] See Further Appendix to the Life of Hooker, No. 4. p. 113.

were at the time of their common friend Hooker's death resident in London, and neighbours, Spenser vicar of St. Sepulchre's, and King rector of St. Andrew's, Holborn. The first step the former took in fulfilment of the archbishop's charge regarding Hooker's remains, was the republication of the five Books of Polity, with a preface (reprinted in this edition): in which he distinctly announces the purpose of giving to the world the three remaining books, dismembered and defaced as they were. This took place, according to Wood, in 1604. The edition contained the five books, "without any addition or diminution whatsoever." But the editor's labours that year began to be interrupted by the new Translation of the Bible, in which he was engaged as one of the Westminster committee: and no progress appears to have been made with Hooker until his return to Oxford again. But in 1607, on the death of Reynolds, he was elected President of C. C. C., his and Hooker's friend King having been made Dean of Ch. Ch. in 1605.

He found in the college a young scholar of the name of Henry Jackson, of the city of Oxford, skilful and industrious in translating, arranging, and compiling: him Spenser employed, as Walton says, "to transcribe for him all Mr. "Hooker's remaining written papers:" and he evidently entered on the work with an editor's partiality, and was disposed to take to himself the editor's credit, which indeed Spenser, as far as appears, was in no wise inclined to deny him. He began with what may be called the Opuscula: publishing in the years 1612, 13, 14, several of the Sermons, to be noticed hereafter in their places: among which that on Justification had so rapid a sale that a new edition was required in a few weeks. It seems to have been intended that the eighth book of the Polity, for whatever reason, should appear first, by itself: and Fulman has preserved three fragments of letters by Jackson, all dated 1612; the first, as it seems, early in the year, stating that the President had put the eighth book into his hands, and that he was entirely taken up with the task of "polishing" and arranging it. The second letter, dated in September, represents him as just putting the last hand to the same book: and the third, of Dec. 21, complains "that the Presi-"dent, as he, Jackson, had reason to think, "meant to edit it in his own name, although "its revival (for he could call it no less) was "the work of him, Jackson, alone: a plain "case of one man bearing off another man's "honours."

Thus far the business of publication had advanced when Dr. Spenser died, 3 April, 1614. At his death, he bequeathed Hooker's papers "as a precious legacy" to Dr. King, who in 1611 had been made Bishop of London. Thus they were taken out of Jackson's custody, at a time when he was not very kindly affected towards any one who might interfere with the interest in them which he considered himself to have acquired. The rest of their history, as a collection, is soon told. Bishop King's son informs Walton, that his father preserved them until his death, which happened March 30, 1621[26]. Afterwards they continued in his, Henry King's hand, till Archbishop Abbott claimed them for Lambeth Library. They were conveyed to him by Dr. Barkham his chaplain, who being dean of Bocking, was probably a neighbour of King, then archdeacon of Colchester. This must have taken place before September 1633. It is remarkable, that while they were under Laud's custody, no thought of completing the edition seems to have been entertained. The reports on the state of the MSS. were probably discouraging, and a false notion might prevail, of undue countenance likely to be afforded to the innovators by certain portions. However, the papers remained undisturbed, except by occasional copyists, (with whom the eighth book seems to have been most in favour,) until Dec. 28, 1640, when the Archbishop was committed for high treason, and his library was made over to the custody of Prynne[27]. From him it passed to Hugh Peters, by a vote of the Commons, June 27, 1644. Nothing more is known of the fate of the original papers: and certainly it is no great wonder, if whilst they remained in such hands, the friends of the Church looked suspiciously at the publication of any thing which professed to have formed part of them.

7. To record those publications in their order: The first occurs as early as 1641, from the Oxford press, under the sanction of no less a person than Archbishop Ussher. Of this an account will be given in speaking of the Appendix to Book Eight in this edition.

The second of the Hooker Fragments which appeared was the letter of George Cranmer already mentioned, in 1642. Reasons have been given above, against ascribing the editorship of this either to Jackson or to Walton: but it may have passed through the hands of Ussher, who appears to have spent the whole of that year either in Oxford or in London: and ground may perhaps appear by and by for reasonable conjecture as to the channel by which he became possessed of this and some other pieces.

The third was a far more important relic. In 1648, according to Wood, (Ath. Ox-

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[26] Ath. Oxon. ii. 296.

[27] See H. Wharton's Preface to the Troubles, &c. of Archbishop Laud.

on. i. 695,) but according to the copy[28] which has been used in correcting the press of this edition, in 1651[29], came out "Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Policy, "the Sixth and Eighth Books. By Rich-"ard Hooker. A work long expected, and "now published, according to the most au-"thentique copies. London, printed by R. "B. (Richard Bishop,) and are to be sold "by George Badger, in St. Dunstan's "Churchyard in Fleet street." small 4to. pp. 226. An account of the authorities from which this publication was professedly made may be seen in the Life, p. 104, note [12]. Six MSS. are there mentioned: but it may be suspected that the statement relates to the eighth book only. At least the Catalogus MSS. Anglic. mentions but one copy of the sixth book, nor have the researches made with a view to the present edition succeeded in producing any more: whereas of the eighth no fewer than four have been examined. The text, therefore, of the two books, though accidentally published together at first, must be severally accounted for.

To speak at present of the Sixth only: Dr. Cotton has collated for this edition a MS. (B. 1. 13.) in the library of Trinity College, Dublin: which has proved of very great service, not only in correcting the many and often palpable errors of the first printed copy, but also in arranging the whole with a view to the argument. "The "MS.," Dr. Cotton says, "is evidently writ-"ten by an amanuensis; but there are ev-"ery where marks that Archbishop Us-"sher read it over most carefully, as he has "corrected with his own hand the errors "of the copier, even in the most minute "particulars. You will perceive, besides "the verbal discrepancies, considerable dif-"ference in the punctuation, many sen-"tences being materially altered in sense "by it. Also, that the book is divided into "sections, as are the first five: which adds "to the lucidity of the work, as does like-"wise the breaking of it into several para-"graphs." Dr. Elrington, to whom the Editor is obliged for the first notice of these important fragments at Dublin, adds, that "in the catalogue is the following note," relating to the marginal remarks of Ussher; "The editor of the printed copy has seen "these notes, but has made some small "omissions." Dr. Elrington further remarks, that the MS. had the appearance of being written out for the press. It may be proper to add, that in this edition the arrangement thus sanctioned by Ussher is generally adopted as to the leading divisions, though not always as to chapters or sections: and that in all cases of departure from the reading of the first edition, (except matters of mere punctuation and obvious errors of the press,) the change is made on authority of the Dublin MS.

8. But concerning this Sixth Book, a very material inquiry remains. At first sight, of all the three questionable books, this is in one respect by far the most perplexing. As it stands at present, it is an entire deviation from its subject. For whereas the plan of the whole treatise required in this part a full discussion of the claim of lay elders to a part in church jurisdiction; and whereas the title distinctly propounds that subject; it is clear and certain, that of the whole book as it stands the two first chapters only and the first section of the third chapter have any relation to that subject. The remainder, being nineteen-twentieths of the whole, is a series of dissertations on Primitive and Romish Penance, in their several parts, confession, satisfaction, absolution. This anomaly, which every reader must have observed, and which in any writer carried so far would be extraordinary, but in Hooker, of all writers, is quite unaccountable, is explained at once by a document, which the present Editor has had permission to copy from the original in C. C. C. library; and which he has subjoined as an appendix to the sixth book. It appears that Hooker, having finished the treatise on lay elders, forwarded it, as had been his custom with former portions of his work, to his friends and confidential advisers, Cranmer and Sandys: and the paper alluded to gives the result of their criticism. It is in their own handwriting; Cranmer's part (which was afterwards reviewed by Sandys) filling twenty-four folio pages, and Sandys' part, which is more closely written, occupying six pages more. Its genuineness is ensured, not only by internal evidence, (for who would ever have thought such a paper worth forging?) but also by the attestations of Walton and Fulman, which the reader will find, vol. ii. p. 117. note [1]. This document would have been worthy of preservation, were it only for the good sense and accurate reasoning, by which, even in such disjointed fragments, the writers have contrived to throw light on many parts of a curious and important subject: or again as a pleasing monument of the entire, affectionate confidence, which subsisted between Hooker and his two pupils: occupied as they were in lines of life very far removed, from his, Cranmer as a diplomatist, Sandys as a member of parliament: but as a document in the question of the genuineness of the (so called) sixth book, these notes are in truth quite de-

[28] From the library of C.C.C. with a few marginal notices and corrections by Fulman.

[29] Wood however was right: as appears by a copy with which the Editor has been favoured, since the first publication of this Preface, by the Rev. J. S. Brewer, of Queen's College, Oxford.

cisive. First, it will be found that among them all there are not so many as four instances, in which the *catchwords* at the beginning of the note occur in the text as it stands. Next, the whole subject-matter of their remarks, the scriptural and other quotations referred to, indicate an entirely different work. There is not a word about penitency, auricular confession, absolving power: but (in the third place) the frame of the whole, and each particular as far as it can be understood, implies the annotators to have had before them a work really addressing itself to the question of Lay Elders, and meeting all the arguments, which, as we know from contemporary writers, the upholders of the Puritan platform were used to allege.

As far as can be gathered from the very scanty notices remaining, it may seem that Hooker, entering, as Sandys thought, rather too abruptly on his subject, treated of these following heads. 1. Of the natural connection between the two powers, of Order and of Jurisdiction. 2. Of the best way of drawing the line between Ecclesiastical and Civil Causes. 3. Of the principle of Courts Ecclesiastical, and the meaning of "Tell the Church." 4. Of the Church's Anathema: in which he seems to have made three degrees, and to have considered St. Paul's expression, Rom. ix. 3, as referring to excommunication. Cranmer's remark on this is very striking, and very much in unison with the little that remains of him besides. 5. What offences are excommunicable; under which head the question recurred of the limits of church and state power, and Sandys lays down that it is an error to make the sovereign a mere lay person. 6. Effects of excommunication (probably against Erastus). Distinction between the Church's anathema and that of a mere ecclesiastical judge. Whether temporal judgment on the excommunicated person might ever be expected to ensue. The case of Victor cited; probably to moot the question of the effect of a wrong excommunication. The Epicurean tendency of slighting excommunication was pointed out in the next place; and frivolous proceedings in ecclesiastical courts deprecated as leading to such contempt. 7. The interference of presbyterial jurisdiction with sovereign authority was next urged against Beza. 8. The precedents of Jewish Polity were considered; (on which head down to the time of Jehoshaphat a valuable abstract of the discourse is given in one of Cranmer's notes.) 9. The pleas were examined, which the defenders of the eldership were accustomed to urge from the New Testament: especially Rom. xii. 8; 1 Cor. xii. 28; Acts xvi. 23; 1 Tim. v. 17. 10. He proceeded to the precedents usually alleged on this subject from the Fathers: having both in this and the part next before an eye particularly to T. C. part iii. tract 8. The book appears to have concluded as it began; rather too abruptly for the taste of the friendly revisers. Each of them recommends an appropriate conclusion: Cranmer suggesting that it might be well to add some remarks on the indirect political inconveniences of the lay eldership; Sandys, on the other incongruities of the Geneva platform; the essential distinction of pastor from teacher; the arrangements of their consistories, their synods, and the like.

Somewhat after this sort, judging by the fragments which remain, did the argument of the sixth book proceed: and every one who has read Whitgift, Bancroft or Bilson on the one hand, Beza or Cartwright on the other, will be aware that these are the topics which Hooker must have introduced in order to perform the service which he had undertaken. It now appears, in point of fact, that he did so. But the treatise which embodied his views on the subject, and which one may collect from these indistinct notices to have been more valuable by far in its constructive than in its destructive part, has disappeared, even in its rough outline, with the exception perhaps of a few sentences near the beginning.

The question has been asked[29], "If it be "true, as is alleged, that different MSS. of "the last books did not agree, if even these "disagreements were the result of fraud, "why should we conclude that they were "corrupted by the Puritans rather than by "the Church?" It is presumed that the fact now demonstrated, namely the suppression of the entire book on lay elders, supplies of itself an answer to this question. For if there was one point in their system, on which the Puritans of the sixteenth century were more sensitive, and piqued themselves more [30] than on the rest, this of lay elders was that point. Suppose a party of them in Hooker's study, according to the report made to Walton; the sixth book was that which they would first lay violent hands on. A churchman would be under no temptation of the sort: if he wanted to tamper with any part, he would sooner select parts of books vii. and viii., in which he might think unguarded concessions made to the prejudice of regal or episcopal authority. As it is, there can be no

[29] Hallam's Constitutional Hist. of Engl. c. iv. vol. i. p. 236. 4to. 1827. note.

[30] See E. P. Pref. iv. 5, and note; and Querimonia Ecclesiæ, p. 219. "Non tam bonis displi- "cet novum hoc seniorum genus, quam placet "Puritanis. Nam cum omnia quæ nobis propo- "nunt plurimum semper dilaudant, . . . præclarum "tamen hunc seniorum consessum tanti faciunt, "ut eo uno totius Ecclesiæ salutem niti existi- "ment."

question that far "other than verbal chang-"es have been made in the loose draught "which the author left;" and surely there are also very considerable appearances of the MS. having been once in the hands of Puritans. Bishop Andrewes's letter proves how much he apprehended such a thing at the time; we know from a statement of Travers, and by the pedigree subjoined to this preface, that his kindred, in all likelihood Puritans, were connected with the Hookers by marriage: there is also reason to believe that Hooker's own daughter married into a Puritan house: add to this only so much of the Cranmer family's statement to Walton, as it was impossible for them to be mistaken in: and whether we believe the widow Hooker's account of the Puritan ministers' interference or no, it cannot be said that the case is clear of all suspicion of the kind.

But to return to the Sixth Book. As has been said with regard to nineteen-twentieths of it, the case is made so clear by these notes, that it might perhaps have been more consistent with the duty of an editor, had the whole of it after c. iii. § 1, been separated entirely from the Books of Ecclesiastical Polity, of which, undoubtedly, the author never meant it for part. The reasons or impressions which told against such an arrangement will be found in the second note on this sixth book. But the change may perhaps be made with advantage in a future edition, i. e. by far the greater portion of the book may be separated, not from Hooker's remains altogether, but from forming part of the Ecclesiastical Polity. For although it be found in the wrong place, yet is there no cause whatever to account it ascribed to a wrong author. It is full of instruction, piety and eloquence; it has every internal proof of being Hooker's. Its appearing where it does may be reasonably accounted for, without supposing any further liberties taken by the Puritans, if we only imagine it in a heap of papers, accidentally coming next to a sketch of the preamble of the Sixth Book. Any one eager to publish might seize on it, and with no deliberate purpose of receiving, or as is most likely for mere purposes of trade, might send it abroad with the misnomer now detected. The wonder is that such a critic as Ussher should have corrected it, as it seems he had done, for the press, without being aware of its total deviation from the question: and that Walton, and perhaps still more that Fulman should have had the notes of Cranmer and Sandys in his possession, without discovering the interpolation in the sixth book.

9. On the Seventh Book, and the evidence for its genuineness, a very few words may suffice. The first publishers of the sixth and eighth in 1651, state those two books to have been preserved in the hands of Andrewes and Ussher, "with great hopes the "seventh would have been recovered, that "they might have been published to the "world's view at once: but," they add, "endeavours used to that purpose have "hitherto proved fruitless." In fact, no trace of the book appears until 1662, when Gauden, just then promoted to the see of Worcester, (the person whose name appears in so questionable a light in the affair of the Εἰκὼν Βασιλική,) set forth a new edition of Hooker, augmenting it by this seventh book and some paragraphs at the end of the eighth. In his title-page and preface he uses very sounding language, and even gives his readers to understand, that the work was now entirely recovered[31] to the

[31] Titlepage: "The works of Mr. Richard "Hooker (that Learned, Godly, Judicious, and "Eloquent Divine,) vindicating the Church of "England, as truely Christian, and duly Reform-"ed: In Eight Books of Ecclesiastical Polity. "Now completed, as with the Sixth and Eighth, "so with the Seventh, (touching Episcopacy, as "the Primitive, Catholic, and Apostolic govern-"ment of the Church,) out of his own MSS. nev-"er before published. With an account of his "Holy Life and Happy Death, written by Dr. "John Gauden, now Bishop of Exeter. The en-"tire Edition dedicated to the King's most excel-"lent Majesty, Charles II: by whose Royal "Father (near his Martyrdom) the former Five "Books (then only extant) were commended to "his dear children, as an excellent mean to satis-"fy private scruples, and settle the Public peace "of this Church and Kingdom." Dedication to the King: "I know not what to present more "worthy of your Majesty's acceptance, and my "duty, than these elaborate and seasonable works "of the famous and prudent Mr. Richard Hooker, "now augmented, and I hope compleated with "the three last books, so much desired, and so "long concealed. The publication of which vol-"ume so *entire*," &c. And below: "To this "*completed edition*, I have added such particular "accounts as I could get, of the author's person," &c. Preface: "By the care of some learned "men, especially of the Right Reverend Father "in God, Gilbert, now Lord Bishop of London, "those genuine additions are now made of the "three last books, promised and performed by him, "but long concealed from public view, not with-"out great injury to the public good." And p. 23: "Himself expired amidst his great undertak-"ings to the impotent joy of his antagonists: "who finding themselves worsted and sorely "wounded ... by this great archer, in his five first "books, yet received some comfort in this, that "they escaped the shot of his last three, which he "never published, and which they hoped he had "never finished; or if he did complete them, they "found (as is by some imagined) some artifice so "long to smother and conceal them from the pub-"lic, till they had played such an after-game, as "they thought was only able to confute Mr. "Hooker, and to blot out by the sword the im-"pressions of his pen. But Providence in time "hath not only confuted those men's projects and

state in which Hooker left it. He distinctly says, "The seventh book, by comparing "the writing of it with other indisputable "papers, or known MSS. of Mr. Hooker's, "is undoubtedly his own hand throughout. "The eighth is written by another hand, as "a copy, but interlined in many places with "Mr. Hooker's own characters, as owned "by him. The best and surest test of the "genuineness or legitimacy of these three "now added books, will be the weight or "learned solidity of the matter, also the "grave, but eloquent and potent manner of "handling each subject; . . . This only "may be suspected (as is said) that in some "places he had not put to his last polishing "or consummating hand." And, p. 40: "When these excellent books shall obtain "their deserved place in men's heads and "hearts, ... I shall have no cause to re- "pent of the pains, yea pleasure, I have "taken in giving the world this renewed "view of Mr. Richard Hooker, and his now "completed works."

On examining the sixth and eighth books in Gauden's impression, no material improvement occurs. What MSS. he had appear to have agreed on the whole with the printed text: excepting the aforementioned addition to the eighth book, of which something will be said in its place. It is extraordinary that in speaking of the seventh he should, as will have been seen, omit altogether to say where he found the MS., how he came by it, and what he did with it: nor does he leave any clue whatever for the guidance of future inquirers. For the genuineness, then, of this portion of the work, our only direct testimony is the affirmation of Dr. Gauden. In other words, we are left to make up our minds by internal evidence only. Not that Gauden had, as far as is known, any political or theological views, which would lead him to take liberties with the MSS., nor that there is any appearance of their having been tampered with on any such ground: the suspicion which occurs is rather, that forgery or at least interpolation may have been practised, in order to promote the sale of the work.

Under such circumstances it is satisfactory to find, that the internal evidence of this seventh book is on comparison even more decisive than either that of the sixth or of the eighth. The course of argument and flow of style are more sustained, and more decidedly characteristical. The translations from the Fathers are of the same stamp: and this is a point of extreme delicacy, a point in which Hooker perhaps is unequalled amongst English writers. It is true that in certain portions, especially towards the end, there is some verbosity, and a considerable degree of repetition.[32] But this may be thought to arise in part from the editor's uniting, as members of a continuous treatise, what were in fact independent sketches of matters to be somewhere introduced. Such sketches, if not checked by comparison, would incidentally run into each other.

From the manner in which the pages of Gauden's edition are numbered, it would seem that this seventh book must have come into the editor's hands after the sixth and eighth books, and subsequent parts of the volume had gone to the press.[33] For the paging goes regularly on to the end of the fifth book, p. 345: the sixth commences, in a way not easily accounted for, at p. 137, and goes on to p. 183; the seventh is interposed, paged from 1 to 75; and then the former reckoning is resumed, the eighth commencing at p. 184, and so on to the end of the volume. The printing is full of errors; but that is common to the whole edition.

Now all these marks of unskilful editorship, however unpleasant to the reader, supply in reality no mean argument in favour of the genuineness of the composition. For who would think it worth while to forge blunders? who for example, employed in setting off a spurious copy to the best advantage, would ever have left such an error as that[34], so well known to all unfriendly critics on Hooker, where in discussing the opinion of St. Jerome on the divine right of Bishops, he or some one else had made a private note on the MS. and the printers have inserted it, incoherent as it is, in the body of the text? Such carelessness in the mode of publication, although it may render particular expressions more doubtful, certainly goes far to negative all idea of deliberate forgery on a large scale. Added to the mass of internal evidence, it may war-

"confidences, but also brought forth those es- "teemed abortions, the three last books, with "such lineaments of their father's virtue and vig- "our on them, that they may be easily and justly "owned for genuine, although (perhaps) they had "not the last politure of their parent's hands. "Their strength shews them to be a legitimate "progeny, however they may seem to want some- "thing of that beauty and lustre which always "attended Mr. Hooker's consummation." He next goes on to give what seems by its form intended as a sort of analysis of the three last books, but from its matter one might almost conjecture, that he had hardly read more of them than their titles. He then proceeds, p. 26: "Such as they "are, it is thought meet to present them to the "reader; each of them is by learned critics judg- "ed to be genuine or authentic, though possibly "not so complete or exact as the curious author "intended."

[32] Compare e. g. the corresponding part of the fifth book.

[33] Or he may have employed two Printers, as in his Hieraspistes: see that work, p. 320, ed. 1653.

[34] Vol. ii. p. 144.

rant us in accepting this seventh book, hastily written as it is in many parts, for a real though mutilated and otherwise imperfect relic.

It may further appear to have the implied sanction of Walton himself, and of Archbishop Sheldon; inasmuch as the one having by the other's direction undertaken to correct some of Gauden's principal mistakes, no charge is insinuated of want of fidelity in this, the most material part of his task: on the contrary the whole is reprinted without hesitation in the next edition, 1666; the Life by Walton being for the first time prefixed.

10. We come now to the Eighth book: on the subject of which (no doubt from its immediate bearing on the political questions of the time) most curiosity seems to have been felt, and to have led to a greater multiplication of copies or extracts. As stated above, it was first published, but avowedly in a mutilated form, A. D. 1651. It broke off at the words "to give judg-"ment," vol. ii. p. 273, of this edition. But as far as it went, it concurred in the sequence of its parts with the text which Gauden afterwards gave, and with three out of the four now existing MSS.

Dr. Bernard in his Clavi Trabales [34], 1661, published some additional fragments out of the papers of Archbishop Ussher, occupying that work from p. 64 to 94. These fragments relate, the first, p. 64 . . . 71, to the Jewish polity, as affording a precedent for something like the Anglican supremacy; which notion is maintained against the objections of Stapleton: the second, p. 71, 72, to the King's claim of a share in church jurisdiction; the third, p. 73—76, to his prerogative in church legislation; the fourth, p. 77—86, to the appointment of Bishops by the King; the fifth, p. 86—92, to the same subject as the second, jurisdiction; the sixth, p. 92—94, is the opening of a treatise on the King's exemption from church censure. With these were printed short marginal notes, and what Dr. Bernard calls "confirmations and enlargements," under the archbishop's own hand. In one or two of these entries, he says in the margin, "This is," or "This is not, in the com-"mon books or copies of Mr. Hooker's "MS.:" meaning by the "common" books or copies, not those in print, 1651, (as is evident from his affirming in one instance the "common books" to have a passage which the printed copies then had not,) but his meaning was to refer to the ordinary *Manuscripts* of b. viii.: and the passage is mentioned here simply for the purpose of remarking, that copies must have been rather frequent at that time, in order to justify such an expression.

[34] See App. by Walton, p. 104.

Gauden next year confirmed the publication of Bernard by adding the passage which begins, "As therefore the person of "the King," &c. (p. 438,) and ends in p. 444, at the words "the truth therein:" and also that on the Power of Legislation, which begins in Clavi Trabales at "The cause "(case) is not like;" and ends p. 76, abruptly in the middle of a sentence, at the words "hath simply." Gauden's edition, adopting this paragraph, completes it: and thereby shews that itself was not in these portions borrowed from the Clavi Trabales, but had other copies to rely on; which also is evident from the omission of much important matter found in the pamphlet. The comparison strengthens the idea of Gauden's good faith, while it lessens that of his industry and skill in such work. He subjoined also another fragment on the limits of obedience to sovereigns; which the present edition transfers to an appendix, for reasons to be assigned in their place. All succeeding editors have followed him. The text now given will be found, in very many material points, widely at variance with either of these: many portions added, some few omitted, and the parts which remain transposed in such a manner, as to form on the whole an entirely new arrangement. It is the Editor's duty now to account for these changes. And as in so doing he will have to mention the names of more than one friend, to whose assistance he is deeply indebted, and of more than one public body, who have liberally granted him the most unreserved use of their stores of information; he is desirous here of expressing, once for all, his gratitude for such kind permission and invaluable assistance.

The MSS. of the eighth book, which have been collated for this edition, are four in number; and the Editor is not aware of any others now existing. The first (Q.) in the library of Queen's College, Oxford, (R. 29. i.) was the property of Dr. Thomas Barlow, Provost of that College, and Bishop of Lincoln from 1675 to 1691: in whose handwriting appear a few corrections and insertions, chiefly in the way of collation with the printed text. He was an intimate friend of Bishop Sanderson; so that possibly this may be the very MS. mentioned as having been seen by Sanderson, in the Appendix to Hooker's life by Walton, p.105. It coincides indeed, except *in minutis*, with the received text; and this at first sight may appear not to have been the case with the MS. of which Walton is there speaking; or rather Fabian Philips as quoted by Walton. But Sanderson's expression is on the whole not inapplicable to the received text; although Walton seems to have judged otherwise. It is simply this: that "he "had seen a copy, in which no mention" (i. e. of course, no approving mention) "was

"made of the supreme governor's being "accountable to the people." Is any such doctrine taught in the received text? It speaks indeed positively of the people's implied consent being in theory the origin of government, but it expressly denies in one place [35] the practical accountability which some would infer from this; nor is that denial withdrawn or qualified in any other part of the book. All things considered, it seems a fair conjecture that Mr. Philips may have mistaken what he heard Bishop Sanderson say, which as reported by him comes to very little: and that the Bishop may rather have remarked on the *positive* inconsistency of Hooker's doctrine with the conclusion on behalf of which it was alleged. If he did, his remark would be amply borne out by the place referred to, which occurs in Barlow's MS. as well as in the rest; and therefore Barlow's MS. may be that which Sanderson professed to have seen: though it certainly never could have had much pretension to the honour of being an autograph.

The second copy (L) is in the library of the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth, (MS. 711. No. 2.) and was, by permission of his Grace, most carefully collated for this edition by the Rev. C. A. Ogilvie, of Balliol College, Oxford, his Grace's chaplain. Nothing is known of the history of this copy. Of its date thus much is ascertained, that it must have been later than 1624. Like the Queen's MS. it differs from the old printed text only in minute verbal points.

The third MS. (C) is in the library of Caius College, Cambridge: and for the collation of it the Editor is indebted to the Rev. Thomas Thorp, fellow and tutor of Trinity College; a favour of which those only can judge who know how irksome the task of collating is, and to what a load of pressing avocations it was in this instance voluntarily superadded. This Caius MS. appears to be in some respects a less careful transcript than either of the two before mentioned; and there are a few variations in critical passages, which a fanciful person might imagine to have been made intentionally: but on the whole it belongs to the same class as the others. All three are in fact different copies of the received text.

But the same repository to which every part almost of the present edition is so largely indebted, the library of Trinity College, Dublin, has supplied a fourth MS. of this eighth book, far more nearly approaching to completeness than the printed copies as they stand at present, or as they might be amended from the other three MSS. It is designated in the Dublin Catalogue, MSS. C. 3, 11, and in the notes to this edition by the letter (D). The important service of collating it has been performed by Archdeacon (now Dean) Cotton. The result is (to use his own words) "a great number of "variations from the printed text of most "important character; even so far as to as-"sert for denial, and to deny for assertion, "and to make sense where was none, and "better sense where was indifferent. Be-"sides these, and considerable improvement "in punctuation, division into sections and "paragraphs, &c. (such as was noticed in "the sixth book,) you have a considerable "accession of new matter, together with a "totally different arrangement of the several "portions of the book. Doubtless, we are "still far from having the book as Hooker "himself would have published it; yet by "the aid of this our MS. the *disjecta mem-*"*bra* are somewhat more decently arrang-"ed than before." On this opinion of a most competent judge, as well as his own conviction, (in which he feels morally certain that every person on inquiry will concur,) the Editor has felt himself justified in acting so far as to adopt the Dublin MS. for the basis of this edition; noting carefully at the foot of the page every variation from the original edition and other MSS. which at all affects the sense, and inserting in the Appendix a Table, which will bring into one view the difference of arrangement between this and former editions, and will shew what quantity of additional matter has been supplied.

The concluding portion of this eighth book, as it stood in Gauden's edition, which has been followed in all subsequent reprints, was a fragment on the Divine sanction under which human laws are to be obeyed, beginning at "Yea, that which is more," and ending at "if so be we can find it out." The Editor has now taken the liberty of separating this portion from the body of the book, and throwing it into the Appendix, No. 1: for although it occurs in all the MSS. he is convinced that it is no part of the treatise, but belonged most probably to a sermon or sketch of a sermon on obedience to authority, which Jackson, or some other arranger of the papers, erroneously annexed to the chapter on Ecclesiastical Legislation, which it immediately follows in the Dublin MS., as well as in the received text, although from the altered arrangement of the former it occurs in the fifth chapter instead of the conclusion of the book. It commences with two or three sentences which are found *verbatim* in the third book, c. ix. §. 3.; a circumstance decisive, as it may seem, against its being a part of the eighth book. For although a writer may silently transfer a passage from one work of his own to another, or from a printed work to a mere sermon, it is hardly conceivable that he should repeat a whole pa-

[35] E. P. viii. 2. 10.

ragraph, without notice, in a subsequent part of the same work. This fact, then, and the little coherence of the whole with the course of discussion in the book where it appeared, determined the Editor to remove that portion into the appendix: its case being the same with that which bears the name of the sixth book: no reason to doubt that it is the production of Hooker, only wrongly assigned to a place in the Ecclesiastical Polity.

The *Clavi Trabales* may also be considered as an independent authority for those portions of the text which occur in it: i. e. it clearly was not printed from any of the existing MSS. Not from either of the three English ones, because two thirds of its contents are absent in them all: not from the Dublin MS., for the following reasons, which are given in the words of Dr. Cotton, the collator. "It is certain that besides the "copy now collated, Archbishop Ussher "once possessed another, and almost equal- "ly certain that that other (*as likewise the "seventh book*) was also in Trinity College "library. 1. The Dublin MS. has not the "marginal notes, 'copied from Ussher's "own hand,' which Bernard gives, marked "with an asterisk. 2. At p. 76, Bernard "says, 'Here this breaks off abruptly;' "whereas our MS. does not break off here, "but pursues the argument farther. 3. "Again, at p. 94, our MS. adds one more "sentence to the part with which Bernard "finishes:" (which is, "On earth they are "not accountable to any.") "4. It more- "over contains many pages not formerly "printed, nor yet printed by Bernard: who, "we must therefore suppose, did not find "these in his MS. But there once was "another copy, even in Trinity College libra- "ry. In the Catalogus MSS. Angliæ, &c. "fol. 1696, is a list of the Dublin MSS. sent "in by Provost Brown. This mentions, "marked I. 50, 'Books 6, 7, 8, of Mr. "Hooker's Eccl. Polity.' On looking to an "old catalogue preserved in the library, I "find the same entry. Now at present, "book vi. is bound with several other pieces, "by Hooker and others, and on one of the "blank covers is marked I. 50. This is *in "folio*. But book viii. is *a small quarto*, "bound by itself; lettered 'Church Go- "vernment;' and entered in the catalogue "not under Hooker, but as 'a Discourse "against Cartwright and others;' and never "could have formed part of 50; nor is it "written in the same kind of hand. The "books appear to have been rebound about "100 or 120 years ago."

However, the hope thus occasioned of recovering, not only an additional copy of the eighth book, but also a MS. of the seventh, has unfortunately proved vain. After the most exact inquiry, none such appear to exist in the Dublin library. Whether therefore the copy of the eighth used by Bernard was the same with that indicated in the above paragraph, must remain doubtful: it may however be added, that the facts to a certain extent tally with the statement, made on the appearance of the first edition, that "*two* copies in the "hands of the Lord Archbishop of Armagh "had been compared before publication."

11. There is one short paper more, which may by possibility have relation to this eighth book, as the conclusion of the whole work: and which the reader will therefore find inserted in the Appendix, No. ii. It was put out at Oxford, 1641, by Leonard Lichfield, printer to the University; with the title: "A discovery of the Causes of "these Contentions touching Church Go- "vernment, out of the Fragments of Rich- "ard Hooker." It stood as preamble to a Collection of Tracts or Extracts, by Andrewes, Ussher, Reynolds, and others; the general drift of the publication being to recommend a sort of compromise in Church government, of the kind to which Ussher is believed to have been favourable. The immediate occasion in all likelihood was the discussions which led to the University Remonstrance for the Church, presented to parliament [35], Apr. 27, 1641. Ussher was at that time in Oxford or in London, having come to England for refuge from the troubles in Ireland: and it seems nearly certain that he sanctioned this publication; although his biographer [36] does not directly assert it. But in Trinity college library (D. 3. 3.) is a MS. copy of this paper, which Dr. Cotton had collated with the printed text; adding to his collation the following statement. "The above is in the hand- "writing of some person unknown. The "marginal references to Scripture are in "Ussher's hand, as likewise are several "slight corrections in the text. It is highly "probable that this is the very MS. from "which the printed copy was taken: more "especially as at p. 5. line 22. (of the print- "ed copy) Ussher has added a side note to "the printer; '*A larger space betwixt these;*' which has been followed: "the space left "there being wider than between any other "two paragraphs of the tract." This seems decisive as to the fact, that Ussher originally edited the collection in question. Of course he must have believed this fragment to be really Hooker's. If such were the case, it may have been a sketch for a con-

[35] Wood, Hist. and Antiq. Univ. Oxon. i. 350. ed. 1674.

[36] Parr, Life of Ussher, p. 44. "1641. This "year there was published at Oxford (among di- "vers other treatises of Bishop Andrewes, Mr. "Hooker, and other learned men, concerning "Church government) the Lord Primate's 'Origi- "nal of Bishops and Metropolitans.'"

clusion to the whole eight books; in accordance perhaps with the plan which Cranmer in the last paragraph of his letter recommended. The use of the second person ("*ye* are not ignorant," p. 4; "*you* do hear "and read," p. 6) would seem to indicate that the conclusion was meant to be addressed, as the Preface had been, by way of expostulation, to the seekers of reform. But in truth the internal evidence is not strongly in favour of the genuineness of this piece. In substance it has nothing to recall so great a name, and there is a kind of point in its turns and transitions, ingenious enough, but in no wise characteristic of Hooker. The remark on Alexander Bishop of Alexandria, and his proceedings against Arius, is little in harmony with Hooker's known approbation of the policy of Archbishop Whitgift, and with his tone and manner, where in the fifth book he has to speak of the very same part of history. No doubt the paper was found in Hooker's study, but if it was not found in his own handwriting, its authorship may well be doubted of. Still, in deference to Archbishop Ussher, it was judged right to insert it in this edition.

12. The reader has now before him an account of the materials, by the aid whereof it has been endeavoured to present this immortal but yet imperfect work, in a form somewhat more accurate, and more inviting to common readers, than it has hitherto worn. On the history of the MSS. since nothing distinct is told us, it is in vain to speculate much: but there are one or two obvious conjectures, which it may be right just to mention, if only for the chance of giving hints, which (it is barely possible) may lead to more successful researches in the same or in other quarters.

It will be remembered that the first person who appeared as taking interest, at least as feeling alarm, concerning the Hooker papers, was Bishop Andrewes in his letter to Parry. It seems not unlikely, that in course of transmission from Hooker's study through Lambeth to Dr. Spenser, some of them, or transcripts from them, may have lingered in Andrewes's hands. One sermon we know was found in his study, and published for the first time by Walton long after; and it seems on the whole not to be doubted, that if any one was allowed to take copies of the rough draught of the missing books at that time, Andrewes would have been anxious to do so. Accordingly we find that among the copies stated to have been compared before the first publication, one had been in his possession: and we are afterwards given to understand that either the sixth or the eighth book, or both, were actually printed from a copy preserved in his hands, of which copy afterwards Ussher had obtained the custody. For that Ussher had in some way access to Andrewes's papers, the publication by him of the Summary View of Church Government out of Andrewes's rude draughts, 1641, may evince beyond all question. Not that Ussher was then the actual editor; for he would not of course call himself, as he is called in the Address to the Reader, "a "Mirror of Learning;" but that he permitted the books to be printed from his MSS. And thus we seem to have arrived at a tolerable ground for considering the received text as so far guaranteed to us by Andrewes and by Ussher.

This publication took place in 1651: when of course the Primate as yet knew nothing of the far more correct and enlarged copy now existing in Dublin: of which, however, there can be no doubt that it was at some time in his possession. He died in 1656: therefore this MS. must have fallen into his hands within those five years: a time during which, as he found by unpleasant experience, the treasures of retired students were not unfrequently wandering about for sale, having formed part of the spoil of the civil war in various quarters. Now in the course of the war, as before mentioned, one of the libraries which had suffered in this way was that of Henry Jackson, the rector of Mesey-Hampton, and original editor, under Spenser, of Hooker's remains. It is possible, therefore, that a MS. from Jackson's library might fall into Ussher's hands. But is there any ground for imagining that such a MS. as the amended copy of the eighth book existed there? There is just ground enough, the editor apprehends, for a plausible conjecture, and no more. The conjecture is this: that when Jackson delivered up the papers after Spenser's death into the custody of Bishop King, he may have retained the completer copy of the last book, (which he represents in a fragment preserved by Fulman as being absolutely "restored to life" by him,) and that he may have handed over to the executors only the rough draught, from which, in course of time, so many transcripts have been made. His own expressions shew that he was precisely in the frame of mind which would make a person likely to take such a step: and perhaps it must be owned that the temptation was not inconsiderable. He writes in December, 1612, "Puto Præ- "sidem nostrum emissurum sub suo nomine "D. Hookeri librum octavum, a me plane "vitæ restitutum. Tulit alter honores." And in April, 1614, Spenser dies, and the MSS. are reclaimed. Is it doing Jackson any great injustice to suppose that in his pique he retained his more finished copy: being, as Antony Wood says, "of a cyni- "cal" as well as "of a studious temper?" And if he did, the mode has already been pointed out, how that copy or a transcript

of it might fall into Ussher's hands; and consequently might come to be deposited in the library of Trinity College, when the remains of the Primate's books and MSS. were lodged there after the restoration. This, it is repeated, is no more than conjecture: but such as it is, it may give a possible explanation of the great superiority of that single copy; leading us to suppose, that it is either Jackson's own, or one taken from his.

As to the seventh book, if it ever existed (as it certainly appears to have done) among Ussher's MSS. he must clearly have acquired it within the last five years of his life: but where it could have been preserved, we have no means of ascertaining. This only is evident; that it formed no part of the collection of Bishop Andrewes. It might have been in Lambeth, where at that time Ussher would hardly have found access: or it might have formed part of Jackson's store, as was just now conjectured with regard to the eighth book. In any case, to prove it genuine, we must come back to internal evidence.

13. The few remaining Opuscula of Hooker may be arranged in two classes: the first comprising the Sermons on Habakkuk, and the controversy with Travers which arose out of some of them; the other, what may be called Miscellaneous Sermons. In the present edition, the order in which they stand has been a little changed, with a view to this arrangement. First in the first class is placed the Sermon on the Certainty and Perpetuity of Faith in the Elect: which appears, both from the mention of it by Travers and Hooker in their dispute, and from the order of the texts, to have preceded the famous discourse on Justification; itself being preceded by one on Predestination, which has not come down to us. This sermon on Assurance was originally published by Jackson, under Spenser's guidance, in 1612. The Editor regrets that he has not been able to procure a copy of that date: but the inconvenience is the less, as this and other of the sermons, regarding which he labours under the same disadvantage, viz. those on St. Jude and that on Pride, were reprinted with the whole of Hooker's works then extant, in 1622, by William Stansby, a London bookseller, apparently under the superintendence of Jackson himself. So Wood expressly affirms; and the preface with Stansby's initials subscribed is not unlike Jackson's manner of writing. To the edition of 1622, therefore, in default of an earlier one, recourse has been had for correcting the present impression.

Next comes the famous discourse on Justification, the curiosity excited by which at the time of its delivery is so vividly described by Walton and Fuller: and when it was published, so many years afterwards, we learn by a fragment of a letter of Jackson's, that the first impression was exhausted in a few days [31]. "Edidi ante paucos dies tractatus quosdam D. Richardi Hookeri, qui omnium applausu (excipio Puritanos ut vocant) ita excepti sunt, ut necesse jam sit typographo nostro novam editionem parare, quæ prima illa emendatior, mea cura, Deo volente, proditura est." Accordingly the Sermon on Justification was reprinted in the course of the following year, 1613; from a copy of which reprint, in C. C. C. library, the press has now been corrected. On comparison with a copy of the former year, preserved in St. John's College, it seems that Jackson had kept his word, and that considerable emendations were made. Moreover, Dr. Cotton has discovered and collated for this edition a good and old MS. of this sermon, among the relics of Ussher in Trinity College, Dublin, A. 5, 6. 4°. It was entered in the catalogue under the word "Sermon," not being known to be Hooker's. Dr. Cotton describes it as "contemporary, seemingly written in the same hand as is the Answer to Travers' Supplication," presently to be mentioned. It contains several good readings, and some notes in an unknown hand-writing: but what is remarkable, it omits all the notes which are printed with the sermon, although many of them seem to carry strong internal evidence of their being Hooker's.

This sermon gave immediate occasion for "Walter Travers' Supplication to the Council," which therefore comes next in the volume. It is a reprint of the first edition, by Joseph Barnes, Oxford, 1612, 4°: corrected from a MS. in the Bodleian, (Mus. Bodl. 55. 20.) evidently the work of a copyist, with some careless omissions. Much the same may be said of Hooker's Answer, which was published by Jackson along with Travers' attack. But the text of the answer has now the additional benefit of a MS. (A. 5, 22. fol. 37.) apparently contemporary, in Trinity College, Dublin; collated also by Archdeacon Cotton. It is said in the catalogue to be Hooker's own handwriting: but this point surely is more than doubtful. However, there are readings in the MS. which it is hoped will be found real improvements.

The sermon "of the Nature of Pride," the last remaining of the supposed series on Habakkuk, will also be found in this edition corrected from a MS. (B. 1. 13. folio) preserved in the same library, and supposed, like the last, but on no good ground, to be in Hooker's own handwriting. In this copy, at the end of the sermon as it was published by Jackson, appears the following note: "Huc usque excusum exemplar: sequentia in eo non habentur." What follows, is a

[31] Ap. Fulm. x. 86. The letter is dated Sept. 1612. The tracts were at first published with Wickliffe's Wicket.

continuation of the sermon, described in the Dublin catalogue as being "five times so "much in quantity as that which is already "printed." Of the genuineness of this portion, never till now published, there can be no doubt. The internal evidence alone would be almost decisive: and in addition, there is the express testimony of Archbishop Ussher. For it appears that "he procured "this unprinted portion to be copied in a ve- "ry fair hand as if for publication, or at least "better preservation." Such is the statement of Dr. Cotton, who transcribed the whole from the copy so made, taking care afterwards carefully to collate every part with the original, which is in a most cramped and difficult hand. In the course of transcribing he found that "several words had "not been read at all by the original copier; "others he had read wrong, and some few "short clauses he had omitted." On the whole, although the Editor has failed to procure a copy of the *editio princeps*, as well of this sermon as of those on St. Jude, and on the Certainty and Perpetuity of Faith, yet by the aid of Dr. Cotton and this Dublin MS. he hopes that it will be presented to the reader in a tolerably correct form. It is much to be regretted that the fragment proceeds no further, breaking off as it does, at a most interesting and critical point of one of the chiefest controversies between this church and Rome. But the loss, it should seem, is irrecoverable: and perhaps under all the circumstances, we ought, instead of repining, to congratulate ourselves that so much yet remains.

14. This additional portion of the Sermon on Pride is the last unprinted fragment of Hooker which the Editor has been able to recover. The remaining contents of the volume are the Funeral Sermon, called a Remedy against Sorrow and Fear; printed from the original edition of 1612: the Sermon on St. Matthew vii. 7, printed also from the original edition, viz. as it was published by Walton at the end of his Life of Bishop Sanderson, 1678; in the titlepage to which he describes it as "found in the "study of the late learned Bishop An- "drewes[35]:" and the two Sermons on part of St. Jude, printed not from the original edition, which the Editor after much inquiry has failed in procuring a sight of, but from the reprint of 1622. This failure he the more regrets, as there may appear on minute examination more internal reason for questioning the genuineness of these two sermons than of any thing besides which bears the name of Hooker. For, first, the style of writing and tone of argument are in many places marked by a kind of sharpness and quickness, and here and there by a vagueness of phraseology, far removed from the sedate majesty which reigns in all Hooker's known compositions[36]: secondly, there runs through the whole a vein of heightened rhetorical expression[37], quite opposite to his usual guarded way of dealing with all delicate points of doctrine: and thirdly, the appeal made here[38] to men's consciousness on their own spiritual condition, cannot easily be reconciled with the doctrine of the Sermon on the Certainty of Faith, or with the jealousy expressed in the fifth book of Ecclesiastical Polity regarding the rule of men's private spirits. On the whole, if the sermons be Hooker's, which the Editor is far from positively denying, they must be referred to a date in his life earlier than any other of his remains; to a time when he may have hardly ceased to affect the tone

[35] Walton, Preface to Sanderson's Life. "As "in my queries for writing Dr. Sanderson's Life, "I met with these little Tracts annexed; so in "my former queries for my information to write "the Life of venerable Mr. Hooker, I met with a "sermon, which I believe was really his, and [it "is] here presented as his to the reader. It is "affirmed, (and I have met with reason to believe "it,) that there be some artists that do certainly "know an original picture from a copy, and in "what age of the world, and by whom drawn. "And if so, then I hope it may be as safely affirmed "that what is here presented for theirs is so like "their temper of mind, their other writings, the "times when, and the occasions upon which they "were writ, that all readers may safely conclude, "they could be writ by none but venerable Mr. "Hooker, and the humble and learned Dr. San- "derson."

[36] E. g. 1 Ser. § 1. "a *sweet* lesson." § 4. "The "prophets were not like harps or lutes: *they felt*, "*they felt*, the power and strength of their own "words." (Compare Spenser's "God's love to "His Vineyard," p. 7. "As for that old vine- "yard, *it is burnt*, *it is burnt* with fire.") § 6. "If any man doth love the Lord Jesus (and woe "worth him that loveth not the Lord Jesus) here- "by we may know that he loveth him indeed." § 7. "A *mingle-mangle* of religion and superstition, ministers and massing priests, light and "darkness, truth and error, traditions and scrip- "tures." § 9. "The *maddest people under the* "*sun*." Serm. ii. § 10. "How suddenly they "*pop down* into the pit." "*O then* to fly unto "God." § 11. "Is there not *a taste*, *a taste* of "Christ Jesus in the heart of him that eateth?" § 22. "He was able *to safe conduct* a thief from "the cross to Paradise."

[37] E. g. § 12. "If these men had been of us in- "deed (*O the blessedness of a Christian man's es-* "*tate*) they had stood surer than the angels that "had never departed from their place." § 14. "It "is as easy a matter for the spirit within you to "tell whose ye are, as for the eyes of your body to "judge where you sit, or in what place you stand." ii. § 18. "If I break my very heart with calling "upon God, and wear out my tongue with preach- "ing; if I sacrifice my body and soul unto him, "and have no faith, all this availeth nothing."

[38] Serm. i. § 13, 14. Compare Serm. on Certainty, &c. p. 291; and E. P. V. 9.

of others, both in composition and in doctrine, instead of writing and thinking for himself. There is a date given in one of them, which would harmonize well enough with such a conjecture. "I must," says the preacher, "advertise all men that have the "testimony of God's holy fear within their "breasts to consider, how injuriously our "own countrymen and brethren have dealt "with us by the space of *twenty-four years* "from time to time,... never ceasing to "charge us, some with heresy, some with "schism, some with plain and manifest apos-"tasy." There are, it would seem, but two dates, from which these twenty-four years can be reckoned; viz. 1558, when Queen Elizabeth came to the throne; and 1569 or 1570, when the bull of Pius V. declaring her excommunicate and deposed, was issued and sent into England. This latter would bring down the date of the sermon in question to 1593-4: a time, at which, for the reasons above assigned, it seems most improbable that Hooker could have written them. It remains that if they be indeed his, they were preached in the 24th or 25th of Elizabeth, 1582-3: when he was not quite thirty years old, having commenced preacher at St. Paul's Cross, as Walton informs us, in 1581. If the other supposition be preferred, viz. that the two sermons are not Hooker's, it is not necessary to charge Jackson, their original editor, with intentional fraud. They might be found among Hooker's papers[39], might even be corrected with his own hand, (of which there are considerable indications,) without being his own compositions. But a critic like Jackson, more zealous than refined, himself evidently of the Reynolds school in theology, might excusably overlook or undervalue objections of that nature. In sum, thus much appears unquestionable: that we should not be safe in referring to these two sermons, for the matured and deliberate judgment of the Author of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, concerning any great point.

The several contents of these volumes being thus accounted for in their order, it remains for the Editor, first, to record his respectful gratitude to the many friends and helpers, who either out of their private stores, or as having custody of public or collegiate repositories, have aided him one and all with the most unreserved kindness[40], many of them with no small labour to themselves; and next, to express an unaffected wish, that the task of arranging materials so provided had fallen into the hands of some person of more editorial skill, more leisure from unavoidable interruption, and far more historical and theological reading. Such as the volumes are, they exhibit, he believes, in some form or other, all that remains of the venerable and judicious Hooker: and it is pleasant and reasonable to hope that their many defects will be hereafter supplied by some one more amply qualified for the task.

It may be useful in this place, and also just and fair to preceding labourers in the same field, if some notice be inserted of the former editions of Hooker: although the Editor has reason to fear that his list, even as a list, is imperfect, and he certainly has no intention of pronouncing any judgment on their comparative merits.

Of the books which came out in the Author's lifetime an account has already been given. The first reprint was that of the four first Books, by Dr. Spenser, in 1604[41]. Wood, in his account of Spenser[42], says, "He did about four years after Hooker's "death publish the five books of Ecclesias-"tical Polity together in one volume, with "an Epistle before them, subscribed I. S." The truth seems to be that Spenser only reprinted the four first books, to bind up with the remaining copies of the fifth. It is remarkable that the titlepage of this edition promises the whole eight books: the remains of the three last being then in Spenser's custody, waiting to be arranged and published in a second volume. The five books were reprinted, as above stated, in 1617; the Preface to which calls it the *fourth* edition; reckoning probably the two publications in Hooker's lifetime as the first and second. To these in 1622 Henry Jackson added the second volume, comprising Traver's Supplication with Hooker's Answer, the Sermons on Habakkuk, the Funeral Sermon, and those on part of St. Jude. All of these he had before edited separately. There was a reprint in 1632, which speaks of itself as the *sixth* edition: that in 1622 having been the fifth. These are all which the Editor has met with of what may be called Dr. Spenser's editions[43]: and they appear on the whole more free from gross blunders than most of those which came after. Nothing more need be

[39] If a conjecture might be ventured, Reynolds, or Spenser perhaps himself in his early days, was not unlikely to have written such discourses.

[40] Several names have been mentioned; that of one to whom the publication is more deeply indebted than to any except Dr. Cotton, is omitted from scruples of private feeling: but one, the Editor must here take the liberty of adding, that of the President of Hooker's college, Dr. Bridges, whose friendliness in intrusting the Editor with the valuable relics of Hooker there preserved has been felt all along as an additional call for every effort to do justice to his sacred memory.

[41] The Editor has never met with a copy, but has been favoured with an account of one by the Rev. T. Lathbury, of Bath.

[42] Ath. Oxon. ii. 146.

[43] He has since been informed of a seventh reprint in 4to, by Bishop, of London, 1639.

said here of Gauden's edition of 1662, which added the seventh book, besides a Life of Hooker and a Dedication to King Charles II. (the latter prefixed to most of the following editions.) Gauden's too was the first collection which contained the other two imperfect books. It is unfortunate, considering the little pains taken to correct it, that this edition should have been acquiesced in as a basis, by subsequent publishers, to the end of the 17th century: only with the substitution of Walton's Life, which at once superseded Gauden's on its first appearance. Editions of this description came out, all in folio, in 1666, 1676, 1682. In 1705, Strype revised the Life for the publishers, and made some improvements; but there is no appearance of his having done much to Hooker's works. However, there were several corrections made, and the series of editions, which may be called Strype's, of which in the last century there were many, are on the whole greatly superior to Gauden's: i. e. the copies of 1705, 1719[42], 1723, (which is generally pointed out as the best edition of all,) 1739, &c. In 1793, the first 8vo. edition issued from the Clarendon Press, under the superintendence of Bishop Randolph. The only material variation made in it was the insertion of Andrewes's letter to Parry, which the Bishop had found in the Bodleian. Other editions in the same form have appeared since, but there are only two which require particular notice. The one in two volumes, (London 1825,) by the Rev. W. S. Dobson, of St. Peter's College, Cambridge: a great improvement on all that had been done since Gauden, especially in the laborious task of verifying quotations. The present Editor is particularly bound to acknowledge his obligations to this useful but unpretending publication, having taken it as the groundwork on which to introduce the readings from the MSS. or original editions. The only remaining edition which requires to be mentioned was executed in 1831, by Mr. B. Hanbury, with considerable spirit and industry, but in some parts with a degree of haste, and in many with an expression of party feeling, tending to lessen its usefulness greatly. It is corrected from the *Editiones Principes*, where the Editor had access to them; and, besides many notes, contains an enlarged Index, Hooker's Letter sent to Burghley with a copy of his work, as given by Strype, a Life of Cartwright by the Editor, the whole of the "Christian "Letter," distributed in the Notes, and the "Just and Temperate Defence" by Covel, annexed to the fifth book.

Here, it may be, strictly speaking, the task of the present Editor ought to terminate. But there are two large subjects intimately connected with it, to which it appears desirable to invite particular attention. One, the state of the Puritan controversy just at the time when it was taken up by Hooker, and the mode in which it was conducted by him and his contemporaries: the other, his views on certain questions in theology, collateral indeed to that controversy, but at least equally momentous with any thing in it, questions apparently beyond his original anticipation, at which in course of discussion he successively arrived, and kept them in sight afterwards with a religious anxiety proportioned to his deep sense of their vital importance.

In the annals of the Church, with more certainty perhaps than those of the world, we may from time to time mark out what may be called *turning points;* points in which every thing seems to depend on some one critical event or coincidence, at the time, possibly, quite unobserved. It is awful, yet encouraging, to look back on such times, after the lapse of ages and generations, and to observe the whole course of things tending some one evil way, up to the very instant when it pleased God in his mercy to interfere, and by methods of which we now can see more than contemporaries could, to rescue, it may be, not only that generation, but succeeding times also, and among the rest, ourselves and our children, from some form of apostasy or deadly heresy.

One of these critical periods in our own church history, if the Editor mistake not, is the latter portion of the sixteenth century: and the character and views of Hooker mark him (if we may venture to judge of such a thing without irreverence) as one especially raised up to be the chief human instrument in the salutary interference which Divine Providence was then preparing. In order to have a clearer notion of the peril in which he found the truth, and of the process by which he was trained to be its defender, it may be well if we first consider the previous position of the governors of this church, relatively to the Genevan or Puritan party.

Now the *nucleus* of the whole controversy was undoubtedly the question of church authority: not so much the question as to the reach and limits of that authority, (which subject he fully discusses in the early part of his great work,) as that which takes up the latter part of the treatise, and which he himself denominates the "last and "weightiest remains of this cause[43]:" the

[42] There was also an edition in large folio printed at Dublin, by subscription, 1721. It does not appear that the publisher was at all aware of the remains of Hooker in Trinity college library. The only addition to Strype's of 1705 is the Preface by Dr. Spenser.

[43] Book vi. near the beginning.

question, namely, with whom church authority resides. On this point, in Hooker's time, as now, the Christian world in Europe (speaking largely) was divided into three great parties. The first, that of the ultramontane Roman Catholics, who judging that consent of Christian antiquity in any rule was equivalent to an universal sanction of authority, only second (if it were second) to express enactment of holy Scripture; and wrongly imagining that they could establish such consent for the paramount authority of their popes and councils; refused the civil government any further prerogative in church matters, (i. e. as they interpreted, in all matters of conscience,) than merely that of executing what the said popes and councils should decree.

The second party was that of the Ghibellines in the empire, of the prerogative lawyers in the kingdom of France, of Henry the Eighth in England, and generally of all in every country who maintained more or less expressly the claims of the local governments against the papacy: their common principle (with innumerable shades of difference, and some of them very deeply marked) being this; that church laws and constitutions are on the whole left by Providence to the discretion of the civil power. To this latter party, whether on principle or on account of the exigency of their position, most of the early reformers attached themselves. Its theory was implied in the general course of proceeding, both of the Lutherans in Germany, of the Zuinglians in Switzerland, and of Archbishop Cranmer and other chief leaders of the separation between England and Rome: in their *general* course of conduct, not in all their measures; for in such extensive and complicated movements thorough consistency is out of the question, without some visible authority more entire and permanent than any which existed for the reformers, as a body, to acknowledge.

To these two parties, which had subsisted in much the same form, at least down from the age of Gregory VII, the events of the Genevan Reformation and the character and views of Calvin had added a third, about thirty years after the rise of Luther; a party which agreed with the Roman Catholics in acknowledging a church authority independent of the state, but differed from them as to the persons with whom such authority was entrusted; assigning it, not to the successors of the Apostles as such, but to a mixed council of Presbyters, lay and spiritual, holding their commission, not as an inward grace derived from our Lord by laying on of hands, but as an external prerogative, granted (so they thought) by positive enactment of holy scripture. The rapid progress of this system, wherever it was introduced at all under favourable circumstances, proves that it touched some chord in human nature which answered to it very readily: while the remarkable fact, that not one of the reformers besides ever elicited the same theory for himself, but that it is in all instances traceable to Calvin and Geneva, would seem to be very nearly decisive against its claim to scriptural authority. Its success is in fact neither more nor less than a signal example of the effect producible in a short time over the face of a whole church, by the deep, combined, systematic efforts of a few able and resolute men. For that their efforts were combined and systematic, not in Geneva and France only, but as far as ever they could extend the arms of their discipline, no one can doubt, who is at all acquainted with the published correspondence of Calvin first, and in the next generation, of Beza. Two such men following each other, and reigning each his time without a rival in their own section of Christendom, went far towards securing to their party that unity of proceeding, in which, as was just now remarked, Protestants generally were in that age very deficient. This has been remarked by Hooker himself, in the course of his unpublished memoranda above mentioned, where he proposes a comparison between Calvin and Beza[44]. "Hereby," says he, "we see what it is for any one church or "place of government to have two, one succeeding another, and both in their ways "excellent, although unlike. For Beza "was one whom no man *would* displease, "Calvin one whom no man *durst*." He goes on to specify some particulars of Calvin's influence: "His dependants both "abroad and at home; his intelligence "from foreign churches; his correspondence every where with the chiefest; his "industry in pursuing them which did at "any time openly either withstand his proceedings or gainsay his opinions; his writing but of three lines in disgrace of any "man as forcible as any proscription "throughout all reformed churches; his rescripts and answers of as great authority "as decretal epistles." Thus far Hooker, speaking of Calvin. And any one who will consult Strype's Annals will find incidentally very sufficient proof of the same kind of authoritative interference in English affairs on the part of Beza, throughout Queen Elizabeth's reign.

There were predisposing circumstances, which made England at that time a promising field for the efforts of the foreign presbyterians. Some of these are touched on by Hooker himself in his Preface, and by G. Cranmer in his Letter on the Discipline. It may be useful here to mention a few others, which could not be so clearly dis-

[44] See vol. i. p. 125 of this edition.

cerned, at least not discussed so freely, by contemporaries. First and most obviously, the unpopularity of the Romish party, through the cruelty of Queen Mary and her advisers, and their total disregard of English feelings and opinions. One very striking proof of the extent to which this prevailed is the publication of the well known pamphlets by Knox [45] and Goodman [46], in which, with a view to the case of England even rather than of Scotland, it was maintained that royal authority could not be vested in a female, and that, wherever vested, it might be forfeited, by maladministration, into the hands of the people. A person of the acuteness and vigilance of the Scottish reformer, (for with all his vehemence no one knew better how to take the tide of popular opinion,) a dexterous politician like Knox would never have ventured on such a step, without good grounds for supposing that the old feeling of hereditary loyalty was fast giving way before the gathering discontent. The same remark in some measure applies to Whittingham, who seems to have been as much as any one responsible for Goodman's book, to which he wrote a Preface. He was of a temper sufficiently cool and calculating, and not likely to commit himself in such a cause without good grounds for expecting it to be popular. And it is not perhaps easy to say how far their efforts might have succeeded, had not the failure of issue from Queen Mary, and her early demise, given a new turn to the opinions and movements of men. It would almost seem as if providentially the leaders of the Puritans had been led on to suffer these indications of their real views to escape them in good time, and so to give Elizabeth a warning, which all her life long cooperated with her natural disposition and theological opinions, in keeping her on her guard against them. But however the publications might be counteracted, the mere fact of their appearing shows to what an extent, in the judgment of competent observers, the English protestants of that day were disposed to acquiesce in whatever movement appeared to take them farthest from Rome.

Another feeling, which to the end of the century continued acting in the same direction, was sympathy with the foreign protestants; not the foreign protestants generally; for the Lutheran and Zuinglian sections of Germany and Switzerland were then in comparative peace, and presented little to excite much interest on the part of those who watched them at a distance. The struggle, the excitement, the suffering, and the ardour, were all in those countries where the reformation had taken its line in obedience to Geneva; in France, namely, and in the Netherlands. It is well known what sympathy was kindled in Elizabeth's court by the first news of the massacre of St. Bartholomew; which, it may be remarked, took place the very year when the English Puritans began to be more open and combined in their efforts, first in parliament for legalizing the discipline, and afterwards in their several districts, for establishing it without law. And Hooker's own works have many incidental marks of the great and increasing interest which was naturally felt here in the varying fortunes of the Hugonots. Of course it will be seen that such interest, as far as it had any bearing on the differences among protestants themselves, would strengthen most effectually the hands of that party, which had the perfectest agreement with the persecuted abroad, and seemed at first view most irreconcileable with the persecutors.

And as the fortunes of Genevan protestantism in France would secure for it that fellow-feeling here, which attaches itself to a band of confessors and sufferers for the truth, so its fortunes in Scotland would attract such as love to be on the winning side. We have it on very high authority, the authority of Dr. Thomas Jackson [47], that the first impulse towards puritanism in his neighbourhood, Newcastle, was given by Knox himself, acting in King Edward's time as a kind of missionary under the direction of the council. Afterwards, when the door had been opened to change in his own country, neither he nor his successors in the management of the Kirk ever lost sight of their kindred party in England. In Bancroft's Dangerous Positions may be found repeated assertions, and several instances, of the support which the Puritan agitators constantly received from that quarter: such as their procuring one Waldegrave, a printer devoted to their cause, to be king's printer in Edinburgh, in the minority of James VI. And it is known that Penry, the author of the Marprelate libels, when he was most active in that line, resorted to Scotland for refuge and cooperation. The course of the new reformation in short was notoriously such as Bancroft has expressed, quaintly but not unaptly, in the titles of his sections: first comes "Scottish Genevating," and then "English Scottizing, for Discipline."

In aid of all these feelings, after a while, came the resentment occasioned by the dethroning bull of pope Pius, which made it seem a matter of plain loyalty and patriotism, to secede from the Romish Church in every thing as completely as possible.

Accordingly, we find that not only in the

[45] "The first blast of the Trumpet against the "monstrous Regiment of Women." 1556 or 1557.

[46] "How Superior Powers ought to be obeyed." 1558.

[47] Works, iii. 273.

parliaments of Elizabeth, but also in her cabinet, at least for the first thirty years of her reign, there existed a very strong bias in behalf of the Puritan party. Not only such persons as Knolles and Mildmay, and others who were Calvinists and Low Churchmen on principle; nor again only such as Leicester, who may be suspected of looking chiefly to the spoils which any great church movement might place at his disposal: but even Burghley and Walsingham, it is well known, were continually finding themselves at issue with the Archbishop of the day concerning the degree of discouragement due to the reformers. So that as far as the government was concerned, nothing but the firmness of the Queen herself, supporting first Parker and afterwards Whitgift, prevented the adoption of the new model, at least in those parts of it which did not apparently and palpably intrude on royal authority. To our argument it does not much matter whether this tendency in such men as Burghley and Walsingham, were occasioned by any supposed necessity for conceding to popular opinion, or whether it were really the conscientious bias of their minds: but one symptom of the latter we may here observe, viz. that in their appointments when left to themselves, they evidently gave a preference to the Puritan side. Thus Walsingham having provided a divinity lecture at Oxford, with the sole declared view of resisting and discrediting Romanism, nominated Reynolds the first reader of his lecture: indeed it seems to have been endowed expressly for him. And Burghley employed as domestic chaplain and tutor to his children, Walter Travers, the well known antagonist of Hooker, and author of the book *de Ecclesiastica Disciplina*, not the least able and influential of the treatises which Geneva was continually pouring into this country.

Without investigating more deeply laid grounds of error, principles which must make the struggle with Puritanism at all times painful and arduous, even such a superficial view as has now been attempted may serve to give some idea of the amount of disadvantage under which they laboured, who had to conduct that controversy on the side of the existing Church down to the middle of Elizabeth's reign. There is hardly need to add express mention of the certainty under such circumstances, that whatever they said and did would be tainted with the name and suspicion of papistry; so easily affixed, and so hard to shake off, wherever men demur to the extreme of what are denominated protestant opinions.

Our argument now requires a brief account of the mode in which those who preceded Hooker had considered it best to meet the invasion from Geneva; confining attention still to the question, in whom church authority is properly vested: which question, as was remarked in the outset forms a kind of centre around which the other points of the controversy gradually came to arrange themselves. It is evident (speaking largely,) that there were but two ways of meeting the claim of the New Discipline: the one, the way of the early Church, of which the doctrine of papal supremacy is a perversion and excess: the other, the way which in modern times has been very generally denominated Erastian: though far indeed from being an invention of Erastus, since in every kingdom of Europe the Roman claims had been resisted on the like principles for centuries before he was born. The peculiarity of Erastus' teaching lay rather in his refusing all right of *excommunication* to the Christian Church. However, it has become usual to designate from him the theory in question, which would rest the government of the Church, spiritual as well as civil, altogether in the Christian magistrate: thus entirely denying the principle, on which the Genevan innovation proceeded; whereas the High Churchmen (as they were called) of a later age, would grant the principle, but deny the application: they would allow that a succession of governors exists in the Church, of apostolical authority, not to be superseded by man; but they would deny the claim of Geneva to that succession; maintaining, what undoubtedly *prima facie* church history would seem to teach, that the Bishops are the true heirs of the Apostles in their governing powers as well as in their power of order.

Now, since the episcopal succession had been so carefully retained in the Church of England, and so much anxiety evinced to render both her liturgy and ordination services strictly conformable to the rules and doctrines of antiquity, it might have been expected that the defenders of the English hierarchy against the first Puritans should take the highest ground, and challenge for the Bishops the same unreserved submission, on the same plea of exclusive apostolical prerogative, which their adversaries feared not to insist on for their elders and deacons. It is notorious, however, that such was not in general the line preferred by Jewel, Whitgift, Bishop Cooper, and others, to whom the management of that controversy was intrusted, during the early part of Elizabeth's reign. They do not expressly disavow, but they carefully shun, that unreserved appeal to Christian antiquity, in which one would have thought they must have discerned the very strength of their cause to lie. It is enough, with them, to shew that the government by archbishops and bishops is ancient and allowable; they never venture to urge its *exclusive* claim, or to connect the succes-

sion with the validity of the holy Sacraments: and yet it is obvious that such a course of argument alone (supposing it borne out by facts) could fully meet all the exigencies of the case. It must have occurred to the learned writers above-mentioned, since it was the received doctrine of the Church down to their days; and if they had disapproved it, as some theologians of no small renown have since done, it seems unlikely that they should have passed it over without some express avowal of dissent; considering that they always wrote with an eye to the pretensions of Rome also, which popular opinion had in a great degree mixed up with this doctrine of apostolical succession.

One obvious reason, and probably the chief one, of their silence, was the relation in which they stood to the foreign protestant congregations. The question had been mixed up with considerations of personal friendship, first by Cranmer's connection with the Lutherans, and after King Edward's death, by the residence of Jewel, Grindal, and others at Zurich, Strasburgh, and elsewhere, in congregations which had given up the apostolical succession. Thus feelings arose, which came, insensibly no doubt, but really and strongly, in aid of the prevailing notion that every thing was to be sacrificed to the paramount object of union among protestants.

To these theological sympathies with the German reformers must be added the effect of political sympathies with the imperialist party, and generally speaking with the advocates of civil interference in the Church in the several nations of Europe. Some who cared little for religion at all, and others who had no objections to the doctrines of Rome, had united nevertheless with the zealots of the new opinions in promoting changes which they considered necessary for the deliverance of their respective countries from priestly usurpation. In England, as in other countries, the leading protestant divines had availed themselves largely of the cooperation of these numerous and powerful parties: and had occasionally committed themselves to statements and principles, which would stand greatly in their way, if ever they found it requisite to assert the claims of apostolical episcopacy.

Add to this, what the papacy itself had done, and was daily doing, to weaken all notions of independent authority in Bishops: of which policy the full developement may be seen in the proceedings of the Italian party at Trent, and their efforts to obtain an express declaration from the council, that no prelate had any power in the Church, except what he received through the successors of St. Peter. So that on the one hand a large section of the reformers had a direct interest in making light of apostolical claims, and on the other, no inconsiderable portion of the opponents of innovation were prepared beforehand to concede this point. Indeed, when we consider the joint effect of all these interests, so various in themselves, yet concurring to disparage primitive episcopacy, the wonder will be, not that apostolical claims were not advanced to the full extent by the opponents of the Puritans in England, but rather that any thing like apostolical succession is left amongst us. It is indeed, throughout modern English history, a continually recurring theme of admiration and thankfulness.

Should it be asked how such accomplished divines, as Jewel and others of his class undoubtedly were, could permit themselves, for any present benefit to the Church, so to waver in so capital a point, with the full evidence of antiquity before their eyes; it may be replied, first of all, that in some sort, they wanted that full evidence with which later generations have been favored. The works of the Fathers had not yet been critically sifted, so that in regard of almost every one of them men were more or less embarrassed, during the whole of that age, with vague suspicions of interpolation. The effect of this is apparent in various degrees throughout the controversies of the time; but on no question would it be more felt than on this, of the apostolical succession and the frame of the visible Church: because that was a subject on which, more continually perhaps than on any other, temptations to forgery had arisen: and also because the remains of St. Ignatius in particular, for a single writer the most decisive of all who have borne witness to apostolical principles, were all that time under a cloud of doubt, which was providentially dispelled in the next age by the discovery of a copy unquestionably genuine. This consideration, as it accounts (among other things) for the little stress which Hooker seems to lay on quotations from St. Ignatius, to us most important and decisive: so it must in the nature of things have placed his predecessors, of whom we are now speaking, under a considerable disadvantage, as compared with the writers of the following century: and in all candor should be taken into account, on the one hand by those who would take advantage of the silence of the reformers to disparage the apostolical succession; on the other hand by the advocates of that doctrine, to prevent their judging too hardly of the reformers themselves for their comparative omission of it.

Further; it is obvious that those divines in particular, who had been instrumental but a little before in the second change of the liturgy in King Edward's time, must have felt themselves in some measure restrained from pressing with its entire

force the ecclesiastical tradition on church government and orders, inasmuch as in the aforesaid revision they had given up altogether the same tradition, regarding certain very material points in the celebration, if not in the doctrine, of the holy Eucharist. It is but fair to add, that the consideration last suggested, viz. indefinite fear of interpolation in the early liturgies, may have told with equal or more force in justifying to their minds the omissions in question. This subject also since their time has been happily and satisfactorily cleared up [48]. But whether it were this, or extreme jealousy of practices which had been made occasions of abuse, or whatever the cause might be, the fact is unquestionable, that certain services had been abandoned, which according to the constant witness of the remains of antiquity had constituted an important portion of the Christian ritual: e. g. the solemn offering of the elements before consecration for the living and the dead, with commemoration of the latter, in certain cases, by name. It should seem that those who were responsible for these omissions must have felt themselves precluded, ever after, from urging the necessity of Episcopacy, or of any thing else, on the ground of uniform Church Tradition. Succeeding generations obviously need not experience the same embarrassment to the same extent: since they have only to answer for bearing with the innovation, not for introducing it.

To all these causes of hesitation we must add the direct influence of the Court, which of course on this as on all similar occasions would come strongly in aid of the Erastian principle. It is well known to what an extent prudential regards of this kind were carried by the several generations of the Anglican Reformers.

On the whole, (and the remark is made without any disrespectful thought towards them,) it was very natural for them to waive, as far as they did, the claim of exclusive divine authority in their defences of episcopal rights; nor ought their having done so to create any prejudice, in such as deservedly hold them in respect, against that claim itself.

Lest it should be imagined that we are here conceding more than we really mean to concede regarding the views of the writers in question, two propositions are subjoined, comprising the substance of the argument by which they resisted the demands of the Puritans.

1. The whole Church, being naturally the subject in which all ecclesiastical power resides, may have had originally the right of determining how it would be governed.

2. Inasmuch as the Church did determine from very early times to be governed by Bishops, it cannot be right to swerve from that government, in any country where the same may be maintained, consistently with soundness of doctrine, and the rights of the chief magistrate, being Christian.

This statement, of Whitgift's opinions in particular, it were easy to verify by extracts from his Defence against Cartwright. His object was, evidently, to maintain the episcopal system, i. e. the government of the Church by three orders, without at all entering on the matter of apostolical succession. Natural reason, and Church history, spoke, he thought, plainly enough. There was no occasion to settle the question, whether the character granted by our Lord to the Twelve, was granted to them and the whole Church, or to them and the heirs for ever of their spiritual power, set apart by laying on of their hands.

Practically, perhaps, and in reason, even such a mode of arguing ought to have prevailed against the arrogant innovations which it was intended to meet. But being as it was far from the whole truth, (was it ever stated as such by those who advanced it?) it could not either correspond to the standard, which those would naturally form to themselves who looked much to Christian antiquity; or satisfy those feelings and expectations in mankind generally, which the true church system was graciously intended to supply. Cartwright therefore, inconclusive as his reasoning was, and unsubstantial his learning, appeared to maintain his ground against Whitgift. About the same time the death of Archbishop Parker made room for Grindal in the metropolitical see; whose connivance at the conduct of the Puritans is well known, and generally alleged as not the least of the causes which contributed to the increase of their influence. When the Queen interfered to repress them, and chastise him, it was in such a manner as to give the whole an air chiefly of political precaution, and to encourage the idea that the defenders of the Church were in fact identifying her almost entirely with the state. About this juncture came out Travers' famous Book of Discipline; very much superior to Cartwright's publications in eloquence and the skill of composition, though not at all more satisfactory in argument. Altogether the current was setting strongly in favour of the innovators, up to the time when Whitgift became Archbishop. Acute and indefatigable as he was in his efforts to produce a reaction, not only by his official edicts and remonstrances, but by his disposal of preferment also, and the literary labours which he encouraged, there was no one step of his to be compared in wisdom and effect with his patronage of Hooker, and the help which

[48] See Palmer's Origines Liturgicæ.

he provided towards the completion of his undertaking. It is true that in the course of the ten years which preceded that publication many things happened which had the same tendency. Abundant experiment was made elsewhere of the mischief occasioned by extreme protestant principles: and at home, the Marprelate libels and Hacket's conspiracy had disgusted all reflecting and conscientious men. A new generation had arisen both in Oxford and Cambridge, which by the comparative tranquillity of the times enjoyed more leisure from pressing disputes, and had a better chance of considering all points thoroughly, than any one could have during the hurry of the Reformation. And (what was most important of all) the feverish and exclusive dread of Romanism, which had for a long time so occupied all men's thoughts as to leave hardly any room for precautions in any other direction, was greatly abated by several intervening events. First, the execution of Queen Mary, though at the cost of a great national crime, had removed the chief hope of the Romanist party in England; and had made it necessary for those, who were pledged at all events to the violent proceedings of that side, to disgust all British feeling by transferring their allegiance to the king of Spain. And when, two years afterwards, his grand effort had been made, and had failed so entirely as to extinguish all present hope of the restoration of Popery in England; it is remarkable how immediately the effect of that failure is discernible in the conduct of the church controversy with the Puritans. The Armada was destroyed in July. In the February following was preached and published the famous Sermon of Bancroft at St. Paul's Cross, on the duty of trying the spirits; which sermon has often been complained of by Puritans and Erastians as the first express developement of high church principles here. It may have been the first published: but there is internal evidence of the same views having existed long before, in some of the Treatises which appeared successively on that side of the question during the four or five subsequent years.

For example, Saravia in his three Tractates gives proof that the sentiments complained of in Bancroft's sermon had been long familiar to him, and that their being unacceptable to his countrymen abroad was one chief reason of his finally establishing himself in England [49]. Now Saravia's judgment of the divine right of Bishops was such as is expressed in the following passages; a few out of many which occur in his first treatise. The title of that treatise is, "concerning the various degrees "of Ministers of the Gospel, *as they were* "*instituted by the Lord, and delivered on by* "*the Apostles*, and confirmed by *constant* "use of *all* Churches." In his dedication, after exposing the error of those who would make church goods public property, he mentions as one thing which tended to encourage that error, the notion that the superiority of Bishops over Presbyters was not of any divine institution: and adds, "Our fathers and all the old theologians be-"lieved that the controuling prudence of "one man was *divinely* appointed in the "church of each city or province, for avoid-"ing schism and repressing the rashness of "the many." Thirdly, and especially, in his address to the Reader he speaks thus

"judicavi, quæ a me pie dissimulari non pos-"sunt: nempe honorem et convenientem dig-"nitatus gradum ministerio, evangelio jam au-"thoritate publica recepto, non dari; deinde opes "in societate civili æstimationi retinendæ necessa-"rias negari." Afterwards, "De his malis non "raro conquestus sum apud eos quibuscum famil-"iaris eram ... Tandem mei officii esse judicavi, "quæ exactius consideranda tum ipsis ecclesiarum "ministris, tum imprimis ordinibus Belgicis propo-"nere aliquanda cogitaveram, nunc his tribus lib-"ris Latino sermone vulgare." In his address to the Ministers of Lower Germany he begins thus: "Non raro cum plerisque vestrum, cum Leidæ "agerem, deploravi ecclesiarum quæ istic sunt "statum," &c. And below, "Constitueram, si "apud vos mansissem, super hac re Dominos Sta-"tus convenire ... Sed meum consilium primo "mors Dom. Principis Aurantiæ remorata est "deinde Dom. Comitis Leicestriæ gratia, ne id "facere viderer aut alieno tempore, in summa "consternatione reip. aut fretus favore et consilio "Dom. Comitis." And again, "Apud meos fra-"tres et collegas, et nonnullos ex magistratu urbis "Gandavi, meam sententiam dissimulare non "potui. Sed fateor me non ita libere fuisse locu-"tum, ut in hac disputatione facturus sum; vere-"bar enim ne nuper ad Christi fidem conversos "offenderem."

From all which it appears that Saravia held in substance the opinion of these treatises, (and among the rest the doctrine of Apostolical Succession exclusively in Bishops,) since the year 1564, when he lived at Ghent; retained those opinions in Jersey, where he went before 1566; and was confirmed in them in England both before and after his residence for ten years in Holland, which ten years must have ended before 1587, when Leicester finally returned from the Low Countries. The substance therefore of his work was long anterior to Bancroft's Sermon, although it did not appear till more than a twelvemonth after. Its publication at that particular time in England may be regarded as another symptom of the alteration in tone concerning such matters occasioned by the destruction of the Armada.

[49] In his first Treatise, (1590,) Preface to the Reader, he says, "Sæpius his 26 annis, quid sen-"tirem de episcoporum ordine, in familiari collo-"quio, amicis exposui.' In his Dedication, (to Whitgift, Hatton, and Burghley,) "Ego ab ec-"clesiis Belgicis hinc evocatus, illic vixi diversis "in locis totos decem annos, quo tempore duo "quædam maximi momenti illis ecclesiis deesse

fully to the point: "There are some" (the Erastians) "who think that all controul "of manners is to be left entirely to the "civil magistrate, and confine the ministry "of the Gospel to bare preaching of the "word of God and administering the Sa-"craments; which being impossible to be "made out by the word of God or by any "example of the Fathers, I wonder that "such a thought could ever enter into the "mind of a theologian. Others there are "who assign the power of church censures "to Bishops and to Presbyters who are "both called and really are such, with that "authority which God gave to the Apos-"tles and to those who after them should "be Bishops of the Church. The third sort "are those who rejecting the order of Bish-"ops, join to the pastors elders chosen for "a time, to whom they commit the whole "government of the churches and disci-"pline ecclesiastical." Then he proceeds to enumerate the forms of civil polity, and adds, "To no nation did God ever ap-"point any certain and perpetual form of "government, which it should be unlawful "to alter according to place and times. "*But of this government whereof we are* "*now discoursing the case is different; for* "*since it came immediately from God, men* "*cannot alter it at their own free will.* Nor "is there any occasion to do so. For "God's wisdom hath so tempered this pol-"ity, that it opposes itself to no form of "civil government. Bishops I consider to "be necessary to the Church, and that dis-"cipline and government of the Church to "be the best, and *divine*, which religious "Bishops, with Presbyters truly so called, "administer by the rule of God's word and "ancient councils."

Saravia, then, is a distinct and independent testimony to the doctrine of exclusive divine right in Bishops. He had worked it out, as appears, for himself; he had made material sacrifices for its sake; and he seized the first opportunity of making it public allowed him by the caution of the English government, hitherto so scrupulously sensitive in behalf of the foreign reformers. And since Saravia was afterwards in familiar intercourse with Hooker, and his confidential adviser when writing on nearly the same subjects, we may with reason use the recorded opinions of the one for interpreting what might seem otherwise ambiguous in the other.

The same year and the year following (1591,) Matthew Sutcliffe, afterwards Dean of Exeter, an acute and amusing but not always very scrupulous controversialist, published several treatises against the Puritan discipline; the tone of which may be judged of by the following complaint of Penry; (Petition to the Queen, 1590 or 1591.) "Mat. Sutcliffe hath openly in Lat-"in defaced foreign churches, of whom D. "Whitgift and others have always written "honourably. Whereby it is likely there "will arise as dangerous troubles to the "churches about discipline as hath grown "by the question of consubstantiation." He probably alludes to the Tract "De Pres-"byterio," in which Sutcliffe had handled the subject of lay elders with small veneration for the French and Genevan arrangements.

Next to Sutcliffe in order of time comes an anonymous Latin treatise, entitled "Querimonia Ecclesiæ;" a work more particularly to be noticed here, because it should seem from a passage in the Christian Letter, that Hooker himself was at that time suspected of having some concern in it. The passage in the Letter occurs in p. 44. "We beseech you therefore in the "name of Jesus Christ, and as you will an-"swer for the use of those great gifts which "God hath bestowed upon you, that you "would return and peruse advisedly all your "five books, compare them with the arti-"cles of our profession set out by public "authority, and with the works apolo-"getical and other authorized sermons "and homilies of our Church, and of the "reverend Fathers of our land, and with "the holy Book of God, and all other the "Queen's Majesty's proceedings, and then "read and examine with an indifferent and "equall mind a book set out in Latin, call-"ed *Querimonia Ecclesiæ*, and another in "English late come abroad, speaking of "Scotizing and Genevating, and Allobro-"gical discipline: . . and tell us . . . wheth-"er the reverend Fathers of our Church "would not give sentence . . . that by those "three writings the Church of England and "all other Christian churches are undermi-"ned." Hooker's reply to this challenge (which has been given above, p. x.) consists in a similar challenge to his adversary to give his opinion of three Calvinistic works, in two of which the royal supremacy in religion, and in the third the very principle of irresponsible authority in Kings, had been expressly controverted. He does not, it will be observed, at all disavow the connection, or at least the strong sympathy, which had been hinted at as subsisting between him and the author of the "Que-"rimonia Ecclesiæ." That tract, it may be worth remarking, was printed by Windet, the person whom Hooker himself employed for both portions of the Ecclesiastical Polity, and Saravia for the first edition of his three treatises; which Windet in all probability was the same who appears in the pedigree of the Hooker family as the eldest son of an aunt of Hooker's. Be that as it may, the coincidence between the views of Hooker and those of the anonymous pamphlet is very striking on many topics, while

on others there is quite variation enough to prove the two testimonies independent of each other.

Now on the point of church government, "Querimonia" is, if any difference, even more express than Hooker in insisting on the divine origin and indispensable necessity of the episcopal order. The writer (speaking, as throughout, in the person of "Ecclesia") enumerates the want of discipline as the second of four grave defects, by which, he says, our western reformation has been generally blemished; the first being, disparagement of the fasts of the Church. His language concerning episcopacy, and those who had so irreverently dispensed with it, is such as the following (speaking of Aerius and his followers ancient and modern): "Optimæ illi disciplinæ "reciderunt nervos, qui . . . eam, quæ sæpe "mihi salutem attulit, episcopalem aucto-"ritatem improbe violarunt." Again, referring as it seems to an expression of Beza, which had obtained great currency; "Aerius . . . presbyterum episcopo digni-"tate adæquandum censuit: episcopatum "nostri *a Diabolo institutum* contendunt." In the sketch which he draws of the fallen state of the church in all parts of Christendom, when he comes to the protestants, he says, "Ita episcoporum ambitionem repre-"hendunt, ut episcopalem interdum ordinem "repugnent; ita superstitionem condem-"nant, ut permulta simul religionis tollant "ornamenta." When he comes to particular countries, it is remarkable that he says not a word of Scotland. In p. 81, he affirms, "Princeps ille noster Christus, etiamsi non "omnes disciplinæ partes præscripsit, com-"munes tamen proposuit regulas, quas in re-"genda Ecclesia semper intueri oportet." In p. 83, he gives specimens of things "quæ "tota observat Dei Ecclesia, et instituta "sunt ab Apostolis vel apostolicis viris, et "perpetuo prosunt Christianæ societati:" which therefore "religiose ubique retinenda "judico;" and his examples are, Lent; the holidays of our Saviour; different offices in the Church, and degrees in the ministry, including not only diocesan Bishops, but Archbishops, Primates or Metropolitans, and Patriarchs. Here then is another strong instance of the alteration in tone on which we are remarking: and the writer, whoever he might be, was no common person; as will further appear when reference is made to him, for illustration of Hooker's opinions on other matters, some of them even more important than this of episcopacy.

The last writer now to be mentioned is one whose work came out in the very same year with the first part of Hooker's, 1593-4: Bilson, then Warden, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, author of the "Perpetual Gov-"ernment of Christ's Church:" a more elaborate and complete work than either of the former, full of good learning and sound argument, regularly arranged and clearly expressed. He, it may be observed, makes in his Preface an acknowledgment similar to that which will be presently quoted from Hooker himself: "the credit of the first devisers" of the new discipline "did some-"what deceive me." His principles of church government are such as follows: "The "power of the keys was first settled in the "Apostles before it was delivered unto the "Church; *and the Church received it from* "*the Apostles, not the Apostles from the* "*Church;*" p. 104. And p. 106. "The "authority of their first calling liveth yet "in their succession, and time and travel "joined with God's graces bring pastors at "this present to perfection; yet the Apos-"tles' charge to teach, baptize, and admin-"ister the Lord's Supper, to bind and loose "sins in heaven and in earth, to impose "hands for the ordaining of pastors and el-"ders: these parts of the apostolic function "are not decayed, and cannot be wanted in "the Church of God. *There must either be* "*no Church, or else these must remain; for* "*without these no Church can continue.*" And, p. 107. "As the things be needful in "the Church, so the persons to whom they "were first committed cannot be doubt-"ed . . . The service must endure as long as "the promise; to the end of the world . . . "Christ is present with those who succeed "his Apostles in the same function and "ministry for ever." And, p. 244. "Things "proper to Bishops, that might not be com-"mon to them with presbyters, were singu-"larity in succeeding, and superiority in "ordaining." 247. "The singularity of one "pastor in each place descended from the "Apostles and their scholars in all famous "churches in the world by a perpetual chair "of succession, and doth to this day con-"tinue, but where abomination or desola-"tion, I mean knavery or violence, interrupt "it." From p. 108 to p. 112 is a course of direct reasoning to the same purpose.

It were easy to multiply quotations: but enough perhaps has been advanced to justify the assertion, that while Hooker was engaged on his great work, a new school of writers on church subjects had begun to shew itself in England: men had been gradually unlearning some of those opinions which intimacy with foreign Protestants had tended to foster, and had adopted a tone and way of thinking more like that of the early Church. The change in the political situation of the country gave them opportunity and encouragement to develope and inculcate their amended views. At such a time, the appearance in the field of a champion like Hooker on their side must have been worth every thing to the defenders of Apostolical order: and that he was

then considered as taking the field on their side is clear from the manner in which, as we have seen, he was attacked, and from the names with which his was associated, by the Puritans. In later times, a different construction has very generally been put on his writings, and he has commonly been cited by that class of writers who concede least to church authority, as expressly sanctioning their loose and irreverend notions. And yet he has distinctly laid down, and adopted as his own, both the principles and the conclusion of the stricter system of antiquity. The principles, where he asks so emphatically, "What angel in heaven could "have said to man, as our Lord did unto "Peter, 'Feed my sheep; preach; baptize; "do this in remembrance of me; whose "sins ye retain, they are retained, and their "offences in heaven pardoned whose faults "you shall on earth forgive?' What think "we? Are these terrestrial sounds, or else "are they voices uttered out of the clouds "above? The power of the ministry of "God translateth out of darkness into glo-"ry; it raiseth men from the earth, and "bringeth God himself down from heaven; "by blessing visible elements it maketh "them invisible grace; it giveth daily the "Holy Ghost; it hath to dispose of that "flesh which was given for the life of the "world, and that blood which was poured "out to redeem souls; when it poureth mal-"ediction upon the heads of the wicked, "they perish, when it revoketh the same, "they revive. O wretched blindness, if "we admire not so great power; more "wretched if we consider it aright, and "notwithstanding imagine that any but "God can bestow it[50]!" Can we help wondering, that the author of these sentiments should be generally reckoned among those, who account the ministry a mere human ordinance? Again, it is certain from Hooker's own express statement, that the ministry of whom he entertained these exalted ideas was from the beginning an episcopal ministry. "Let us not," he says, "fear to be herein bold and peremptory, "that if any thing in the Church's govern-"ment, surely the first institution of Bish-"ops was from heaven, was even of God; "the Holy Ghost was the author of it." Nay, he has marked his opinion yet more forcibly, by stating elsewhere, that he had not thought thus always[51]. "I myself did "sometimes judge it a great deal more "probable than now I do, merely that af-"ter the Apostles were deceased, churches "did agree amongst themselves for preser-"vation of peace and order, to make one "presbyter in each city chief over the rest, "and to translate unto him that power by "force and virtue whereof the Apostles... "did preserve and uphold order in the "Church." This he calls "that other con-"jecture which so many have thought good "to follow," whereas, "the general receiv-"ed persuasion held from the first begin-"ning was, that the Apostles themselves "left bishops invested with power above "other pastors."

There is something very significant in the list of authorities, from whose opinion or conjecture of the equality of bishops and presbyters he here specifies his own dissent. They are first the Waldenses; then Marsilius the jurist of Padua, an extreme partizan of the imperial cause against Rome: then Wickliffe, Calvin, Bullinger, (as representing the Zuinglians,) Jewel, who had tolerated, and Fulke who had maintained, the presbyterian principle in their controversies with the Romanists. By Hooker's distinctly specifying all these authorities, every one of whom stands, as it were, for a class or school, and putting on record his dissent from them, all and each, it should seem as if he were anxious to disengage himself openly from servile adherence to any school or section of Protestants, and to claim a right of conforming his judgment to that of the primitive or Catholic Church, with whomsoever amongst moderns he might be brought into agreement or disagreement.

The passages above cited are such as cannot well be explained away: and if (as many will be ready to assert) they are expressly or virtually contradicted by other passages of the same author, the utmost effect of such contradiction must be to neutralize him in this controversy, and make him unfit to be quoted on the either side. But is it so certain, that his reasonings and assertions elsewhere are at variance with these unequivocal declarations? Appeal would probably be made, first of all, to the line which he has adopted in his second and third books: whereof the second is taken up with sifting that main principle of the Puritans, that nothing should be done without command of Scripture; the third, in refuting the expectation, grounded on that principle, that in Scripture there must of necessity be found some certain form of ecclesiastical polity, the laws whereof admit not any kind of alteration. But it may be replied, that all his reasonings in that part of the treatise relate to the *a priori* question, whether, antecedently to our knowledge of the fact, it were necessary that Scripture (as a perfect rule of faith) should of purpose prescribe any one particular form of church government. The other question, of history and interpretation, how far such a form *is* virtually prescribed in the New Testament, he touches there only in passing, not however without very significant hints which way his

[50] E. P. V. lxxvii. 1.
[51] E. P. VII. xi. 8.

opinion leaned [52]. "Those things," says he, "which are of principal weight in the "very particular form of church polity (al- "though not that form which they imagine, "but that which we against them uphold) "are in the Scriptures contained." And again, "If we did seek to maintain that "which most advantageth our own cause, "the very best way for us, and the strong- "est against them, were to hold even as "they do, that there must needs be found "in Scripture some particular form of church "polity which God hath instituted, and "which for that very cause belongeth to all "churches, to all times. But with any "such partial eye to respect ourselves, and "by cunning to make those things seem the "truest which are the fittest to serve our "purpose, is a thing which we neither like "nor mean to follow. Wherefore that "which we take to be generally true con- "cerning the mutability of laws, the same "we have plainly delivered." This passage is perhaps one of the strongest which the adversaries of ancient church order could adduce in support of their interpretation of Hooker. But what does it amount to? Surely to this, and no more: that he waives in behalf of the episcopal succession the mode of reasoning from antecedent necessity, on which the Puritans relied so confidently in behalf of their pastors, elders and deacons. Here, as in all other cases, he recommends the safe and reverential course of inquiring what the New Testament, as interpreted by natural reason and church history, contains, rather than determining beforehand what in reason it ought to contain. But even in this place he not obscurely implies, and in other parts of the same dissertation he expressly affirms, that the result of such reverential inquiry into the meaning of God's later revelation would be in favour of the episcopal claims [53]. "Forasmuch as where "the clergy are any great multitude, order "doth necessarily require that by degrees "they be distinguished; we hold there have "ever been and ever ought to be in such "case at leastwise two sorts of ecclesiastical "persons, the one subordinate unto the oth- "er; as to the Apostles in the beginning, "and to the Bishops always since, we find "plainly, both in Scripture and in all eccle- "siastical records, other ministers of the "word and sacraments have been... So as "the form of polity by them set down for "perpetuity is.... faulty in omitting some "things which in Scripture are of that na- "ture; as namely the difference that ought "to be of pastors, when they grow to any "great multitude." His manner of speaking of the foreign protestants tallies exactly with this view [54]. "For mine own part, al- "though I see that certain reformed church- "es, the Scottish especially and the French, "have not that which best agreeth with "the sacred Scripture, I mean the govern- "ment that is by bishops,... this their de- "fect and imperfection I had rather lament "in such case than exagitate, considering "that men oftentimes, without any fault of "their own, may be driven to want that "kind of polity or regiment which is best." There is nothing here to indicate indifference in Hooker with regard to the apostolical succession: there is much to shew how unwilling he was harshly to condemn irregularities committed under the supposed pressure of extreme necessity.

On the whole, it should seem that where he speaks so largely of the mutability of church laws, government, and discipline, he was not so much thinking of what may be called the constitution and platform of the Church herself, as of the detail of her legislation and ceremonies: although it has become somewhat hard for a modern reader to enter into this construction of his argument, because the notion which he had to combat, of every the minutest part of discipline being of necessity contained in Scripture, has now comparatively become obsolete; whereas the episcopalian controversy is as rife as ever. We are therefore unavoidably apt to survey with an eye to that controversy portions of his argument, in which, if we were better acquainted with the notions of the first Puritans, we might perceive that he was not thinking at all about it. If we take this observation along with us, and weigh well the amount of the statements above quoted on the episcopal side, we shall not perhaps hesitate to set down Hooker as belonging to the same school in ecclesiastical opinions with Bilson and the author of the "Querimonia:" and for those times undoubtedly the weightiest, although not perhaps the most open and uncompromising advocate of their views: the substance of those views being, that episcopacy grounded on apostolical succession was of supernatural origin and divine authority, whatever else was right or wrong.

If moreover we would fully estimate the value of Hooker's testimony in particular to the divine right of Bishops, we must add the following considerations. First, that such opinions were contrary to those in which he had been brought up. For his uncle, who had the entire superintendance of his education, was an intimate friend of Peter Martyr, and as his remains shew, likely in all questions to take that side which appeared most opposite to Romish tradition. And of his tutor, Reynolds, we have already spoken; he was a leader in the Puritan cause, and no doubt did his very best to leaven such a mind as Hooker's—a mind naturally full of affectionate

[52] E. P. III. x. 8.
[53] E. P. III. xi. 18.
[54] E. P. III. xi. 14.

docility, with Genevan notions in preference to those of antiquity. On this particular point, the exclusive divine right of episcopacy, there are extant letters and remonstrances from Reynold's, occasioned by the preaching of Bancroft's sermon above mentioned, sufficient by themselves to shew how deeply he was imbued with doctrines most abhorrent from those of his great pupil.

Secondly, that may be remarked here, which must be remembered throughout in reading Hooker by those who would weigh and measure his expressions truly; viz. that whatever he wrote was more or less modified, in the wording of it if not in the substance, by his resolution to make the best of things as they were, and in any case to censure as rarely and as tenderly as possible what he found established by authority.

These two feelings will account in some good measure for the admission in the seventh book[55], an admission which, after all we have seen, may appear somewhat anomalous; that "there may be sometimes "very just and sufficient reason to allow "ordination without a bishop." The excepted cases, according to Hooker, are two: first that of a supernatural call, on which little needs now to be said, although some of the leading foreign reformers, Beza for one, were content to have it urged on their behalf; thereby, as it may seem, silently owning an instinctive mistrust about the reality of their commission. The other "extraordinary kind of vocation is, when "the exigence of necessity doth constrain "to leave the usual ways of the Church, "which otherwise we would willingly keep: "where the Church must needs have some "ordained, and neither hath nor can have "possibly a bishop to ordain; in case of "such necessity the ordinary institution of "God hath given oftentimes and may give "place." Here, that we may not overstrain the author's meaning, we must observe first with what exact conditions of *extreme* necessity, *unwilling* deviation, *impossibility* of procuring a bishop to ordain, he has limited his concession. In the next place, it is very manifest that the concession itself was inserted to meet the case of the foreign Protestants, not gathered by exercise of independent judgment from the nature of the case or the witness of antiquity. Thirdly, this was one of the instances in which unquestionably Hooker might feel himself biassed by his respect for existing authority. For nearly up to the time when he wrote, numbers had been admitted to the ministry of the Church in England, with no better than Presbyterian ordination: and it appears by Travers's Supplication to the Council, that such was the construction not uncommonly put upon the statute of the 13th of Elizabeth, permitting those who had received orders in any other form than that of the English Service Book, on giving certain securities, to exercise their calling in England. If it were really the intention of that act to authorize other than episcopal ordination, it is but one proof more of the low accommodating notions concerning the Church which then prevailed; and may serve to heighten our sense of the imminent risk which we were in of losing the Succession. But however, the apparent decision of the case by high authority in church and state may account for Hooker's going rather out of his way, to signify that he did not mean to dispute that authority.

At the same time it is undeniable, that here and in many other passages we may discern a marked distinction between that which now perhaps we may venture to call the school of Hooker, and that of Laud, Hammond, and Leslie, in the two next generations. He, as well as they, regarded the order of Bishops as being immediately and properly of Divine right; he as well as they laid down principles, which strictly followed up would make this claim exclusive. But he, in common with most of his contemporaries, shrunk from the legitimate result of his own premises, the rather, as the fulness of apostolical authority on this point had never come within his cognizance; whereas the next generation of divines entered on the subject, as was before observed, fresh from the discovery of the genuine remains of St. Ignatius. He did not feel at liberty to press unreservedly, and develope in all its consequences, that part of the argument, which they, taught by the primitive Church, regarded as the most vital and decisive: the necessity, namely, of the apostolical commission to the derivation of sacramental grace, and to our mystical communion with Christ. Yet on the whole, considering his education and circumstances, the testimony which he bears to the bolder and completer view of the divines of the seventeenth century is most satisfactory. Their principles, as we have seen, he lays down very emphatically; and if he does not exactly come up to their conclusion, the difference may be accounted for, without supposing any fundamental variance of judgment. It seems to have been ordered that in this, as in some other instances, his part should be "serere arbores, quæ alteri sæculo prosint." His language was to be φωνᾶντα συνέτοισιν, more than met the ear of the mere ordinary listener, yet clear enough to attract the attention of the considerate; and this, it will be perceived, was just what the age required.

As to the relation of the ecclesiastical to

[55] Chap. xiv. 11.

the civil power: the proposition that the whole body of the Church is properly the subject in which power resides, is repeatedly acknowledged, *in terminis*, by Hooker himself[56]: as indeed it was the received doctrine of all protestants in his time, and also of that numerous section of Romanists, which maintained the prerogative of councils as against the Pope. It seems to have been borrowed by analogy from the Roman law, of which the fundamental proposition is[57] "Quod principi placuit, legis habet "vigorem: utpote cum lege regia quæ de "imperio ejus lata est, populus ei et in eum "omne suum imperium et potestatem con-"ferat." Those who are familiar with the reasoning of Hooker on the origin of civil government, in the first and eighth books, will at once recognise the elements of that reasoning in those few words of Justinian. A remarkable fact, that the liberal politics of modern days should delight to base themselves on the very same tenet, which was the corner stone of the Cæsarean despotism of old. By Hooker, however, it was so completely assumed as an axiomatic principle of all government, that he transferred it without scruple to ecclesiastical legislation, and as long as he could have the benefit of it in support of the system which he wished to uphold, was little anxious to dwell even on the apostolical charter, which he has himself elsewhere asserted in behalf of that system. As therefore in respect of kingly power he sufficiently secured existing authority by calling it, once conferred, irrevocable, although it were at first a trust from the body of the people, so in respect of the episcopal power it ought, by his rule, to make practically, little difference, whether it were appointed by Christ Himself to certain persons, or whether[58] "they from the "Church do receive the power which "Christ did institute in the Church, accord-"ing to such laws and canons as Christ "hath prescribed, and the light of nature "or scripture taught men to institute." In either case, whatever other portions of the Church system might continue voluntary, this part of it, the hereditary monarchy of the Apostles' successors, ought on Hooker's principles to be accounted indefeasible, where it could be had. As far as regards their power of order, he allows, nay strongly enforces this; but when he comes to their power of dominion, feeling himself embarrassed by the received notion of the supremacy, he changes his ground, and recurs to the prime theory of government; according to which, the Christian state being one with the Church, and the sovereign by irrevocable cession the representative of the whole state, the same sovereign must necessarily, in the last resort, represent the whole Church also, and overrule even the Apostles' successors as well in legislation and jurisdiction as in nomination to offices.

It is true, that in these large concessions to the civil power, Hooker always implies, not only that those who exercise it are Christians, but also that they are sound and orthodox churchmen, in complete communion with the Church which they claim to govern. Where that condition fails, on his own principles the identity or union of Church and state is at an end; and the Church, as a distinct body, is free without breach of loyalty to elect officers, make laws, and decide causes for herself, no reference at all being had to the civil power.

It were beyond the scope of this Preface to inquire, whether this limitation amount, even in theory, to a real safeguard; since all questions relating to the churchmanship of the sovereign are by the supposition in every case to be ultimately decided by the same sovereign himself: or, again, practically, whether it have not terminated in rendering the Church throughout protestant Europe too much a slave of the civil power: neither is this the place to dwell on the grave reflection which naturally arises, how dangerous it is trusting in human theories, where God has so plainly spoken out by the voice of His ancient Church; nor to expatiate on the peril in which the very power of order in bishops is involved, as soon as their inherent powers of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and dominion are surrendered: both resting, to so great an extent, on the same Scriptures and the same precedents. But it may be allowable just to point out one fallacious proposition, which seems to have had a great share in making such a reasoner as Hooker thus inconsistent with himself and with antiquity. It is simply this, the notion which his reasoning, and all Erastian reasoning, implies, that *coordinate authorities are incompatible*; that the sovereign is not a sovereign, if the Church is independent. Surely this is as untenable, as if one denied the sovereignty of the king under the old constitution of England, because the houses of lords and commons had certain indefeasible privileges, independent of him. If *their* veto, for example, on acts of *civil* legislation did not impeach the king's temporal sovereignty, why should *the Church's* veto impeach the same sovereignty, in case a way could be found of giving her a power over any proposed act of *ecclesiastical* legislation? Hooker himself supplies, obviously enough, this correction of his own argument, where he reasons concerning civil power, that it must be limited before it be given; and concerning ec-

[56] E. P. VIII. vi. 1.
[57] Dig. i. iv. 1. quoted by Hooker, E. P. VIII. 6.
[58] E. P. VIII. vi. 3.

clesiastical, that though it reside in the sovereign as the delegate of the whole Church, yet it must always be exercised "according to such laws and canons as "Christ hath prescribed, and the light of "Nature or Scripture taught men to insti-"tute."

Thus much on the point of church government, the immediate matter of controversy between Hooker and the Puritans. But there is cause to regard his appearance in the Church as most timely on other grounds, some of them yet higher and more sacred. Beginning as he did, from a point not far short of what may be truly called extreme protestantism, he seems to have been gradually impressed with the necessity of recurring in some instances to more definite, in others to higher views, to modes of thinking altogether more primitive, than were generally entertained by the Protestants of that age. Circumstances (fully related in his life) having determined him to undertake his large treatise, and the character of his mind and studies having determined him to lay the foundation deep, and begin far back, he found there, as he went on, opportunities of inculcating his gradually improving views (the more effectually perhaps because not obtrusively) concerning one after another of almost all the great controversies. This may be the true account of many dissertations, or parts of dissertations, which might otherwise appear to be introduced on insufficient grounds. From time to time he lays hold of occasions for establishing rules, and pointing to considerations by which the mind of the reformed church might be steadied against certain dangerous errors, which the opinions of some early reformers, too hastily adopted or carried too far, were sure to produce or encourage. At the same time he desired to shew Roman catholics (for whose case especially we may constantly discern him providing with charitable and anxious care) that there might be something definite and primitive in a system of church polity, though it disavowed the kind of unity on which they are taught exclusively to depend.

Of these collateral subjects, the first to be mentioned on all accounts is the Catholic doctrine concerning the Most Holy Trinity. Hooker saw with grief and horror what had taken place in Geneva, Poland, and elsewhere: how crude notions of the right of private judgment, and of the sufficiency, to each man, of his own interpretations of Scripture, had ended in the revival of the worst and wildest blasphemies. He saw in the writings of that reformer especially, whose influence was greatest in this and the neighbouring countries, he saw in Calvin a disposition to treat irreverently, not only the Creeds, the sacred guards provided by the Church for Christian truth, but also that holiest Truth itself, in some of its articles[57]. He knew who had called the Nicene Creed "frigida cantilena;" had treated the doctrine expressed in the words, "GOD OF "GOD, LIGHT OF LIGHT," as a mere dream of Platonizing Greeks; and had pressed, in opposition to that formula, for the use of the word αὐτόθεος, in relation to the Son. These, it may be presumed, were some of the reasons why Hooker so anxiously availed himself of the opportunity which the question of the sacraments afforded him for entering at large on the sacred theology of the Church, and exhibiting it in its primitive fulness. The controversy in which he was directly engaged required no such discussion. But when these alarming symptoms are recollected, we cease to wonder at his pausing so long upon it.

It is observable that the author of the Christian Letter, a person evidently most jealous of Calvin's honour, has selected for the very first point of his attack on Hooker a passage in which the subordination of the SON is affirmed. "We crave of you, Mais-"ter Hoo. to explaine your own meaninge "where you saye, (b. v. p. 113[58].) 'The Fa-"ther alone is originallie that Deitie which "Christ originallie is not.' Howe the God-"head of the Father and of the Sonne be "all one, and yet originallie not the same "Deitie: and then teach us how farre this "differeth from the heresie of Arius, who "sayeth of God the Sonne, 'There was "when he was not, who yet graunteth that "He was *before all creatures*,' of thinges "which were not.' Whether such wordes "weaken not the eternitie of the Sonne in "the opinion of the simple, or at the least "make the Sonne inferior to the Father in "respect of the Godhead; or els teach the "ignorant, there be many Gods." On which Hooker's note is, "'The Godhead "of the Father and of the Sonne is no way "denied but graunted to be the same. The "only thing denied is that the person of the "Sonne hath Deitie or Godhead in such "sort as the Father hath it." Again, Christian Letter, p. 7. "We pray your full mean-"ing where you say, 'The coeternitie of the "Sonne of God with His Father, and the "proceeding of the Spirit from the Father "and the Sonne, are in Scripture no-"where to be found by express literal men-"tion'. . .Whether such manner of speeches "may not worke a scruple in the weak "Christian, to doubt of these articles; or at "the least to underproppe the popish tradi-"tions, that menne may the rather favour "their allegations, when they see us fain to "borrow of them." This complaint they support by citing various texts of Scripture,

[57] See Bishop Bull, Def. Fid. Nic. iv. 1, 8.

[58] Of the original edition; in this, ch. liv. 2.

which as they supposed express the doctrines in question. Hooker remarks in the margin, "These places prove that there is "undoubted *ground* for them in Scripture, "whence they may be deduced, as is con-"fessed in the place cited (lib. i. n. 13[58]): "but that they are literally and *verbatim* "set down you have not yet proved[59]."

The attack, the reply, and the principle on which the reply turns, are all worthy of the gravest consideration on the part of those who are at all tempted to disparage the authority of primitive interpretation through excessive dread of Romish inventions.

The like reverential care and watchful forethought is most apparent in all that has fallen from Hooker's pen on the Incarnation of the Most Holy Son of God. While the apprehensions of other theologians, contemplating the growth of Puritanism, were confined to points of external order and the peace of the visible church, Hooker considered the very life and substance of saving truth to be in jeopardy, as on the side of the Romanists, so on that of the Lutherans also, by reasonings likely to be grounded, whether logically or no, on the tenet which they taught in common of the proper ubiquity of our Saviour's glorified body in the Eucharist[60]. Evidently it was a feeling of this kind, rather than any fear of exaggerating the honour due to that blessed Sacrament, which reigns in those portions of the fifth Book, where he lays down certain limitations, under which the doctrine of the Real Presence must be received. The one drift and purpose of all those limitations is, to prevent any heretical surmise, of our Lord's manhood now being, or having been at any time since His Incarnation, other than most true and substantial. Whatever notion of the Real Presence does not in effect interfere with this foundation of the faith, that, the genuine philosophy of Hooker, no less than his sound theology, taught him to embrace with all his heart. No writer, since the primitive times, has shewn himself in this and all parts of his writings more thoroughly afraid of those tendencies, which in our age are called Utilitarian and Rationalist. If at any time he seem over scrupulous in the use of ideas or phrases, from which the early fathers saw no reason to shrink, it is always the apprehension of irreverence, not of the contrary, which is present to his mind. For example, let the three following passages only be well considered and compared: i. e. as they stand with their context; for in these critical parts more especially, no separate citation can ever do Hooker justice.

1. "[61] Christ's body being a part of that "nature, which whole nature is presently "joined unto Deity wheresoever Deity is, "it followeth that his bodily substance hath "every where a presence of true conjunc-"tion with Deity. And forasmuch as it is "by virtue of that conjunction made the "body of the Son of God, by whom also it "was made a sacrifice for the sins of the "whole world, this giveth it *a presence of* "*force and efficacy* throughout all genera-"tions of men." 2. "[62] Doth any man "doubt, but that even from the flesh of "Christ our very bodies do receive that life "which shall make them glorious at the "latter day, and for which they are already "accounted parts of his blessed body? Our "corruptible bodies could never live the life "they shall live, were it not that here they "are joined with His body which is incor-"ruptible, and that His is in ours as a "cause of immortality; a cause by remov-"ing through the death and merit of His "own flesh that which hindered the life of "ours. Christ is therefore, both as God "and as man, that true vine whereof we "both spiritually and corporally are branch-"es. The mixture of His bodily substance "with ours is a thing which the ancient "Fathers disclaim. Yet the mixture of His "flesh with ours, they speak of, to signify "what our very bodies, through mystical "conjunction, receive from that vital effica-"cy which we know to be in His; and from "bodily mixtures they borrow divers simili-"tudes, rather to declare the truth than the "manner of coherence between His sacred "and the sanctified bodies of saints." 3. "[63] As for any mixture of the substance of "His flesh with ours, the participation "which we have of Christ includeth no "such kind of gross surmise."

[58] Chap. xiv. 2.

[59] This note is preserved only in the Dublin Transcript of the notes on the Christian Letter.

[60] There is a remarkable passage in the eighth book, in which he betrays the same jealousy, not without reason, of some incautious positions of Cartwright. That diligent copyist of the foreign reformers had borrowed, probably from Beza, the strange notion, that our Lord in the government of His Church has a superior, viz. His Father; but in the government of kingdoms is merely alone and independent; a notion which, carried out as far as it will go, has an evident tendency towards Nestorian error. So Hooker appears to have felt: and accordingly, without saying as much, he disposes of it by simply repeating the catholic doctrine, and challenging the authors of the questionable position to produce their authority for it, either in Scripture or in the nature of the case. Nor was this any new feeling, but it was an apprehension which he had conceived or adopted from the very beginning of his Theological career. See a very significant note (if it be his) on the Sermon of Justification: where he charges both Papists and Lutherans with "denying the foun-"dation by consequence" on this point.

[61] E. P. V. lv. 9.

[62] Ibid. V. lvi. 9.

[63] E. P. V. lvi. 13.

A striking exemplification of the difference of doctrine between Hooker and those who preceded him occurs on comparing the second of the above-cited passages with the language of Bishop Jewel on the same subject[64]. "Ye" (Harding) "say, 'The raising of our flesh is also assigned in the holy Scripture to the real and substantial eating of Christ's flesh.' But whence had ye these words, M. Harding? Where found ye these Scriptures? Dissemble no longer: deal plainly and simply: it is God's cause. For a show ye allege these words of Christ written by St. John: 'He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath life everlasting; and I will raise him up again at the last day.' These words we know, and the eating of Christ's flesh we know, but where is your 'real' and 'substantial,' and 'carnal'[65] eating?.... Neither these words nor the former ('except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you') pertain directly to the Sacrament."

In treating on this subject of the Incarnation, that which comes next in order has been in some respects unavoidably anticipated; i. e. Hooker's doctrine concerning the holy sacraments. Here he saw reason to practice the same circumspection, in regard of the Sacramentarians, as before, on the question of ubiquity, in regard of the Romanists and Lutherans. The erroneous theory to be obviated was one most seducing to the pride of human reason; the construction, namely, which would explain away *first*, the Communion of Saints itself, and *secondly*, the instrumentality of sacramental signs in that Communion, so as to dispense with every thing supernatural in either.

The germ of the first error is probed[66] (as it were) in the following remarkable passage. "It is too cold an interpretation, whereby some men expound our being in Christ to import nothing else, but only that the self same nature which maketh us to be men is in Him, and maketh Him man as we are. For what man in the world is there, which hath not so far forth communion with Jesus Christ? It is not this that can sustain the weight of such sentences as speak of the mystery of our coherence with Jesus Christ." Whether the particular misinterpretation here specified were common in those days, or no[67], certainly it is in unison with that mode of thinking, which inclines men to be uneasy, until they have rid their creed as they think, as nearly as possible, of all mysterious meaning. Such persons, having been even constrained by inevitable force of Scripture to adopt one great mystery, the proper Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, endeavour at least to obviate the necessity of the other, the real, substantial Participation of Christ by his Saints.

It is only a part of the same general view, that the Sacrament should be regarded simply as expressive actions; or tokens, morally at most, but in no wise mystically, conducive to the complete union of the renewed soul with God: a heresy, the disavowal of which by Hooker[68] is, as might be supposed, express, reiterated, and fervent, in proportion to his deep sense of its fatal consequence and to the probability which he saw of its one day generally prevailing. Whatever such anticipations he might form, have been fully and fatally confirmed by subsequent experience.

But not only does this great writer with religious horror disavow the Zuinglian notion, that the Sacraments are only valid as

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64 Def. of Apol. part 2. c. 21. div. 1.

65 The word "carnal," it will be observed, is added by Jewel to the quotation from his opponent.

66 E. P. V. lvi.

67 The following appear to be instances of it. Cranmer, Doctrine of the Sacrament, Works, vol. ii. p. 406. "Hilary ... although he saith that "Christ is naturally in us, yet he saith also that "we be naturally in Him.... He meant that "Christ in His incarnation received of us a mortal nature, and united the same unto His divinity, and so we be naturally in Him." And again, Answer to Gardiner, b. iii. in vol iii. 263. "As the vine and branches be both of one nature, so the Son of God taking unto him our "human nature, and making us partakers of his "divine nature, giving unto us immortality and "everlasting life, doth *so* dwell naturally and corporally in us, and maketh us to dwell naturally "and corporally in Him." And p. 265. "Where "you say that Christ uniteth Himself to us as "man, when He giveth His body in the Sacrament to such as worthily receive it: if you will "speak as Cyril and other old authors used to do, "Christ did unite Himself to us as man at his incarnation." So determined was Cranmer in this interpretation, that even in such passages as the following he expounds the *μυστικὴ εὐλογία*, not of the blessing in the Eucharist, but of Christ's taking our flesh. "The Son is united unto us," says St. Cyril, "corporally by the mystical benediction, spiritually as God." "In that place," says Cranmer, "the mystical benediction may "well be understood of His incarnation." vol. iii. 264.

68 E. P. V. lvii. 1. "It greatly offendeth, that "some, when they labour to shew the use of the "holy Sacraments, assign unto them no end but "only *to teach* the mind, by other senses, that "which the word doth teach by hearing." ibid. 5. "We take not Baptism nor the Eucharist for bare "*resemblances* or memorials of things absent, "neither for *naked signs* and testimonies assuring "us of grace received before, but (as they are indeed and in verity) for means effectual whereby "God, when we take the Sacraments, delivereth "into our hands that grace available unto eternal "life, which grace the Sacraments represent or "signify."

moral aids to piety; he is also very full and precise in guarding against another theory, less malignant, but hardly less erroneous and unscriptural, (though unhappily too much countenanced in later days;) the theory which denies, not indeed the *reality*, but the *exclusive* virtue, of the Sacraments, as ordinary means to their respective graces. He hesitates not to teach, with the old Christian writers, that Baptism is the *only* ordinary mean of regeneration, the Eucharist the *only* ordinary mean whereby Christ's body and blood can be taken and received. He is far from sanctioning the too prevalent idea, that every holy prayer and devout meditation renders the faithful soul a partaker of Christ, in the same sense that His own divine Sacrament does. His words concerning Baptism are: "[69] As we "are not naturally men without birth, so "neither are we Christian men in the eye "of the Church of God but by new birth; "nor according to the manifest ordinary 'course of Divine dispensation new born, "but by that Baptism which both declareth "and maketh us Christians." Concerning the Eucharist and Baptism both; "It is not "ordinarily his will to bestow the grace of "sacraments on any, but by the sacra-"ments[70]." He expounds the awful declarations in the sixth chapter of St. John, without all controversy, of that heavenly feast[71]; considering our Saviour to have spoken by anticipation of what He meant ere long to ordain. A mode of interpretation the more remarkable on Hooker's part, as in embracing it he was contradicting an authority which he held in most especial reverence; that of his own early patron, Bishop Jewel, whom he designates as "the worthiest di-"vine which Christendom hath bred by the "space of some hundreds of years[72]." This is therefore as strong an example as could be given of the freedom and courage of Hooker's theological judgment: nor will it be unprofitable to compare his tones of unaffected reverence with the peremptory language, almost amounting to scornfulness, of Jewel on the same subject. One instance, from the Defence of the Apology, has already been quoted. Others may be found in the following places: Part ii. c. 12. div. 3. "The Sacrament is one thing, and "Christ is another. We eat Christ only by "faith; we eat the Sacrament only with "the mouth of our body. When Christ "spake these words, 'He that eateth me, "shall live by me;' he spake only of him-"self to be eaten spiritually by faith: but "he spake not one word there of the Sacra-"ment. He that knoweth not this, knoweth "nothing." And Reply to Harding, art. viii. div. 16. p. 292. "Christ in these words, as "is witnessed by all the holy Fathers, "speaketh not of the Sacrament, but of the "spiritual eating with our faith; and in "this behalf utterly excludeth the corporal "office of our body."

The opinions we form of the Sacraments are sure to mingle, insensibly perhaps to ourselves, with our views of every part of practical religion. Hooker's judgment on the reality and exclusiveness of the spiritual grace of Baptism and the Lord's Supper being thus distinct and unquestionable, we are prepared to find him speaking of Church ceremonies in general, and of every part and instrument of communion with the visible Church, in a very different manner from that which now commonly prevails. More especially in regard of those observances, which though not strictly sacraments, according to the more precise definition of the word, yet have in them somewhat of a sacramental nature, and were ever accounted, in the early Church, means toward several graces. Take for example, the sign of the cross in Baptism[73]. He dwells indeed much on its use by way of instruction; whether "to put us in mind "of our own duty, or to be a memorial, "sign or monument of God's miraculous "goodness towards us:" which is much the same definition as a rationalist would give of Baptism or the Eucharist itself. But Hooker has other expressions, which imply that for aught we know it may be more

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[69] E. P. V. lx.

[70] Compare (inter alia) the following passages: Cranmer, Defence, &c. b. iii. c. 2. vol. i. p. 357. "They say, that good men eat the body of Christ "and drink His blood, only at that time when "they receive the Sacrament: we say, that they "eat, drink, and feed of Christ continually, so "long as they be members of His body." And Jewel, Reply to Harding, art. 5. div. 2. p. 238–9. "Our doctrine, grounded upon God's holy word, "is this; that as certainly as Christ gave His "body upon the cross, so certainly he giveth now "the selfsame body unto the faithful; and that "not only in the ministration of the Sacrament,... "but also at all times, whensoever we be able to "say with St. Paul, 'I think I know nothing but "Jesus Christ, and the same Christ crucified upon "the cross.'" Should it occur to any one that the doctrine blamed in the text, is but in accordance with that of the Church of England, in her rubric concerning spiritual communion, annexed to the Office for Communion of the Sick: he may consider whether that rubric, explained (as if possible it must be) in consistency with the definition of a sacrament in the Catechism, can be meant for any but rare and extraordinary cases: cases as strong in regard to the Eucharist, as that of martyrdom, or the premature death of a well-disposed catechumen, in regard of Baptism.

[71] As did St. Augustine, (among other places,) in his sermon on the 54th verse. "Corpus dixit "escam, sanguinem potum: Sacramentum fideli-"um agnoscunt fideles; Audientes autem quid "aliud quam audiunt." t. v. 640.

[72] E. P. II. vi. 4.

[73] E. P. V. lxv.

than this. He calls the cross, "in some "sense a mean to work our preservation "from reproach." He likens it to God's mark set on the forehead of His chosen in the vision of the Prophet Ezekiel. He approves of the custom adopted by the primitive Christians, of referring to it, as they did by constant crossing, whenever their baptismal integrity was in danger, and refreshing it as it were and burnishing it up in those foreheads, in which it had been impressed as God's own signature at Baptism. In other words, he makes it one among many things, which may be, if God so please, supernaturally as well as morally means of grace; and what more would Zuinglius or Hoadley have allowed concerning the blessed Eucharist itself?

Again, to imposition of hands in confirmation, in receiving penitents, or in other solemn acts of blessing, he scruples not to attribute the same virtue which the Fathers every where acknowledge. "[74] Our "warrant," he says, "for the great good "effect thereof is the same which Patri-"archs, Prophets, Priests, Apostles, Fa-"thers, and men of God have had for such "their particular invocations and benedic-"tions, as no man, I suppose, professing "truth of religion, will easily think to have "been without fruit."

In respect therefore of these things, which, (to use Hooker's own expression) though not sacraments, are *as* sacraments, and which perhaps it might not be amiss to denominate *sacramentals*, it will be seen that Hooker, liberal as he is sometimes accounted, was at least as far from proud and faithless indifference as he was from irrational superstition. Even of those parts of the ancient ritual, which he dared not wish to restore, he makes mention in such a tone, as to shew that he deeply lamented the necessity of parting with them. He compares them to the rank growth of over fertile grounds; he acknowledges that although "now superstitious in the greater "part of the Christian world," yet in their first original they sprang from "the strength "of virtuous, devout, or charitable affec-"tion," and "could not by any man be "justly condemned as evil." In a word, his language regarding them comes to this: that the Church is fallen and become unworthy of them, instead of their being in themselves unmeet for the Church.

Nor can such sentiments on his part be summarily disposed of by calling them "errors of that day" relics of Romanism, "not yet thoroughly purged out." For, as we have had occasion more than once to remark, Hooker's bias by education and society, the bias "of the day" as it was likely to influence him, lay quite on the other side. Every sentiment like that just quoted was a return to something which had grown out of fashion, an attempt, if the expression may be allowed, to "lock the wheel" of extreme innovation. It is certain that the divines most approved in Hooker's time go far beyond him in a seeming willingness to explain away every thing of deeper meaning in Church services. The common topics of Jewel for example, and Cranmer, when they treat of ceremonies, are the supposed origination of some of them from heathen or Jewish customs, or from mere childish fancy; the absolute indifferency of those even which are more properly Christian; and the arbitrary power of national churches over them, which they press, not in the guarded tone of our thirty-fourth article, but without any kind of scruple or remorse. We no where find in the Ecclesiastical Polity such contemptuous mention of the old usages of the Church, as in that writer, who being asked by a Romanist, how he could prove from St. Augustine, that altars might be pulled down, and vows of poverty disallowed, as also the keeping of Lent and the use of consecrated oil, made this short reply, "His "altars, his vows, his Lents, and his oils, be "answered sufficiently otherwheres." How different from Hooker, who earnestly bespeaks our reverence for primitive ordinances, not only "as betokening God's great-"ness and beseeming the dignity of reli-"gion," but also "as concurring with celes-"tial impressions in the minds of men;" a phrase which implies that such ordinances may be real means of sundry graces, though not of those vital graces which are appropriate to the two blessed Sacraments; nor of any graces, *certainly*, or by virtue of express promise.

The truth is, Hooker's notion of ceremonies appears to have been the legitimate result of a certain high and rare course of thought, into which deep study of Christian antiquity would naturally guide a devout and reflective mind. The moral and devotional writings of the Fathers shew that they were deeply imbued with the evangelical sentiment, that Christians as such are living in a new heaven and a new earth; that to them "old things are passed away," and "all things are become new;" that the very inanimate creation itself also is "de-"livered from the bondage of corruption "into the glorious liberty of the children of "God." Thus in a manner they seem to have realized, though in an infinitely higher sense, the system of Plato: every thing to them existed in two worlds: in the world of sense, according to its outward nature and relations; in the world intellectual, according to its spiritual associations. And thus did the whole scheme of material things, and especially those objects in it

[74] E. P. V. lxvi. 7.

which are consecrated by scriptural allusion, assume in their eyes a sacramental or symbolical character.

This idea as it may serve to explain, if not to justify, many things, which to modern ears sound strange and forced in the imagery of the Fathers and in their interpretations of Scripture; so it may be of no small use in enabling us to estimate rightly the ceremonials of the Church. The primitive apostolical men, being daily and hourly accustomed to sacrifice and dedicate to God even ordinary things, by mixing them up with Christian and heavenly associations, might well consider every thing whatever as capable of becoming, so far, a mean of grace, a pledge and token of Almighty presence and favour: and in that point of view might without scruple give the name of μυστηρία or sacraments to all those material objects which were any how taken unto the service of religion: whether by Scripture, in the way of type or figure; or by the Church, introducing them into her solemn ritual. In the writings of St. Cyprian [75], for example, to go no further at present, we have the homer full of manna, gathered by each of the Israelites, denominated "the sacrament of Christ's equal 'and impartial grace;" the words of the *Pater noster*, considered as meaning far more than at first meets the ear, are "the sacraments of the Lord's Prayer;" the Church's rule for keeping Easter, with many other like points, are so many "sacra-"ments of Divine service;" the cross is "a "sacrament of salvation;" St. Cyprian, having collected a number of what would now be called fanciful allusions, to console and encourage certain martyrs in their sufferings, is thanked by those martyrs for "his constant care to make known by his "treatises hidden and obscure sacraments." In these and innumerable similar applications of the term, it will perhaps be found that such words as "figure," "symbol," "emblem," do by no means come fully up to the force annexed to it by the Church and ecclesiastical writers. God omnipresent was so much in all their thoughts, that what to others would have been mere symbols, were to them designed expressions of His truth, providential intimations of His will. In this sense, the whole world, to them, was full of sacraments.

No doubt such a view as this harmonizes to a considerable degree with Platonism; no doubt, again, it has much in common with the natural workings and aspirations of poetical minds under any system of belief. Still, should it appear, on fair inquiry, to have been very early and very generally diffused; should we find unconscious disclosures of it among Christian interpreters and moralists quite down from St. Clement and St. Ignatius; these things would seem to indicate that it may have been a real part of the very apostolical system; grounded as it plainly might be on such scriptures as were just now mentioned.

Thus then we seem to discern a kind of theory, silently pervading the whole language and system of the Church, much to this effect: that whereas all sensible things may have other meanings and uses than we know of; spiritual and heavenly relations, associations, resemblances, apt to assist men in realizing Divine contemplations; the Church (no one of course can say how far by celestial guidance at first) selected a certain number and order of sensible things; certain actions of the body, such as bowing at the name of Jesus, and turning towards the east in prayer; certain forms of matter, such as the cross and ring; generally or always significant in themselves, and very instructive, one might almost say needful, to children and men of childlike understanding and knowledge; such things as these the Church of God instinctively selected for her ceremonies, and combined them by degrees into an orderly system, varying as circumstances might require in different dioceses, but every where constituting a kind of perpetual sacrifice; offering to the most Holy Trinity so many samples (if we may so call them) or specimens of our common hourly actions, and of the material objects in which we are most conversant, as tithes are a sample and specimen of our whole property, and holydays, of our whole time: likely, therefore, as tithes and holy-days are, by devout using to bring down a blessing on the whole.

Hence it would follow, that those fragments of the primitive ritual, which are still, by God's providence, allowed to remain amongst us, are to be cherished as something more than merely decent and venerable usages. They are authorized, perchance divinely authorized, portions of the Church's perpetual spiritual sacrifice; and the omission of *such* ceremonies, how imperative soever on individuals, acting by authority of their own particular church, must needs bring a grave responsibility on the churches themselves which may at any time direct such omission. Unquestionably circumstances might arise to justify them, such as are mentioned in the short discourse on ceremonies prefixed to our Common Prayer: but the burden of proof in every case would lie on those omitting, not on those retaining the usage.

It is not affirmed that this view of Church ceremonies is any where expressly set down either by Hooker or by his guides, the early Fathers. But surely something like it lies at the root of their mystical interpretations

[75] Ed. Baluz. p. 157; 206; 144; 159; 161.

of Scripture, and of their no less mystical expositions of many portions of their ritual. Nay, it may have given many hints towards the framing that ritual itself, as far as we can judge of it after so many transformations. Surely also, on this point, as on many others, Hooker's sympathy with the fourth century rather than the sixteenth is perpetually breaking out, however chastened by his too reasonable dread of superstition.

Fasting, which may in some respects very well stand for one of the sacramentals just mentioned, affords a very prominent and decisive instance. For although the Church of England, by God's favouring providence, has retained the primitive system of fasting in greater perfection than any other among those bodies which have come to be separated from the Roman communion; yet even here also, at a very early period of the reformation, that evil tendency began to be disclosed, which in our days, we see, has led too generally to the undisguised abandonment of this part of Christian discipline. Now the Querimonia Ecclesiæ, which for reasons above stated may be regarded as a kind of exponent of the views of Hooker and his school in theology, expatiates, as one of its leading topics, on the prevalent neglect of Church fasts, and the revival of Aerius' error in the reformed Churches. It should seem that the Utilitarians of those days could only imagine one *moral* use of fasting: they could not approve of it as a periodical expression of penitence, or as helping to withdraw the mind from earth, and supply it with heavenly contemplations. Consequently, prescribed universal fasts were to them unmeaning superstitions. And the result was, as Hooker not obscurely hints [76], and the writer of the Querimonia more openly affirms, that among protestants religious abstinence was becoming rather discreditable than otherwise. Here we seem to perceive the reason why Hooker thought it needful in his fifth book to go so far back in vindication of fasting itself. And we know that his course of life bore continual witness to his deep sense of the importance of that duty.

He differs indeed from the writer of the Querimonia, as to the apostolical institution of Lent. The pamphlet is very full for the affirmative; but the Ecclesiastical Polity says, "It doth not appear that the "Apostles ordained any set and certain "days to be generally kept of all." This is noted here by the way, as decisive against making Hooker responsible for the Querimonia, as the authors of the Christian Letter tried to do; unless we suppose him to have changed his opinion about Lent between 1592, the date of the Querimonia, and 1597, when the fifth book was published. This, however, is no difference in principle, since both agree in adopting St. Augustin's rule, that what is universally observed in the Church, yet not commanded in Scripture nor in any general council, cannot well be of less than apostolical origin. The variance therefore about Lent amounts only to this; that the Querimonia considers the historical evidence sufficient to prove reception by the whole Church, Hooker not so.

There is another branch of the same subject, on which their agreement is more complete: though here also the anonymous author speaks out more clearly sentiments, of which Hooker, coming after, is content to imply rather than express his approbation. In each we find a parallel between the heresy of Aerius on fasting, and the low disparaging notions of that duty, becoming at that time prevalent among many Protestants. This comparison is distinctly made in the Querimonia, as indeed there was ample reason: Beza having gone so far, in one of his tracts against Saravia, as to take part avowedly with Aerius, and endeavour to exculpate him from the charge of heresy. The controversy having proceeded so far, it is obvious that Hooker, writing as he does of Aerius, must have had an eye to Beza as well as to Cartwright. Evidently his wish was to hold up Aerius as a warning *in terrorem* to Protestants generally, so far as they were tempted to fall into errors like his: only to make the warning more impartial and instructive, he subjoins tacitly, and by implication, another and an opposite parallel, viz. between the error of Tertullian in his Montanizing days, and some errors of the church of Rome in her rules on the subject of Fasting.

The last thing now to be observed in this very important portion of Hooker's Treatise, is the thorough practical good sense which the conclusion of it evinces. Among other benefits of fasting he enumerates the following; "That children, as it were in "the wool of their infancy dyed with hard-"ness, may never afterwards change colour; "that the poor, whose perpetual fasts are of "necessity, may with better contentment "endure the hunger, which virtue causeth "others so often to choose," &c. This is a specimen of the way in which Hooker, in the midst of his lofty and sometimes subtle speculations, observed and entered into men's daily pursuits and feelings; how he contrived (if one may so speak) to know what all sorts of persons are really about: a merit the more needful to be remarked in him, as it is one for which his readers and

[76] E. P. V. 2. lxxii. "The world being bold to "surfeit doth now blush to fast, supposing that "men when they fast, do rather bewray a disease, "than exercise a virtue."

the readers of his Life have generally been apt to give him but little credit; but, certainly, one of the highest merits which can be attributed to a practical divine, and not one of the least rare. In the eyes of plain unlearned persons, who read merely for practical improvement, this is what will ever give Hooker a peculiar value, as compared with many of no small name in theology; with Hall for instance, with Barrow, or with Warburton. He enters into the real feelings of men, and balances the true relative importance of things, in a manner which no depth of learning, or power of language, no logical or rhetorical skill could insure; and without which, to persons of the description now mentioned, no talent or energy can make theology interesting.

On festival days the opinion of Hooker is well known. He urges the perpetual observance of the Lord's day (carefully separating from it the name of Sabbath) on a mixed ground of ritual and of moral obligation; considering the general requisition of natural piety to be determined to a seventh part of time by the Decalogue. For saints' days again he regards the same obligation as being in like manner determined, not only by God's own voice, but by the authorized legislation of His Church. Praise, Bounty, and Rest, according to the law of nature, and the analogy of holy Scripture, constitute the proper elements of each kind of festival. Thus diametrically are the views of Hooker opposed, on the one hand, to the profane and insolent indifference of some following generations towards all festivals but Sunday; on the other, to the affectation of respect, almost more insolent and profane, which some persons are in the habit of bestowing on the Sunday itself. The rest of that blessed day is now too commonly enforced on reasons of mere economy and expediency, far indeed removed from Hooker's representation of it as a sacrifice of one-seventh part of our time to God; just as in those days to such a degree had popular opinion swerved from the primitive rules, that many, and among them even a writer in our own Homilies, were fain to plead, in behalf of fasting, the supposed preservation of pasturage, and encouragement of fisheries [77], instead of simply referring the duty to its own high and spiritual grounds. Admirable as these two chapters are throughout, in no respect do they call for more attentive consideration, than as a melancholy testimony to the total decay of religion properly so called, i. e. of the service of God, in an age so boastful of its own religion as the present.

Another developement of the same principle occurs, in passing from the consideration of festivals and fasting days to that of churches, church lands, and tithes. Hooker evidently delights in resting the claim of both on one and the same ground of natural piety, warranted rather than expressly ordained by the Gospel of Jesus Christ. "Sith "we know [78] that religion requireth at our "hands the taking away of so great a part "of the time of our lives quite and clean "from our own business, and the bestowing "of the same in His; suppose we that noth-"ing of our wealth and substance is imme-"diately due to God, but all our own to be-"stow and spend as ourselves think meet? "Are not our riches as well His, as the days "of our life are His?" A tenth of our substance, no less than a seventh of our time, is, in Hooker's judgment, part of the grand sacrifice which we all owe to God continually, and the payment whereof is the great business of our lives.

Again; whatever has been once so dedicated, be it land, or house, or treasure, or church furniture, that Hooker regards as absolutely devoted and inalienable. The diverting it wilfully away from sacred purposes he deems no less than plain sacrilegious impiety: the same kind of sin as profaning holy days; or as if a clergyman should abandon God's special service, and try to become a mere layman again, after his solemn vow of dedication to the altar. It is very observable on what principle Hooker defends the English reformation from this charge of sacrilege, to which it would seem at first sight liable, on account of the unsparing plunder of monastic property. He is far from acquiescing in the ordinary political plea of "changed circumstances," "comparative uselessness," and the like. His sentence (right or wrong) is, that the property in question was never, strictly speaking, clerical. He professes it not to be his meaning "to make the state of bishopric "and of those dissolved companies" (the monasteries) "alike; the one no less unlawful "to be removed than the other. For those "religious persons were men which follow-"ed only a special kind of contemplative life "in the commonwealth, they were not prop-"erly a portion of God's clergy, (only such "amongst them excepted as were also "priests,) their goods (that excepted which "they unjustly held through the Pope's "usurped power of appropriating ecclesias-"tical livings unto them) may in part seem "to be of the nature of civil possessions, held "by other kinds of corporations, such as the "city of London hath divers. Wherefore, "as their institution was human, and their "end for the most part superstitious, they "had not therein merely that holy and "Divine interest which belongeth unto "Bishops, who being employed by Christ in "the principal service of His Church, are

[77] Compare E. P. V. lxxii. 1.

[78] V. lxxix. 1.

"receivers and disposers of his patrimony,... "which whosoever shall withhold or with- "draw at any time from them, he undoubt- "edly robbeth God Himself[79]." According to this statement, the goods of the religious houses under Henry VIII. were lay corporate property, forfeited (as was judged) by abuse. To resume it, therefore, and apply it to other lay purposes, might be dishonest or arbitrary, but could not well be sacrilegious. Should this view appear paradoxical, it will but the more amply illustrate Hooker's deep conviction of the impiety of alienating things once hallowed. That being granted, the following dilemma ensued. He must either expressly condemn a principal part of the settlement at the reformation in England, confirmed and carried on as it had been by subsequent monarchs; or else (which he chose to do) must deny the sacredness of the confiscated property. So evident to Hooker's mind was the proposition, that whatever has been once dedicated to Almighty God can never cease to be His, but by His own cession.

It is but a continuation of the same process of thought, where Hooker expresses his sense of the real sanctity of consecrated places, and his horror at the hard and profane notions of the Brownists or Independents on that subject, which were just then beginning to prevail among some of the reformed, though far from the alarming acceptance which they find at present. And again, where he dwells so long and so earnestly on the great mistake which the Puritans committed in their estimate of the relative importance of the parts of public service; where he shews himself so full of regret at their presumption in undervaluing scriptures and written prayers, and their fond superstition in reckoning sermons "only the quick and forcible Word of "God[80]:" wherever, in short, he inculcates more or less directly the momentous truth, that a church is a place of solemn homage and sacrifice, not only nor chiefly a place of religious instruction: a place of supernatural even more than of moral blessings. For although he disclaims the existence of any sacrifice, properly so called, in the ritual of the Church, it is clear enough that this expression must be restrained to expiatory sacrifices. Take the word *sacrifice* in its other senses, for eucharistical or penitential homage, and it is very plain that by Hooker's own account, prayers, tithes, festival days, church ceremonies, are so many sacrifices, truly and properly so called. Nay, the very establishment of a national church, instead of being merely, as modern theorists hold, a national expedient for securing instruction to the people, ought also on Hooker's principle to be regarded as a grand public sacrifice: a continued act of religious worship and homage, offered to God on the part of kings and states.

So far, the Catholic Church has been considered as a channel of supernatural grace: in which light chiefly Hooker regards it all through the fifth book. Again, his doctrine concerning the Church, considered as a witness to the truth, that is to say, in her relation to the rule of faith, may be found at large in the three first books. His principle is that of the sixth article of our Church, so admirably developed by Laud in his conference with Fisher: viz. that in doctrines supernatural, holy Scripture is paramount and sole: reason and Church authority coming in as subsidiary only, to interpret Scripture or infer from it; but in no *such* point ever claiming to dictate positively where Scripture is silent[81]. Nevertheless they teach, that in regard of rites and customs, which are a sort of practical deductions from truth supernatural, apostolical tradition, derived through Church records, if any can be proved really such, must be of force no less binding, than if the same were set down in the very writings of the Apostles. "For both," says Hooker, "be- "ing known to be apostolical, it is not the "manner of delivering them unto the Church, "but the author from whom they proceed, "which doth give them their force and "credit."

On Hooker's doctrine concerning the covenant of grace, a very few words must here suffice. His compositions on that subject are mostly of an early date, when, as has been exemplified, he hardly seems to have acquired the independence of thought, which appears in the Polity. And the writer to whose interpretations he had been taught to defer most constantly, and with deepest reverence, undoubtedly was St. Austin. In treating of justification, his great care was, of course, to exclude all notion of merit: of merit, i. e. as a ground of dependence, not as a qualification for supernatural blessings, divinely given to the baptized as members of Christ, for in that sense he himself allows the name and hints no ambiguous censure on the affectation of shrinking from it, sanctioned as it is by the constant use of antiquity[82]. This

[79] E. P. VII. xxiv. 23. Contrast with this, Cranmer's Answer to the Devonshire Rebels, art. xiv. vol. ii. p. 242. And vol i. p. 319, where he silently sanctions Henry the Eighth's usurpations, not only of monastic but of cathedral property.

[80] E. P. V. xxii. 10.

[81] See especially, i. 14.

[82] E. P. V. 72. 9. "I will not dispute ... "whether truly it may not be said that penitent "both weeping and fasting are means to blot out "sin, means whereby through God's unspeakable "and undeserved mercy we obtain or procure to "ourselves pardon, which attainment unto any "gracious benefit by him bestowed the phrase of

exclusion of our own desert he represents, as many writers before and since have done, by the things which Christ did and suffered being imputed to us for righteousness: and in this sense earnestly presses against the schoolmen and the council of Trent, that justifying righteousness is not inherent. But whilst he thus separates justification from sanctification *in re*, he is careful (plainly with an eye to Antinomian abuse) to maintain that the two are always united *in tempore*. "The "Spirit, the virtues of the Spirit, the habitual justice, which is engrafted, the eternal justice of Jesus Christ which is "imputed, these we receive all at one and "the same time; whensoever we have any "of these, we have all; they go together[83]." He allows that the word *justification* is sometimes used (e. g. by St. James) so as to imply sanctification also; that in this sense we are justified by works and not by faith only; and that this is essential and inseparable as a result and evidence of the former; so that however "[84] by the "one we are interested in the right of inheriting," yet without the other we must not look to be "brought to the actual possession of eternal bliss." On the whole, the differences, which at first sight would appear considerable, between Hooker's teaching, and that of Bishop Bull on this subject, will be found on examination rather verbal than doctrinal: turning upon their use of certain modes of expression, and upon their interpretation of particular texts, rather than on their conceptions of the process itself and order of Divine mercy in the salvation of sinners. Hooker, for instance, adopts without scruple the phrase of Christ's imputed righteousness: which Bull disavows and argues against as unscriptural. Hooker again reconciles St. James with St. Paul by making the one speak of the righteousness of justification, the other of that of sanctification: a distinction which seems to correspond nearly with the first and second justification of some other protestant commentators, and is disapproved by Bull, whose mode of harmonizing the two Apostles is to shew, that the works rejected by St. Paul are not Christian works, not those required by St. James, but that these on the contrary are included in St. Paul's faith; as all right principles include and imply corresponding practice, when occasion arises. But since Hooker on the one hand makes the two justifications which he insists on inseparable and contemporaneous; and Bull, on the other, disclaims with all possible earnestness all notion of condignity, in faith alike and in works, and in every thing else that is ours; it should seem that, really and practically, there is no such great difference between them.

With regard to the points usually called Calvinistic; Hooker undoubtedly found the tone and language, which has since come to be characteristic of that school, commonly adopted by those theologians, to whom his education led him as guides and models; and therefore uses it himself, as a matter of course, on occasions, where no part of Calvinism comes expressly into debate. It is possible that this may cause him to appear, to less profound readers, a more decided partizan of Calvin than he really was. At least it is certain that on the following subjects he has avowed himself decidedly in favour of very considerable modifications of the Genevan theology. First, of election; the very ground of his original controversy with Travers was his earnestly protesting, in a sermon at the Temple, against irrespective predestination to death: a protest which he repeated in the Ecclesiastical Polity[85]; and afterwards drew out at large in the fragment of an answer to the Christian Letter. The sum of it "is this: "The nature of God's goodness, "the nature of justice, and the nature of "death itself, are all opposite to their opinion, if any will be of opinion, that God "hath eternally decreed condemnation with"out the foresight of sin as a cause. The "place of Judas was *locus suus*, a place of "his own proper procurement. Devils "were not ordained of God for hell-fire, "but hell-fire for them; and for men so far "as it was foreseen that men would be like "them."

But the extent to which, on this and some other topics, Hooker was willing to admit modifications of Calvinism, may be judged of accurately by the conclusion of the fragment just quoted, which consists of eight propositions, so worded, as to shew clearly that they are altered from the famous articles of Lambeth; so that on comparing the two, the degrees by which Hooker stopped short of extreme Calvinism will become apparent even to the very eye. Now the first article of Lambeth affirms eternal predestination and reprobation both: Hooker's, predestination only, omitting all mention of reprobation. The second Lambeth article is not only negative, denying the foresight of any good in man to have been the ground of predestination to life; but also affirmative, that its only ground is the will of the good pleasure of God: Hooker omits the affirmative part, and sets down the negative only. The third Lambeth article states the number of the elect to be definite and certain, so that it can be neither increased nor diminished: Hooker, far less

"antiquity useth to express by the name of mer"it." Comp. Disc. of Justification, § 21.

[83] Disc. of Justif. § 21.

[84] Ibid. § 6.

[85] V. xlix. 3.

hard and peremptory in tone, says, "To "him the number of his elect is definitely "known." The fifth pair of articles relates to perseverance in grace, and presents so remarkable a difference, that it may be right to insert both here, for avoiding of apparent or inadvertent misrepresentation.

LAMBETH Art. 5.	HOOKER.
Vera, viva, justificans, fides, et Spiritus Dei sanctificans non extinguitur, non excidit, non evanescit in electis aut finaliter aut totaliter.	That to God's foreknown elect, final continuance of grace is given.

It could hardly be without meaning, that he omitted those expressions of the article, which seemed to imply that justifying faith and sanctification, where real, must of course be indefectible. Yet this of all the tenets, commonly designated as Calvinistic, was that which in his earlier productions he seems to maintain with least hesitation. For example; in the sermon on the Certainty and Perpetuity of Faith; "In this "we know we are not deceived, neither can "we deceive you, when we teach that the "faith *whereby ye are sanctified* cannot fail; "it did not in the prophet, it shall not in "you." Also (*inter alia*) in the Discourse of Justification[86]; "If he which once hath the "Son, may cease to have the Son, though "it be for a moment, he ceaseth for that "moment to have life. But the life of them "which have the Son of God is everlast-"ing in the world to come. Because as "Christ being raised from the dead dieth "no more, death hath no more power over "Him; so justified man, being allied to God "in Jesus Christ our Lord, doth as neces-"sarily from that time forward always live, "as Christ, by whom he hath life, liveth "always[87]." And even in the Ecclesiastical Polity[88] he uses the following strong expressions concerning a believer's first participation of Christ's grace. "The first "thing of his so infused into our hearts is "the Spirit of Christ: whereupon ... the "rest of what kind soever do both neces-"sarily depend and *infallibly also ensue*." It is not quite clear why a person holding such an opinion as this should scruple to receive the fifth Lambeth Article: yet Hooker it seems had such a scruple[89]. It may be, that when he came to weigh more exactly his own doctrine of the Sacraments, he felt that it could not well stand with the supposed indefectibility of grace. For how could or can any person, beholding what numbers fall away after Baptism, hold consistently on the one hand, that real sanctifying grace can never be finally forfeited; on the other, that it is given at Baptism? which latter, Hooker unquestionably holds: for these are his words[90]: "Bap-"tism is a sacrament which God hath insti-"tuted in his Church to the end that they "which receive the same might thereby be "incorporated into Christ, and so through "his most precious merit obtain as well "that saving grace of imputation which "taketh away all former guiltiness, as also "that infused Divine virtue of the Holy "Ghost which giveth to the powers of the soul "their first disposition towards future new-"ness of life." This is one passage among many attributing to baptism when not unworthily received, and therefore in all cases to infant baptism, no less than justifying or pardoning grace, together with the first infusion of that which sanctifies. It is for those who suppose the writer an uncompromising Calvinist, to explain how these representations can be reconciled with Calvin's doctrine, of the absolute perpetuity of justifying and of the first sanctifying grace. It is not here meant to deny that such reconciliation may be possible: but the Editor has never yet met with it. And until some way be discovered of clearing up this difficulty, it will be at least as fair in the advocates as they are called of free-will, to quote Hooker's doctrine of the sacraments, as in predestinarians to insist on his doctrine of final perseverance. The rather, as the next, the sixth Lambeth article, which lays it down that all truly justified souls have full assurance of faith concerning their own pardon and salvation; this article is totally omitted by Hooker; no doubt for the same kind of reasons as induced him,

[86] § 26. In these, (by the way,) as in all Hooker's earlier works, it is observable that he employs undoubtingly the phraseology appropriate to the Christian covenant to express the spiritual condition of Jews and Patriarchs: just as Bishop Jewel and others continually affirm the spiritual graces of the Sacraments to have been the portion of such as Abel, Abraham, or David, as truly as of the saints of the new covenant. This was one dogma of the school of extreme protestantism, from which Hooker began afterwards gradually to withdraw himself: and as a symptom of his doing so may be remarked, that in no part of his dissertation on Sacraments in the fifth book of the Ecclesiastical Polity does he argue at all from this supposed identity of the Jewish with the Christian Sacraments; rather his whole train of thought is such as strictly to confine the sacramental grace of Christ to the heavenly kingdom which He set up after His incarnation.

[87] Comp. De Peccat. Merit. &c. i. 26, 27. t. x. p. 15.

[88] V. lvi. 11.

[89] In which he would be confirmed by that writer of whom among human authorities he speaks most highly, St. Augustin: who undoubtedly held baptismal justifying grace, and as undoubtedly considered it as capable of forfeiture; ascribing perseverance to a supervening special gift. See De Corrept. et Grat. c. 18—21. t. x. 759.

[90] E. P. V. lx. 2.

writing on the Certainty and Perpetuity of Faith, to make so large allowance for the little understanding men have of their own spiritual condition. The modifications of the three remaining articles are much less considerable; they are, first, "that inward "grace whereby to be saved is deservedly "not given to all men:" where the word "deservedly" is an insertion of Hooker's, anxious to counteract all notions of arbitrary punishment. Secondly, that "no man "can come to Christ, whom God by the "inward grace of his Spirit draweth not." Hooker contents himself with this anti-Pelagian proposition: whereas the Lambeth divines added, "Not all men are "drawn by the Father to come to his "Son." Next, whereas they nakedly affirm, "It lies not in the will or power of "each individual to be saved or lost:" Hooker, charitably and cautiously, guards the assertion; "It is not in every, no, not "in any man's own mere ability, freedom, "or power, to be saved; no man's salva-"tion being possible without grace." And lastly, he adds a distinct reserve in behalf of the claim of practical obedience on every soul of man. "God is no favourer of "sloth; and therefore there can be no such "absolute decree touching man's salva-"tion as on our part includeth no neces-"sity of care and travail." On this there is a deep silence in the Lambeth propositions.

So much for the points which it was considered material to enumerate, as best exemplifying the gradual but decisive change which English theology underwent in the hands of Hooker. The results of his publications were great and presently perceptible: a school of writers immediately sprung up, who by express reference, or style, or tone of thought, betray their admiration of Hooker; Covel, Edwin Sandys, Field, Raleigh [91], and others; and what was infinitely more important, Hooker had his full share in training up for the next generation, Laud, Hammond, Sanderson [92], and a multitude more such divines; to which succession and series, humanly speaking, we owe it, that the Anglican church continues at such a distance from that of Geneva, and so near to primitive truth and apostolical order. There have been and are those, who resort, or would be thought to resort, to the Books of Ecclesiastical Polity, for conclusions and maxims very different from these. King James II., it is well known, ascribed to Hooker, more than to any other writer, his own ill-starred conversion to Romanism: against which, nevertheless, if he had thought a little more impartially, he might have perceived that Hooker's works every where inculcate that which is the only sufficient antidote, respect for the true Church of the Fathers, as subsidiary to Scripture and a witness of its true meaning. And the rationalists on the contrary side, and the liberals of the school of Locke and Hoadly, are never weary of claiming Hooker as the first distinct enunciator of their principles. Whereas, even in respect of civil government, though he might allow their theory of its origin, he pointedly deprecates their conclusion in favour of resistance. And in respect of sacramental grace, and the consequent nature and importance of Church communion, themselves have never dared to claim sanction from him.

It is hoped that this republication of his remains, by making them in certain re-

[91] The following sentences from the History of the World, which must have been finished before 1615, may serve to illustrate this observation. "This was the order of the army of Israel, and "of their encamping and marching; the taber-"nacle being always set in the middle and centre "thereof. The reverend care, which Moses the "Prophet and chosen servant of God had, in all "that belonged even to the outward and least "parts of the tabernacle, ark and sanctuary, wit-"nessed well the inward and most humble zeal "borne towards God himself. The industry used "in the framing thereof and every and the least part "thereof; the curious workmanship thereon be-"stowed; the exceeding charge and expense in the "provisions; the dutiful observance in the laying "up and preserving the holy vessels; the solemn "removing thereof, the vigilant attendance there-"on, and the provident defence of the same, which "all ages have in some degree imitated, is now so "forgotten and cast away in this superfine age, by "those of the *Family*, by the Anabaptists, Brown-ists, and other sectaries, as all cost and care bestowed and had of the Church, wherein God is to be served and worshipped, is accounted a kind of popery, and as proceeding from an idolatrous disposition; insomuch as time would soon bring to pass (if it were not resisted) that God would be turned out of churches into barns, and from thence again into the fields and mountains, and under the hedges; and the offices of the ministry (robbed of all dignity and respect) be as contemptible as those places; all order, discipline, and church government, left to newness of opinion and men's fancies; yea, and soon after, as many kinds of religions would spring up, as there are parish churches within England; every contentious and ignorant person clothing his fancy with the spirit of God, and his imagination with the gift of revelation; insomuch as when the truth, which is but one, shall appear to the simple multitude no less variable than contrary to itself, the faith of men will soon after die away by degrees, and all religion be held in scorn and contempt." b. ii. c. 5. § 1. Elsewhere (c. 4. §. 4.) Sir Walter Raleigh quotes Hooker by name for his definition of law: one among the many incidental proofs of the great authority which Hooker's work had acquired in so very few years.

[92] See especially Hammond, Works, vol. i. p. 669; and Pierce's Letter at the end of Walton's Life of Sanderson.

spects more accessible, will cause them to become more generally read and known: and surely the better they are known, the more entirely will they be rescued from the unpleasant association, and discreditable praise, just now mentioned; the more will they appear in their true light, as a kind of warning voice from antiquity, a treasure of primitive, catholic maxims and sentiments, seasonably provided for this Church, at a time when she was, humanly speaking, in a fair way to fall as low towards rationalism, as the lowest of the protestant congregations are now fallen. Bold must he be who should affirm, that great as was then her need of such a defender, it at all exceeded her peril from the same quarter at the present moment. Should these volumes prove at all instrumental in awakening any of her children to a sense of that danger, and in directing their attention to the primitive apostolical Church, as the ark of refuge divinely provided for the faithful, such an effect will amply repay the Editor, not only for the labour of his task, which to one more skilful would have been comparatively nothing, but for that which must otherwise be always a source of some regret to him—the consciousness, namely, of having undertaken an office, for which in many respects he knew himself to be so very imperfectly prepared.

The chief circumstance important to be stated on this reprint of the Edition of 1836, is, that the whole of the Dublin MSS. of Hooker have been carefully collated for it a second time by Dr. Todd and Mr. Gibbings: and all the resulting variations of any importance will be found inserted in their proper places. They have ascertained what it is on many accounts satisfactory to know: that the notes on the Sermon on Justification, supposed to be Archbishop Ussher's, and given as his in the former Edition, are unquestionably by another hand. Mr. Young of the College of Arms, has kindly revised the Pedigree of the Hooker family, and corrected it from documents in the library of that institution: towards which object valuable information has been furnished by Mr. Dalton, of Dunkirk House in Gloucestershire. The Editor gladly avails himself of this mode of acknowledging the obligation he feels to all these gentlemen for their valuable and friendly aid.

March, 1841.

APPENDIX TO PREFACE.—No. I.

The Pedigree of VOWELL *als* HOOKER, *of Exeter; compiled from the Records of the College of Arms and other authorities.*

ARMS OF VOWELL, als HOKER, recorded in the Visitations of the county of Devon made in 1565 and 1572. Or, a fess vaire vaire between two lions passant guardant sable: quartering *Druett*, *Kelly* and *Wilford*.
CREST, a hind statant or, carrying in her mouth a branch of roses argent, stalked and leaved vert.

1st wife. Alice, widow of John Cole, of Topsham, co. Devon. — John Vowell, als Hoker, of the city of Exeter, gent. — 2d wife. Alice, daughter and heir of Richard Druett, of the city of Exeter, by Joan his wife, daughter and heir of John Kelly, esq., by Julian, one of the daughters and heirs of Robert Wilford, of Oxenham, co. Devon, esq.

- Thomasin, married John Chaldon, of Morton, co. Devon, gent.
- Christopher, eldest son, died sine prole.
- 1st wife. Alice, daughter of John Cole, of Topsham, co. Devon. — Robert Vowell, als Hoker, eldest surviving son and heir. — 2d wife. Alice, daughter of Richard Drake, of the city of Exeter. — 3d wife. Agnes, daughter of John Dobell, of Woodbridge, co. Suffolk.
- Jacobyn and Margery.

- Richard, Alys, and Lawrence, all died, sine prole.
- Anthony Vowell, als Hoker, died, sine prole.
- 1st wife. Martha daur. of Robert Toker, of the city of Exeter, gent.[a] — John Vowell, als Hoker of the city of Exeter, gent., and Chamberlain of the said city, 1565. — 2d wife. Anastryce, daur. to Edward Bridgman, of the city of Exeter.
- Roger Vowell, als Hooker. —
- Sidwell married John Monke, of Ottery, St. Mary, co. Devon.
- Anne married David Wyndyat, of the city of Exeter.
- Mary married John Russell of Grantham, co. Linc.

- Robert
- Johan
- Johan
- Margery
- Prothsaye
- Thomas
- Toby
- Alys married 25 July, 1580, to John Travers.
- Zachary Vowel als Hooker, rector of St. Michael Carhays, co. Cornwall. Will dat. 2 July, 1637. Proved at Exeter, 28th Jan. 1643.
- Grace, daur. of John Batishill of South Tawton, Executrix to her husband, 1643.
- Issue.
- Magdalen
- Audrey
- Thomas
- Mary
- Peter
- Amy
- George
- John
- Dorothy
- RICHARD HOOKER, born circ. 1553, M. A. of Corpus Christi College, Oxford: Rector of Drayton, Beauchamp, co. Bucks, 1584: Master of the Temple, 1585: Rector of Boscombe, co. Wilts, 1591, and Prebendary of Sarum. Vicar of Bishopsbourne, co. Kent, 1595. Died 2d Nov. 1600, and was buried at Bishopsbourne. Will dated 26 Oct. and Pr. 3d Dec. 1600, at Canterbury. — Joan, daur. of John Churchman, of London, Draper. Executrix to and proved her husband's will, 1600. Remarried and died in London soon afterwards.
- Elizabeth married .... Harvey, and died in Sept. 1663, very aged.

- 1. Alice, eldest dau.: died unmarried, 20 Dec. 1649, and was buried at Chipstead, co. Surrey, 1st Jan. following.
- 2. Cecily married .... Chalinor of Chichester, co. Sussex, and died s. p.
- 3. Jone married Edward Nethersole, gent., at Bishopsborne, co. Kent, 23 March, 1600.
- Ezekiel Clarke, Rector of St. Nicholas, Harbledown, co. Kent. — 4. Margaret, youngest daughter.
- Ezekiel Clarke, Rector of Waldron, co. Sussex—buried there 16th Dec. 1670. Will dated 14th Dec. 1670, proved 28 same month, in the Archdeaconery of Lewes.
- Sarah, Executrix to her husband 1670, and living a widow 1676.
- a dau.: married, and living a widow 1676.
- Sarah, baptized at Waldron 4th Nov. 1658.
- Ezekiel Clarke, baptized at Waldron, 4th April, 1660.

[a] Another MS. states her to be Martha, daughter of John Barowe, by Grace, daughter of Robert Toker, of the city of Exeter.

APPENDIX TO PREFACE.—No. II.

Collation of the first edition of G. Cranmer's Letter on the New Church Discipline with Walton's edition, 1675. *See in this edition,* vol. ii. p. 60—66.

	Readings of first Edition.	Readings of Walton.
P. 598, l. 21.	diffidence	defiance
599, l. 1.	emprese	impress
—— l. 11.	is mightily	did mightily
—— l. 12.	to possess	possess
—— l. 13.	to lose	if lost
—— l. 20.	workmen	workman
—— l. 21.	they find	and they find
—— l. 31.	cap and surplice	the cap and surplice
—— l. 32.	government then established	government established
—— l. 36.	in Latin	and in Latin
600, l. 13.	desired of the common people	desired by all the common people
—— l. 17.	acknowledging	by acknowledging
—— l. 24.	further to proceed	to proceed further
—— l. 26.	was in fact	was also in fact
—— l. 27.	that undone	that to be undone
601, l. 6.	out of a pease cart	out of a pease cart in Cheapside
—— l. 20.	their entering	they entered
602, l. 4.	prayers	prayer
—— l. 7.	were they rather	were they not rather
—— l. 8.	aloof	aloof off
—— l. 8.	and loath	as being loath
—— l. 8.	the Spirit	that Spirit
603, l. 4.	hath taken	have taken
604, l. 4.	both lawful	is both lawful
605, l. 8.	might so be salved	might be salved
—— l. 16.	erection	erections
—— l. 23.	τὸ ἴδιον	distraction
606, l. 9.	they are not able	that they are not able
—— l. 10.	with dislike	with a dislike
608, l. 1.	open to advantage	open an advantage
—— l. 6.	somewhat overflow	so often overflow
—— l. 13.	erection	and erection
—— l. 23.	their sovereign	or their sovereign
—— l. 37.	or of innovation	or innovation
—— l. 42.	common people, judges	common people who are judges
609, l. 2.	for want	and for want
—— l. 30.	of infinite	of the infinite
—— l. 38.	shod, girt	should be girt
610, l. 6.	what men	that what men
—— l. 10.	but things	but even things

APPENDIX TO PREFACE.—No. III.

Memoranda for an Answer to the "Christian Letter," omitted in the notes to this Edition[1].

Titlepage.] The title of my answere this. To the Penman of a Letter intitled Christian[2], [and published with his name against whome it is writ,] in the name of certain English Protestants.

Ibid.] "Credo Apostolos nostros, nec "cum suspicerentur ab hominibus inflatos "fuisse, nec cum despicerentur elisos. Neu- "tra quippe tentatio defuit illis viris; nam "et credentium celebrabantur præconio, et "persequentium maledictis infamabantur." Aug. Doct. Christ. iii. c. 20. [t. iii. 54.]

"Prorsus si quid veri me tenere vel scio "vel credo vel puto, in quo aliter sentis; "quantum dat Dominus, sine tua injuria "conabor asserere." Aug. ad Hieron. Ep. 15. [t. ii. 167.]

As hitherto I have alwaies framed my selfe to respect truth with reverence, and error with compassion; soe I would be loath to begin in you a chaunge of that course, wherein I could never yet find any inconvenience.

It appeareth cleare throughout the course of his whole booke that this fellow did in no one point of doctrine understand either what he pretendeth the Church of England to establish, or what he allegeth as said by the adversarie; or what he would beare men in hand to be contradicted by the one and craftily upheld by the other; but sheweth such pittiful and palpable ignorance even in every article, as for mine own part I am ashamed that the common enemy of us both should see, being forward enough thereby to imagine that great blindnes must needs reign there where such a champion as this fighteth without eyes.

P. 2.] "Pericles convitiis certare recusat, "quod qui vincat victo deterior sit." Phil. Jud. p. 138. De Agricult. p. 133.

"Veritas est lux quam Sophistæ, consue- "tudo, conjectura, et falsus testis corrum- "punt.

"Deus rerum omnium certissimus, et "similis incerto." Tertul. p. 635.

"Sapiens in eo quod est sapiens, intentio "ejus est perquirere veritatem, non facere "dubitationes, et ponere involutiones in "opinionibus." Aver. Disp. Metaph. fol. 148. p. 1.

"Qui falsum aliquid in principio sumunt, "verisimilitudine inducti, necesse est eos in "ea quæ consequuntur incurrere." Lactant. p. 178. (l. 3. c. 24.)[3].

"Necesse est falsa esse quæ rebus falsis "congruunt." p. 178.

"Cum primis habuerint fidem, qualia "sunt ea quæ sequuntur non circumspici- "unt, sed defendunt omni modo, cum de- "beant prima utrumne vera sint an falsa ex "consequentibus judicare." p. 178.

"Sermo de scientia quam Deus glorio- "sus de se et de aliis habet est prohibi- "tus. Quanto magis ponere eum in scriptis. "Nam non pervenit intelligentia vulgi ad "tales profunditates; et cum disputatur ab "eis, in hoc destruitur divinitas apud eos. "Quare disputatio eis de hac scientia pro- "hibita est, cum sufficiat in fælicitatem eor- "um ut intelligant id quod potest percipere "intelligentia eorum. Quare lex cujus in- "tentio prima fuit docere vulgus non defecit "circa intelligentiam harum rerum ex iis "quæ sunt in homine, sed ad faciendum in- "telligere aliqua de Deo indiguit assimila- "tione ejus, instrumentis humanis. Ut dix- "it, 'Manus ejus fundavit terram, et dex- "tra ejus mensuravit cœlum.' Et hæc "quidem quæstio est propria sapientibus "quos dedicavit Deus veritati." Aver. fol. 208.

"Aliquando est opinio, quæ erit venenum "in aliquibus hominibus, et nutrimentum in "aliis." fol. 209.

"Cum impossibile sit quin loquamur in "hac quæstione, dicimus de ea secundum "quod requirit vis loquelæ de ea, et apud "eum qui non est assuefactus in rebus in "quibus se debet exercere ante considera- "tionem in hac quæstione." fol. 209.

Γνῶμαι αἱ μεν τῶν ἄρτι μανθάνειν ἀρχομένων ἄστατοι καὶ ἀνίδρυτοι.

P. 36. "Where is it revealed.... that "angels' perpetuity is the hand that draw- "eth out celestial motion?... Do you not "mean the angels which kept not their first "estate," &c.] What a misery is it to be troubled with an adversary into whom a man must put both truth and wit.

Ibid. On "warrant of present grace in

[1] The references are to the pages of the printed Letter, on which the original memoranda occur.

[2] The portion in brackets has a line drawn across in the original, and consequently omitted in the Dublin and C. C. C. Transcripts.

[3] The reference in (1) seems to be entered in the original in Fulman's hand.

"the very work wrought of baptism."] See Mornæus, Misc. p. 773.

P. 40. "When those officers" (of Geneva who had expelled Calvin) "like unto fil-"thy froth, were cast out, the one accused "of sedition going about to escape through "a window, falling down headlong, by the "pease" (weight) "of his body, was so "hurt that within a few days he died; an-"nother for murder was put to death, and "the two other being accused for ill gov-"ernment in a certain embassage, forsook "the country, and were condemned being "absent," &c.] Not unlikely but men, when they fail of their hope, and are at a stop in their purposes, may grow desperate; as Achitophel, Hacquet, Coppinger, and such like melancholiques.

P. 45. "In all your bookes... the *inge-*"*nuous schoolemen* almost in all points have "some finger."] As if you should say, the brave and courtly husbandmen, the high spirited shepperds, the victorious friars, the grave and prudent scullers on Thamesis, or any other the like unfit and mischosen titles. A term as fit as is a saddle for a cow's back. Were it fit for me to say of reformers, they are hir majestie's fair and well favoured [subjects]?

P. 46. "As a man afar off beholding a "briar tree all blown over with his flowers, "with great desire approacheth near unto "it, and findeth himself deceived; so the "delight of reading your book," &c.] What a goodly show there is in the blossoms of a briar tree. No tree in all the field or forest fit to serve your turn in this comparison, but the briar tree only? Indeed the briar is noted for a proud aspiring tree, carrying a more ambitious mind than either the olive tree or vine, although it bring forth nothing worthy to be accounted of. But, good sir, the heart of the tree you see not: it may be the kind you also mistake; and as for the fruit, you are not ignorant how distasteful all fruits are when the tongue is scorched and blistered with heat.

Ibid. "Sometime it seemeth to us that "we perceive great flourishing of warlike "and glistering weapons, and to hear the "loud outcries and noise of them which pur-"sue their enemies in battle, thundering, "gunshot, tossing of spears, and rattling of "harness," &c.] O brave gallant! This martial spirit of yours doth surely deserve a knighthood, but that you are a man more willing to be heard than known in the field; neither do you, like a Pyrgopolimius, swell, and so break, but from big words you proceed, as a valiant champion should do, to deadly blows.

P. 47.] I doubt not but if you once attain to understand the rudiments and principles of Christian religion, which with good helps may be done in reasonable time; those other gifts of speech and writing, wherewith it hath pleased God to indue you in very good handsome measure, may do good for the edifying of poor country people, in case you apply your talent that way, and leave the controversies of religion to other men that have bestowed their time on them.

Ibid. "That you would be careful not to "corrupt the English Creed," &c.] Be you careful to understand the English Creed, which as yet you do not. Read some good Catechism, and take the help of divines allowed by authority, that they may a little better make it sink into your head, before you meddle again with matters of religion.

Add here such sentiments as the Fathers use for admonition to shallow witted men, and consolation, although they be not able to argue and dispute in matters of doctrine; which thing belongeth not to them, but to others, whom God hath more enabled for that purpose.

P. 48.] "Now in all these things, good "Maister Hoo. though we thus write, we "do not take upon us to censure your books, "neither rashly to judge of you for them; "but because.... he that toucheth our faith "toucheth the apple of our eye; we could "not but utter our inward grief, and yet in "as charitable manner, as the cause in hand "would suffer."] As if Cassius and Brutus, having slain Cæsar, they should have solemnly protested to his friends, they meant him nothing but mere good will and friendship. Only they feared lest the commonwealth should take harm by his means. Was there any friend he had so ill-minded, as not to believe such honest protestation?

An imitation of this conclusion in the person of Cassius and Brutus. You have given me as many stabs as my body could receive at your hands: although in effect, I praise God for it, none of them deadly, whatsoever your intent were. But for this once I will take your word without further reply; and am content to let the world think, if it will, that as you have done me, so likewise you have meant me no evil in any thing hitherto written; not in traducing me as an underminer, not in, &c.

Forget not here to use that of Solomon, Prov. xxvi, 18, "As a madman who casteth "firebrands, arrows, and death, so is the "man that deceiveth his neighbour, and "saith, Am not I in sport?"

P. 49. At the foot of their conclusion] "Hæc pro animi nostri pura conscientiæ et "Domini ac Dei nostri fiducia rescripsi. "Habes tu literas meas et ego tuas. In die "judicii ante tribunal Christi utraque reci-"tabuntur." Cyprian. ad Papin. Ep. 66. in fine.

To follow p. IV.

Hookers note on A Christ. Letter &c. p. 20.

If sermons be the word of God in the same sense that scriptures are his word, if there be no difference between preaching and prophesying, no ods between a pastor & lecturer, no difference at all, why congregations as touching that forme of deliuering the word of God wherof Christ the preachers and writers of the apostles were ordained Exemplified. Christ the preachers sermons are holy scripture. Now I wish not haue homilies read in the Church because neither should be their read but the word of God

Ibid. p. 22.

Sermons are framed by the will of man therfor all things framed by man will are sermons. If this be yo skill in reasoning, let a whole bas on be a sermon for it is a thing made by mans wit.

Ibid. p. 24.

Are not sacraments signes of greater things by signing whereof they are that wch they signify? If they have not, they are not sacraments and consequently no signes, before we go. And did not Christ so be made Ephilia as S. Augustine writeth? Yes, & yet the Messias of Israel is yet the signe or ensigne the whom you send that God spake, & this we shall find for our disagreement.

Notes by G. Cranmer on B. 6. of Eccl. Polity

p. 20. Marriage feast in Cana? Although yt be no necessary conclusion gouerne, yet some presumption yt is that if any such thing had beene used in y Church before Victor, yt would at some tyme or other haue beene mentioned. And therefore if any testimony could here be alleaged of y exercise of excommunication before Victor, it would be very fitt. In this and y like if you cannot call to remembrance any clearer testimony, it may be D. Raynolds were able to furnish you, wth a word writing unto him, when you send your booke.

Notes by E. Sandys on B. 6. of Eccl. Polity

83. Ambrose Bishop] Ambrose Archbishop.
84. wch may be thought] add by men that way allreadie affected.
Ambrose last mentioned] add but more then they haue any sound pecco of proofe for) ther so I could wish yt the allegations were yt graunt and bring to them ex professo, perie pleasure to signifie that yt is not for truth sake, but admit it be very ofte disputation to shew their rather weakness.

The above are all from M.S.S. preserved in C.C.C. Library, Oxford

TO THE

RIGHT HON. AND RIGHT REV. FATHER IN GOD,

GEORGE[1], LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,

DEAN OF HIS MAJESTY'S CHAPEL ROYAL,
AND PRELATE OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER.

My Lord,

I here present you with a relation of the life of that humble man to whom, at the mention of his name, princes, and the most learned of this nation, have paid a reverence. It was written by me under your roof: for which, and more weighty reasons, you might, if it were worthy, justly claim the title to it: but indeed, my Lord, though this be a well-meant sacrifice to the memory of that venerable man; yet I have so little confidence in my performance, that I beg your pardon for subscribing[2] your name to it; and desire all that know your Lordship to receive it, not as a dedication, by which you receive any access of honour, but rather as a more humble and more public acknowledgment of your long continued, and your now daily, favours to

your most affectionate,

and most humble servant,

IZAAK WALTON.

Nov. 28, 1664.

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1 [Morley.]

2 [Corrected to "superscribing" in the dedication to the collected lives, 1675, which is the same with this, *mutatis mutandis*.]

PREFACE

TO THE

FIRST EDITION OF THE LIFE OF HOOKER,

PUBLISHED IN 1665.

TO THE READER.

I THINK it necessary to inform my reader, that Dr. Gauden (the late [1] Bishop of Worcester) hath also lately wrote and published the life of Master Hooker [2]. And though this be not writ by design to oppose what he hath truly written, yet I am put upon a necessity to say, that in it there be many material mistakes [3], and more omissions. I conceive some of his mistakes did proceed from a belief in Master Thomas Fuller, who had too hastily published what he hath since most ingenuously retracted [4]. And for the bishop's omissions, I suppose his more weighty business, and want of time, made him pass over many things without that due examination, which my better leisure, my diligence, and my accidental advantages, have made known unto me.

And now for myself, I can say, I hope, or rather know, there are no material mistakes in what I here present to you that shall become my reader. Little things that I have received by tradition (to which there may be too much and too little faith given) I will not at this distance of time undertake to justify; for though I have used great diligence, and compared relations and circumstances, and probable results and expressions, yet I shall not impose my belief upon my reader; I shall rather leave him at liberty: but if there shall appear any material omission, I desire every lover of truth and the memory of Master Hooker, that it may be made known unto me. And to incline him to it, I here promise to acknowledge and rectify any such mistake in a second impression [5], which the printer says he hopes for; and by this means my weak (but faithful) endeavours may become a better monument, and in some degree more worthy the memory of this venerable man.

I confess, that when I consider the great learning and virtue of Master Hooker, and what satisfaction and advantages many eminent scholars and admirers of him have had by his labours, I do not a little wonder, that in sixty years [6] no man did undertake to tell posterity of the excellencies of his life and learning, and the accidents of both; and sometimes wonder more at myself, that I have been persuaded to it; and, indeed, I do not easily pronounce my own pardon, nor expect that my reader shall, unless my introduction shall prove my apology, to which I refer him.

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[1] [Dr. Gauden died in 1662. His edition of Hooker, dated that year, bears marks of great haste.]

[2] [By Archbishop Sheldon's desire, as Gauden states himself in p. 1, which perhaps made the Archbishop the more anxious to obtain a more correct life by Walton: see note on p. 61 of this volume.]

[3] [E. g. "A little living called Buscomb in "the West, to which *the college of C. C.* present- "ed him: and *afterward*, that other, not much "better, in *Lincolnshire*, called Drayton Beau- "champ." p. 12. "He ever lived a single life." (Fuller C. H. IX. 235, "living and dying a single "man.") ibid. "He was prebendary of Canter- "bury." p. 25. "He made no will." ibid.]

[4] [Fuller, Worthies of England; p. 276, ed. 1662. "Here I must retract two passages in my "Church History. For whereas I reported him "to die a bachelor, he had wife and children," [marg. "From the mouth of his sister lately liv- "ing at Hogsden" (qu. Hoxton?) "near Lon- "don."] "though indeed such as were neither to "his comfort when living, nor credit when dead. "Secondly, his monument was not erected by "Sir E. Sandys, (a person as probable as any "man alive for such a performance,) but by Sir "W. Cooper, now living in the castle of Hart- "ford."]

[5] [Of Walton's care to fulfil this engagement, some instances will be pointed out in the notes on the ensuing Life.]

[6] [In round numbers: from his death in 1600, to the publication of his Life by Bishop Gauden in 1662.]

THE

LIFE

OF

MR. RICHARD HOOKER.

THE INTRODUCTION.

I HAVE been persuaded by a friend [1], whom I reverence, and ought to obey, to write *The Life of* RICHARD HOOKER, the happy author of five (if not more) of the eight learned books of *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*. And although I have undertaken it, yet it hath been with some unwillingness, because I foresee that it must prove to me, and especially at this time of my age, a work of much labour to inquire, consider, research, and determine, what is needful to be known concerning him. For I knew him not in his life, and must therefore not only look back to his death, (now sixty-four years past,) but almost fifty years beyond that, even to his childhood and youth, and gather thence such observations and prognostics, as may at least adorn, if not prove necessary for the completing of what I have undertaken.

This trouble I foresee, and foresee also, that it is impossible to escape censures; against which I will not hope my well-meaning and diligence can protect me, (for I consider the age in which I live,) and shall therefore but entreat of my reader a suspension of his censures, till I have made known unto him some reasons, which I myself would now gladly believe do make me in some measure fit for this undertaking: and if these reasons shall not acquit me from all censures, they may at least abate of their severity; and this is all I can probably hope for.

My reasons follow.

About forty years past [2] (for I am now

[1] [Thus explained in the Epistle to the Reader, prefixed to the Lives of Donne, Wotton, Hooker, and Herbert, when first collected (in 1670) into one volume. "Having writ these two lives," (of Dr. Donne and Sir H. Wotton,) "I lay quiet "twenty years, without a thought of either troubling myself or others, by any new engagement "in this kind, for I thought I knew my unfitness. "But, about that time, Dr. Gauden (then Lord "Bishop of Exeter) publisht *the Life of Mr. Richard Hooker*, (so he called it,) with so many dangerous mistakes, both of him and his books, that discoursing of them with his Grace, Gilbert" [Sheldon] "that now is Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, he enjoined me to examine some circumstances, and then rectify the bishop's mistakes, by giving the world a fuller and a truer account of Mr. Hooker and his books, than that "bishop had done; and, I know I have done so. "And, let me tell the reader, that till his Grace "had laid this injunction upon me, I could not "admit a thought of any fitness in me to undertake it: but, when he had twice enjoined me to "it, I then declined my own, and trusted his judgment, and submitted to his commands: concluding, that if I did not, I could not forbear accusing myself of disobedience: and, indeed, of ingratitude for his many favours. Thus I became engaged into the third life." N. B. This is quoted from the edition of 1675.]

[2] [Is. Walton was born August 9, 1593. The marriage referred to by the word "affinity" must be dated therefore about 1623. "From one or "two entries in the parish register of St. Dunstan, "Fleet-street, there is reason to believe that Walton was twice married:" (the second marriage connecting him, as is well known, with Bishop Ken:) "of his first wife nothing is now known, "but that her Christian name was Rachel.

"'Aug. 25, 1640, Rachell wife of Isaak Walton was buried.'"

"By her he had two sons. Henry, baptized Oct. "12, 1632, and buried October 17, following. An"other Henry baptized March 21, 1634, buried "Dec. 4, following." Dr. Bliss's note in Athen. Oxon. I. 690. In the Appendix, Walton says that George Cranmer's sister was his (Walton's) aunt. This passage shews that he means his aunt *by marriage:* and we may conclude that his first wife was Rachel, daughter of William Cranmer, one of the younger sons of Thomas, son of Edmund, who was brother to the Archbishop, and archdeacon of Canterbury. Dr. Zouch, apparently on the strength of the passage in the Appendix alone, states (vol. II. p. 314), that "Isaac Wal"ton's *mother* was the daughter of Edmund

past the seventy of my age [3]) I began a happy affinity with William Cranmer, (now with God,) grand nephew unto the great Archbishop of that name; a family of noted prudence and resolution; with him and two of his sisters I had an entire and free friendship: one of them was the wife of Dr. Spencer, a bosom-friend, and sometime com-pupil with Mr. Hooker in Corpus Christi college in Oxford, and after, President of the same. I name them here, for that I shall have occasion to mention them in this following discourse; as also George Cranmer, their brother, of whose useful abilities my reader may have a more authentick testimony than my pen can purchase for him, by that of our learned Camden and others.

This William Cranmer, and his two forenamed sisters, had some affinity, and a most familiar friendship with Mr. Hooker, and had had some part of their education with him in his house, when he was parson of Bishop's-Borne, near Canterbury: in which city their good father then lived. They had (I say) a part of their education with him, as myself, since that time, a happy cohabitation with them; and having some years before read part of Mr. Hooker's works with great liking and satisfaction, my affection to them made me a diligent inquisitor into many things that concerned him: as namely, of his person, his nature, the management of his time, his wife, his family, and the fortune of him and his. Which inquiry hath given me much advantage in the knowledge of what is now under my consideration, and intended for the satisfaction of my reader.

I had also a friendship with the reverend Dr. Ussher, the late learned Archbishop of Armagh; and with Doctor Morton, the late learned and charitable Bishop of Durham; as also with the learned John Hales, of Eton college [4]; and with them also (who loved the very name of Mr. Hooker) I have had many discourses concerning him; and from them, and many others that have now put off mortality, I might have had more informations, if I could then have admitted a thought of any fitness for what by persuasion I have now undertaken. But, though that full harvest be irrecoverably lost, yet my memory hath preserved some gleanings, and my diligence made such additions to them, as I hope will prove useful to the completing of what I intend. In the discovery of which I shall be faithful, and with this assurance put a period to my Introduction.

" Cranmer :" which is evidently inconsistent with the manner of speaking in the text.]

[3] [" I have almost attained the declining year " of fifty of mine age." Robert Beal ap. Strype, A. IV. 116.]

[4] [Archbishop Ussher died 1655, aged 75; Bishop Morton 1660, aged 96; Mr. Hales 1656, aged 72.]

THE LIFE.

It is not to be doubted, but that Richard Hooker was born at Heavy-tree [5], near, or within the precincts, or in the city of Exeter; a city which may justly boast that it was the birthplace of him and Sir Thomas Bodley; as indeed the county may, in which it stands, that it hath furnished this nation with Bishop Jewel, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Walter Raleigh, and many others, memorable for their valour and learning. He was born about the year of our redemption 1553 [6]; and of parents that were not so remarkable for their extraction or riches, as for their virtue and industry, and God's blessing upon both [7]; by which

[5] [Fuller, Worthies of England, p. 264. " Rich- " ard Hooker was born at Heavy-tree," (marg. " MS. of baronet Northcott.") Gauden, Life, p. 7. " This only is certain on all hands, that he was " born in the west, either in, or not far from, the " city of Exeter; only Dr. Vilvain, an ancient and " learned physician in Exeter, informs me, that he " was born in Southgate-street in Exeter, anno " 1550." Fulman, MSS. tom. x. fol. 26. " Ri- " chardus Hooker ap. Heavy-tree juxta civitatem " Exoniam natus est circa finem Martii mensis, " anno 1554 incunte." No trace of him remains in either of the register books of the cathedral, St. Mary Major, or Heavitree. In the register of burials of St. Mary Major are the following entries: Agnes Hoker, (possibly his sister,) 18 Oct. 1590: William, and Richard, both 16 Nov. following: another William, 25 March, 1592: Anstice, the wife of Mr. John Hoker, (and therefore Hooker's aunt by marriage,) 25 March, 1599: John Hoker the younger, (his first cousin,) 8 Nov. 1601: Robert, 23 Oct. 1602.]

[6] [There is authority for this in the register of the President of C. C. C. Oxford. " 1573. Dec. 24. " .... quendam Ricdum Hooker *viginti annorum* " ætatis circiter festum Paschæ proxime futur."]

[7] [" His great grandfather John Hooker was " mayor of Exeter 1490. Robert Hooker, esquire, " his grandfather, was mayor 1529." Dr. Bliss's note to Ath. Oxon. I. 693. " The family of Ho- " ker was highly respectable. John Hoker," mentioned above, " was of a worshipful house and " parentage, and represented this city in parliament " during the several reigns of Edward IV., Rich. " III., and Henry VII. As a magistrate he was

they were enabled to educate their children in some degree of learning, of which our Richard Hooker may appear to be one fair testimony; and that nature is not so partial as always to give the great blessings of wisdom and learning, and with them the greater blessings of virtue and government, to those only that are of a more high and honourable birth.

His complexion (if we may guess by him at the age of forty [8]) was sanguine, with a mixture of choler; and yet his motion was slow even in his youth, and so was his speech, never expressing an earnestness in either of them, but an humble gravity suitable to the aged. And it is observed (so far as inquiry is able to look back at this distance of time) that at his being a schoolboy he was an early questionist, quietly inquisitive, why this was, and that was not, to be remembered? why this was granted, and that denied? This being mixed with a remarkable modesty, and a sweet serene quietness of nature; and with them a quick apprehension of many perplext parts of learning imposed then upon him as a scholar, made his master and others to believe him to have an inward blessed divine light, and therefore to consider him to a little wonder. For in that, children were less pregnant, less confident, and more malleable, than in this wiser but not better age.

This meekness, and conjuncture of knowledge with modesty in his conversation, being observed by his schoolmaster, caused him to persuade his parents (who intended him for an apprentice) to continue him at school, till he could find out some means, by persuading his rich uncle, or some other charitable person, to ease them of a part of their care and charge; assuring them, that their son was so enriched with the blessings of nature and grace, that God seemed to single him out as a special instrument of His glory. And the good man told them also, that he would double his diligence in instructing him, and would neither expect nor receive any other reward, than the content of so hopeful and happy an employment.

This was not unwelcome news, and especially to his mother to whom he was a dutiful and dear child; and all parties were so pleased with this proposal, that it was resolved so it should be. And in the mean time his parents and master laid a foundation for his future happiness, by instilling into his soul the seeds of piety, those conscientious principles of loving and fearing God: of an early belief that he knows the very secrets of our souls; that he punisheth our vices and rewards our innocence; that we should be free from hypocrisy, and appear to man what we are to God, because first or last the crafty man is catcht in his own snare. These seeds of piety were so seasonably planted, and so continually watered with the daily dew of God's blessed Spirit that his infant-virtues grew into such holy habits, as did make him grow daily into more and more favour both with God and man; which, with the great learning that he did after attain to, hath made Richard Hooker honoured in this, and will continue him to be so, to succeeding generations.

This good schoolmaster, whose name I am not able to recover, (and am sorry, for that I would have given him a better memorial in this humble monument, dedicated to the memory of his scholar,[9]) was very solicitous with John Hooker [10], then cham-

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"distinguished for probity, learning, and diligence; "as a Christian and citizen, he was exemplary for "good conduct and abundant charities. He was "elected into the civic chair in 1490, and died "three years after."

"Robert his son was the youngest of twenty, "but lived to witness the successive deaths of all "his brothers and sisters, and to inherit the whole "of the family property. He was registrar of the "archdeaconry of Barnstable, and 'became chief "and principal of St. Mary the More's parish;' was "a great peacemaker, and eminently zealous and "attentive to the duties of first magistrate of his "native city, in 1529. The pestilence which "made such havoc in Exeter in 1537, numbered "this Robert among its victims. His will is pre"served in the corporation archives, and bears "date Aug. 1534, in which he makes provision "for his wife Agnes, and seven children, Roger, "Sydwell, Anne, Alice, Mary, Juliana, and "John." From the tenor of the will, it may be conjectured that all but the last were the issue of previous marriages. The details of the will evince much public spirit, and considerate benevolence.]

For the whole of this information, as well as the account of John Hooker, *alias* Vowell, in a subsequent note, the editor is indebted to the Rev. Mr. Oliver, of Exeter.

[8] [About 1594, when he moved into Kent, and the Cranmer family, Walton's informants, became acquainted with him.]

[9] [In 1561, the school is said to have been new "built, ceiled, and seated, by a common contribu"tion, at the request of *Mr. Williams*, the then "master." Carlisle's Account of Endowed Grammar Schools, 1. 271. tit. Exeter High School.]

[10] ["John Hooker, younger son of Robert Hooker, "by his wife Agnes Doble, was born in Exeter, "about 1524. He was sent early to Oxford," either to Exeter college or C. C. C. "but whether "he took a degree, Wood was unable to ascertain. "Leaving the University, he went to Strasburgh, "and became a pupil of Peter Martyr. In 1555, "after he had been some years returned home, he "was elected first chamberlain of Exeter: an of"fice for which his MSS. shew that he was ad"mirably qualified. Sir Peter Carew sent him to "Ireland to negotiate his private affairs, and pro"cured his election as burgess for Athenry, in the "Irish parliament, 1568. He represented Ex"eter in the English parliament of 1571. He

berlain of Exeter, and uncle to our Richard, to take his nephew into his care, and to maintain him for one year in the university, and in the mean time to use his endeavours to procure an admission for him into some college, though it were but in a mean degree; still urging and assuring him, that his charge would not continue long; for the lad's learning and manners were both so remarkable, that they must of necessity be taken notice of; and that doubtless God would provide him some second patron, that would free him and his parents from their future care and charge.

These reasons, with the affectionate rhetorick of his good master, and God's blessing upon both, procured from his uncle a faithful promise, that he would take him into his care and charge before the expiration of the year following, which was performed by him, and with the assistance of the learned Mr. John Jewel; of whom this may be noted, that he left, or was, about the first of Queen Mary's reign, expelled out of, Corpus Christi college in Oxford, (of which he was a fellow,) for adhering to the truth of those principles of religion, to which he had assented and given testimony in the days of her brother and predecessor Edward the Sixth; and this John Jewel having within a short time after a just cause to fear a more heavy punishment than expulsion, was forced, by forsaking this, to seek safety in another nation; and, with that safety, the enjoyment of that doctrine and worship, for which he suffered.

But the cloud of that persecution and fear ending with the life of Queen Mary, the affairs of the church and state did then look more clear and comfortable; so that he, and with him many others of the same judgment, made a happy return into England about the first of Queen Elizabeth; in which year this John Jewel was sent a commissioner or visitor of the churches of the western parts of this kingdom, and especially of those in Devonshire, in which county he was born; and then and there he contracted a friendship with John Hooker, the uncle of our Richard [11].

About the second or third year of her reign, this John Jewel was made Bishop of Salisbury [12]: and there being always observed in him a willingness to do good, and to oblige his friends, and now a power added to this willingness: this John Hooker gave him a visit in Salisbury, and besought him for charity's sake to look favourably upon a poor nephew of his, whom nature had fitted for a scholar, but the estate of his parents was so narrow, that they were unable to give him the advantage of learning; and that the bishop would therefore become his patron, and prevent him from being a tradesman; for he was a boy of remarkable hopes. And though the bishop knew, men do not usually look with an indifferent eye upon their own children and relations, yet he assented so far to John Hooker, that he appointed the boy and his schoolmaster should attend him about Easter next following at that place; which was done accordingly; and then, after some questions and observations of the boy's learning, and gravity, and behaviour, the bishop gave his schoolmaster a reward, and took order for an annual pension for the boy's parents, promising also to take him into his care for a future preferment; which he performed; for, about the fifteenth [13] year of his age, which was *anno* 1567, he was by the bishop appointed to remove to Oxford, and there to attend Dr. Cole [14], then President of Corpus Christi

" married, first Martha daughter of Robert Tuck-
" er of Exeter, gentleman: 2dly, Anstice, daugh-
" ter of Edward Bridgman. Prince says that he
" died in November, 1601: but the entry of his
" successor's appointment, 15 Sept. states the va-
" cancy to have been made by his death." But it is certain that he outlived his nephew Richard, " for his portrait in the council chamber was taken " in 1601, æt. 76. In early life he used to sign " himself John Vowell, *alias* Hoker: but in late " years, John Hoker, *alias* Vowell."

The following portions of Holinshed's Chronicles were furnished by him: 1. An addition to the Chronicles of Ireland, from 1546 to 1586. 2. A Catalogue of the Bishops of Exeter. 3. A Translation of the Irish History of Giraldus, with notes: which he dedicated to Sir W. Raleigh. 4. A description of the city of Exeter, and of sundry assaults given to the same. " He also took pains," says Wood, " in augmenting and continuing to the " year 1586, the said first and second volumes of " Chronicles, which were printed at London, " 1587:" Holinshed having died about 1580. Of his other writings see an account in Prince's Worthies of Devon. 387, 8.]

[11] [Their common intimacy with Peter Martyr would naturally make them friends when they met. The Commission is mentioned in Strype, Ann. I. i. 248; bearing date July 19, 1559.]

[12] [Consecrated January 21, $15\frac{59}{60}$. Strype, An. I. i. 230. Park. I. 127. Queen Elizabeth came to the throne, Nov. 17, 1558. In the first edition it was " in the third year, &c."]

[13] [In the first edition it was " fourteenth."]

[14] [" 1545, July 28. William Cole made scholar of C. C. C. 1568, July 19, President," The latter date convicts Walton of a slight mistake in this passage. The following is Strype's account of Dr. Cole's election: " A notable visitation of " C. C. C. in Oxford happened this year. The oc-" casion was this: upon the avoidance of the " presidentship of that house, the Queen sent let-" ters to the fellows, recommending William Cole " to their choice to supply that place; a sober and " religious man, who had been an exile under " Queen Mary. But notwithstanding, being well " affected towards popery, they rejected the " Queen's letter, and chose for their president one " Robert Harrison, formerly of that house, but " gone from thence for his favour to the Romish

college, which he did; and Dr. Cole had (according to a promise made to the bishop) provided for him both a tutor (which was said to be the learned Doctor John Reynolds[15]) and a clerk's place in that college: which place, though it were not a full maintenance, yet with the contribution of his uncle, and the continued pension of his patron, the good bishop, gave him a comfortable subsistence. And in this condition he continued unto the eighteenth year of his age, still increasing in learning and prudence, and so much in humility and piety, that he seemed to be filled with the Holy Ghost, and even like St. John Baptist, to be sanctified from his mother's womb, who did often bless the day in which she bare him.

About this time of his age he fell into a dangerous sickness, which lasted two months; all which time his mother, having notice of it, did in her hourly prayers as carnestly beg his life of God, as the mother of St. Augustine did[16] that he might become a true Christian; and their prayers were both so heard, as to be granted. Which Mr. Hooker would often mention with much joy, "and as often pray that he "might never live to occasion any sorrow "to so good a mother; of whom, he would "often say, he loved her so dearly, that he "would endeavour to be good, even as "much for her's, as for his own sake."

As soon as he was perfectly recovered from his sickness, he took a journey from Oxford to Exeter, to satisfy and see his good mother, being accompanied with a countryman and companion of his own college, and both on foot: which was then either more in fashion, or want of money, or their humility made it so; but on foot they went, and took Salisbury in their way purposely to see the good bishop, who made Mr. Hooker and his companion dine with him at his own table; which Mr. Hooker boasted of with much joy and gratitude when he saw his mother and friends; and at the bishop's parting with him, the bishop gave him good counsel, and his benediction, but forgot to give him money; which when the bishop had considered, he sent a servant in all haste to call Richard back to him; and at Richard's return, the bishop said to him, "Richard, I sent for "you back to lend you a horse which hath "carried me many a mile, and, I thank "God, with much ease;" and presently delivered into his hand a walking-staff, with which he professed he had travelled through many parts of Germany[17]. And he said, "Richard, I do not give, but lend you my "horse; be sure you be honest, and bring "my horse back to me at your return this "way to Oxford. And I do now give you "ten groats[18] to bear your charges to Exe"ter; and here is ten groats more, which I "charge you to deliver to your mother, and "tell her, I send her a bishop's benediction "with it, and beg the continuance of her

"religion. The Queen, hearing this, pronounced "their election void, and again commanded them "to elect Cole. But they still refused, urging "that their former election was according to their "consciences and their oaths. Soon after, Horn, "Bishop of Winchester, their visitor, was sent "down to place Cole, which he did; but first was "fain to force the college gates, being shut against "him." (In the next paragraph, by an oversight, a letter of this year's date, on the state of the college, is ascribed to George Cranmer, then only three year's old.) Strype then proceeds; "Cor"pus Christi was procured by the Archbishop to "be this year visited by commission from the "Queen to the said Bishop of Winton, Secretary "Cecil, Cooper, and Humfrey, doctors of divin"ity, and George Ackworth, LL. D. an officer of "the Archbishop's. Where lighter punishments "were inflicted upon lesser crimes, and three no"torious papists expelled, whose names were Rey"nolds, Windsor, and Napier." Strype, Parker, I. 528, 9.]

[15] ["John Reinolds was born in Devonshire "1549, made scholar of C. C. C. 1563, Ap. 29," (so that he was just B. A. when Hooker entered,) "President, by exchange of the deanery of Lin"coln with Dr. Cole, December 14, 1598: died "May 21, 1607." Fulman, from the President's Register. In t. ix. 168, he gives the following extract of a letter from Reynolds on the study of divinity, which is inserted here, as throwing light upon the principles on which Hooker's college education was conducted:

——"You shall doe well if in harder places you "use the judgment of some godly writer, as Calvin "and Peter Martyr, who have written best on the "greatest part of the Old Testament.

"And because it is expedient to joyne the read"ing of some compend of scriptures, and summe "of all divinity, together with the scriptures, I "would wish you to travaile painfully in Calvin's "Institution of Christian Religion, whereby you "shall be greatly profited, not onely to the under"standing of the scripture, whereof it is a brief "and learned commentary, but also to the per"ceiving of poynts of doctrine, whither all things "doe appertaine, and may of us be applied.

"* * * * touching noting, you know I doe not "like the common custome of common places. "The best in my judgment is, to note in the mar"gent, or in some paper book for that purpose, the "summe and method of that which you read. "As for example sake, Mr. Bunny hath done very "well in Calvin's Institutions, shewing all his "method, and summe of every section in his "Compendio, etc. which book you may well joyne "with the reading of Calvin, to understand his or"der and method the better."

See also the Appendix to the Life of Hooker, No. II. Of Bunney, see A. O. II. 219.]

[16] [Confess. lib. III. 11, 12.]

[17] [He was lame, and had suffered much by long journeys on foot. See Dr. Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog. IV. 21, 25, 30.]

[18] ["It is well known that pieces of ten groats, "or 3*s*. 4*d*. were current at this time." Dr. Zouch.]

"prayers for me. And if you bring my "horse back to me, I will give you ten "groats more, to carry you on foot to the "college: and so God bless you, good "Richard."

And this, you may believe, was performed by both parties. But, alas! the next news that followed Mr. Hooker to Oxford was, that his learned and charitable patron had changed this for a better life [19]. Which may be believed, for that as he lived, so he died, in devout meditation and prayer; and in both so zealously, that it became a religious question, Whether his last ejaculations, or his soul, did first enter into heaven [20]?

And now Mr. Hooker became a man of sorrow and fear: of sorrow, for the loss of so dear and comfortable a patron; and of fear, for his future subsistence. But Mr. Cole raised his spirits from this dejection, by bidding him go cheerfully to his studies, and assuring him he should neither want food nor raiment, (which was the utmost of his hopes,) for he would become his patron.

And so he was for about nine months, and not longer; for about that time, this following accident did befall Mr. Hooker.

Edwin Sandys (sometime Bishop of London, and after Archbishop of York [21]) had also been in the days of Queen Mary forced, by forsaking this, to seek safety in another nation; where for some [22] years Bishop Jewel and he were companions at bed and board in Germany; and where, in this, their exile, they did often eat the bread of sorrow, and by that means they there began such a friendship as lasted till the death of Bishop Jewel, which was in September 1571. A little before which time the two bishops meeting, Jewel began a story of his Richard Hooker, and in it gave such a character of his learning and manners, that though Bishop Sandys was educated in Cambridge, where he had obliged and had many friends; yet his resolution was, that his son Edwin should be sent to Corpus Christi college, in Oxford, and by all means be pupil to Mr. Hooker, though his son Edwin was not much younger than Mr. Hooker then was: for, the bishop said, "I "will have a tutor for my son, that shall "teach him learning by instruction, and "virtue by example; and my greatest care "shall be of the last; and (God willing) "this Richard Hooker shall be the man "into whose hands I will commit my Ed-"win." And the bishop did so about twelve months, or not much longer [23], after this resolution.

And doubtless as to these two a better choice could not be made: for Mr Hooker was now in the nineteenth year of his age; had spent five in the university; and had by a constant unwearied diligence attained unto a perfection in all the learned languages; by the help of which, an excellent tutor [24], and his unintermitted studies, he had made the subtilty of all the arts easy and familiar to him, and useful for the discovery of such learning as lay hid from common searchers; so that by these added to his great reason, and his industry added to both, he did not only know more of causes and effects; but what he knew, he knew better than other men. And with this knowledge he had a most blessed and clear method of demonstrating what he knew, to the great advantage of all his pupils, (which in time were many,) but especially to his two first, his dear Edwin Sandys, and his as dear George Cranmer [25]; of which there will be a fair testimony in the ensuing relation.

This for Mr. Hooker's learning. And for his behaviour, amongst other testimonies this still remains of him, that in four years he was but twice absent from the chapel-prayers; and that his behaviour there was such as shewed an awful reverence of that God which he then worshipped and prayed to; giving all outward testimonies that his affections were set on heavenly things. This was his behaviour towards God: and for that to man, it is observable that he was never known to be angry or passionate, or extreme in any of his desires; never heard

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[19] [Bishop Jewel died 23 Sept. 1571. See his monument in Salisbury cathedral.]

[20] ["It is hard to say, whether his soul, or his "ejaculations arrived first in heaven, seeing he "prayed dying, and died praying." Quoted by Doctor Zouch from Fuller, Ch. Hist. IX. 102.]

[21] [Installed Bishop of London, July 20, 1570. (Strype, Grind. 242.) archbishop of York, March 13, 157$\frac{6}{7}$. (Str. An. II. 2, 42.)]

[22] [Originally, "many years." Now Jewel came to Frankfort in the summer of 1554, and found Sandys there, (E. B. IV. 30,) and continued with him there, and at Strasburgh, till July 1556, when Jewel went with P. Martyr to Zurich, (ibid. 34,) but Sandys returned to Frankfort. See Troubles at Frankfort, in Phœnix, II. 170, 119, 121.]

[23] [The words "or not much longer," were added by Walton on revisal.]

[24] [Bishop Hall to Bishop Bedel, at Venice: "Since your departure from us, Reynolds is de-"parted from the world ..... He alone was a "well furnisht library, full of all faculties, of all "studies, of all learning. The memory, the read-"ing, of that man were near to a miracle." Quoted by Dr. Zouch, from Hall's Epist. Dec. I. Ep. 7.]

[25] [Edwin Sandys born Dec. 1560 or 1561; made scholar of C. C. C. 1577, Sept. 16. President's Register. George Cranmer born Oct. 14, 1565; scholar of C. C. C. Jan. 10, 157$\frac{7}{8}$, but not then sworn by reason of extreme youth. Ibid. Sandys then was but 11 or 12, Cranmer but 7 or 8, when they were first put under Hooker's care: Cranmer being akin to him.]

to repine or dispute with Providence, but, by a quiet gentle submission and resignation of his will to the wisdom of his Creator, bore the burthen of the day with patience; never heard to utter an uncomely word; and by this, and a grave behaviour, which is a divine charm, he begot an early reverence unto his person, even from those that at other times, and in other companies, took a liberty to cast off that strictness of behaviour and discourse that is required in a collegiate life. And when he took any liberty to be pleasant, his wit was never blemished with scoffing, or the utterance of any conceit that bordered upon, or might beget a thought of looseness in his hearers. Thus mild, thus innocent and exemplary was his behaviour in his college; and thus this good man continued till his death, still increasing in learning, in patience, and piety.

In this nineteenth year of his age, he was, December 24, 1573, admitted to be one of the twenty scholars of the foundation; being elected and so admitted as born in Devon or Hantshire, out of which counties a certain number are to be elected in vacancies by the founder's statutes [26]. And now, as he was much encouraged, so now he was perfectly incorporated into this beloved college, which was then noted for an eminent library, strict students, and remarkable scholars. And indeed it may glory, that it had Cardinal Poole, but more, that it had Bishop Jewel, Dr. John Reynolds, and Dr. Thomas Jackson, of that foundation [27]. The first famous for his learned Apology for the Church of England, and his defence of it against Harding. The second, for the learned and wise menage of a public dispute with John Hart (of the Romish persuasion) about the head and faith of the church, then printed by consent of both parties. And the third, for his most excellent Exposition of the Creed, and other treatises: all, such as have given greatest satisfaction to men of the greatest learning. Nor was Doctor Jackson more note-worthy for his learning, than for his strict and pious life, testified by his abundant love and meekness and charity to all men.

And in the year 1576, Febr. 23, Mr. Hooker's grace was given him for Inceptor of Arts; Dr. Herbert Westphaling, a man of note for learning, being then vice-chancellor; and the act following he was completed Master [28]; which was anno 1577, his patron Doctor Cole being vice-chancellor that year, and his dear friend Henry Savill of Merton college being then one of the proctors. It was that Henry Savill that was after Sir Henry Savill, Warden of Merton college, and Provost of Eaton: he which founded in Oxford two famous lectures, and endowed them with liberal maintenance. It was that Sir Henry Savill, that translated and enlightened the History of Cornelius Tacitus with a most excellent comment; and enriched the world by his laborious and chargeable collecting the scattered pieces of S. Chrysostome, and the publication of them in one entire body in Greek; in which language he was a most judicious critick. It was this Sir Henry Savill, that had the happiness to be a contemporary, and familiar friend to Mr. Hooker, and let posterity know it.

And in this year of 1577, he was so happy as to be admitted fellow of the college [29]: happy also in being the contemporary and friend of that Dr. John Reynolds, of whom I have lately spoken, and of Dr. Spencer; both which were after, and successively, made Presidents of Corpus Christi college [30]; men of great learning and merit, and famous in their generations.

Nor was Mr. Hooker more happy in his contemporaries of his time and college, than in the pupilage and friendship of his Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer, of whom my reader may note, that this Edwin Sandys was after Sir Edwin Sandys, and as famous for his *Speculum Europæ* [31], as his brother George

[26] ["Natum in comitat. Devoniensi, elect. pro. "comitat. South." Regist. C. C. C. In the same Register, ten leaves further on, at the bottom of the page is the following marginal note: "Hooker "migrat in dioc. Exon. per electionem Bodley in "*scholarem*." Milo Bodley was a Devonshire scholar, (in the style of the statutes, *discipulus*,) admitted Aug. 6, 1562, who being now made probationer fellow, (*scholaris*,) made room for Hooker, who was still only a *discipulus*, to be reckoned on his own county.]

[27] ["1523, Feb. 14, Reginald Poole made fel- "low of C. C. C.; 1539, Aug. 19, John Jewel, "made scholar; 1596, March 24, Thomas Jack- "son, scholar." From the President's Register.]

[28] [Fulman, MSS. t. VIII. p. 1. inserts from the Convocation book, "1577, Comitiis, Julii 8vo, "Magistri in Facultate Artium 100, (Dudley "Cancellario, Westfaling Vice-cancellario) inter "quos Rich. Hooker, Corp. Chr. . . . . Gulielm. "Cole, postrid. Comit. Vice-cancell." In IX. 85, he says, "Gul. Cole, Vice-cancellarius, e collegio "nostro primus, et usque hodie solus, 1572, 3."

Dr. Westphaling was then Canon of Ch. Ch. His name appears (1582) in the list of divines especially commissioned to confer with recusants. Strype, Whitg. I. 198. His consecration as Bishop of Hereford, $158\frac{8}{9}$, ib. 467.]

[29] ["1577, Sept. 16. Mr. Barfoote, Vice-præs. "admisit Ric. Hooker in Artib. Magistrum æt. "annor. 23, circiter fest. Pasch. ultimo præterit. "nat. in dioc. Exon. elect. pro com. *Surriensi*." Regist. C. C. C.]

[30] [1598, Dec. 14, John Reinolds made President of C. C. C., 1607, Jun. 9; John Spenser, ditto. Ibid.]

[31] ["Europæ Speculum: or, a View or Sur- "vey of the State of Religion in the Western "Parts of the World; wherein the Roman re- "ligion, and the frequent policies of the church "of Rome to support the same, are notably dis-

for making posterity beholden to his pen by a learned Relation and Comment on his dangerous and remarkable travels; and for his harmonious Translation of the Psalms of David, the Book of Job, and other poetical parts of Holy Writ, into most high and elegant verse. And for Cranmer, his other pupil, I shall refer my reader to the printed testimonies of our learned Mr. Camden, of Fines Morison, and others [32].

"This Cranmer, (says Mr. Camden, in "his Annals of Queen Elizabeth [33],) whose "Christian name was George, was a gentle-"man of singular hopes, the eldest son of "Thomas Cranmer, son of Edmund Cran-"mer, the archbishop's brother: he spent "much of his youth in Corpus Christi col-"lege in Oxford, where he continued master "of arts for some time before he removed, "and then betook himself to travel, accom-"panying that worthy gentleman Sir Edwin "Sandys into France, Germany, and Italy, "for the space of three years; and after "their happy return he betook himself to an "employment under Secretary Davison [34], "a privy counsellor of note, who for an un-"happy undertaking, became clouded and "pitied; after whose fall, he went in place "of secretary with Sir Henry Killegrew in "his embassage into France; and after his "death he was sought after by the most "noble Lord Mountjoy, with whom he went "into Ireland, where he remained until in a "battle against the rebels near Carlingford, "an unfortunate wound put an end both to "his life, and the great hopes that were "conceived of him [35]: he being then but in "the thirty-sixth year of his age [36]."

Betwixt Mr. Hooker and these his two pupils, there was a sacred friendship; a friendship made up of religious principles, which increased daily by a similitude of inclinations to the same recreations and studies; a friendship elemented in youth and in an university, free from self-ends, which the friendships of age usually are not: and in this sweet, this blessed, this spiritual amity they went on for many years: and, as the holy Prophet saith, so "they took sweet "counsel together, and walked in the house "of God as friends." By which means they improved this friendship to such a degree of holy amity as bordered upon heaven: a friendship so sacred that when it ended in this world, it began in that next, where it shall have no end.

And, though this world cannot give any degree of pleasure equal to such a friendship, yet, obedience to parents, and a desire to know the affairs, manners, laws, and learning of other nations, that they might thereby become the more serviceable unto their own, made them put off their gowns, and leave the college and Mr. Hooker to his studies; in which he was daily more assiduous: still enriching his quiet and capacious soul with the precious learning of the philosophers, casuists, and schoolmen; and with them, the foundation and reason of all laws, both sacred and civil: and indeed, with such other learning as lay most remote from the track of common studies.

And as he was diligent in these, so he seemed restless in searching the scope and intention of God's Spirit revealed to mankind in the sacred scripture; for the understanding of which, he seemed to be assisted by the same Spirit with which they were written; He *that regardeth truth in the inward parts*, making him to *understand wisdom secretly*. And the good man would often say, that "God abhors confusion as "contrary to his nature;" and as often say, that "the scripture was not writ to beget "disputations and pride, and opposition to "government; but moderation, charity, and "humility, obedience to authority, and peace "to mankind: of which virtues," he would as often say, "no man did ever repent him-"self upon his death-bed." And, that this was really his judgment, did appear in his future writings, and in all the actions of his life. Nor was this excellent man a stranger to the more light and airy parts of learning, as musick and poetry; all which he had digested, and made useful; and of all which the reader will have a fair testimony, in what will follow.

In the year 1579, the chancellor of the university [37] was given to understand, that the publick Hebrew lecture was not read according to the statutes; nor could be, by reason of a distemper that had then seized the brain of Mr. Kingsmill [38], who was to read it; so that it lay long unread, to the great detriment of those that were studious of that language: therefore, the chancellor writ to his vice-chancellor, and the univer-

"played; with some other memorable discoveries "and memorations. Hagæ Comitis, 1629."]

[The first edition added the name of the Lord Totness. The passage in Morison's Itinerary is in part ii. p. 83, 84.]

[33] [As translated by R. N. Lond. 1635, with additions by the author. See Major's edition of Walton's Lives, p. 443.]

[34] ["He proceeded M. A. 1589, two years "after Davison's fall." Fulman.]

[35] ["Our author Cranmer hath written other "things, as I have heard Mr. Walton say, but "[they] are kept private to the great prejudice "of the public." Wood, Ath. Oxon. I. 700.]

[36] [This is taken, with certain corrections, from an advertisement prefixed to Cranmer's Letter on the Discipline, when it first appeared, 1642.]

[37] [The Earl of Leicester's letter to this effect is extracted by Fulman from the convocation register, July 14, 1579. MSS. VIII. 183.]

[38] [Thomas Kingsmill, fellow of Magd. Coll. was Regius Professor of Hebrew from 1569 to 1591.]

sity, that he had heard such commendations of the excellent knowledge of Mr. Richard Hooker in that tongue, that he desired he might be procured to read it: and he did, and continued to do so, till he left Oxford.

Within three months after his undertaking this lecture (namely, in October 1579 [39]) he was, with Dr. Reynolds and others, expelled his college; and this letter, transcribed from Dr. Reynolds his own hand, may give some account of it.

"*To Sir Francis Knolles* [40].

"I am sorry, right honourable, that I am "enforced to make unto you such a suit, "the which, I cannot move it, but I must "complain of the unrighteous dealing of "one of our college; who hath taken upon "him, against all law and reason, to expel "out of our house both me and Mr. Hook-"er, and three other of our fellows, for do-"ing that which by oath we were bound to "do. Our matter must be heard before the "Bishop of Winchester [41], with whom I do "not doubt but we shall find equity. How-"beit, forasmuch as some of our adversa-"ries have said, that the bishop is already "forèstalled, and will not give us such au-"dience as we do look for; therefore I am "humbly to beseech your honour, that you "will desire the bishop by your letters to "let us have justice; though it be with rig-"our, so it be justice: our cause is so good, "that I am sure we shall prevail by it. Thus "much I am bold to request of your honour "for Corpus Christi college sake, or rather "for Christ's sake; whom I beseech to bless "you with daily increase of His manifold "gifts, and the blessed graces of His Holy "Spirit.

"Your Honour's,
"in Christ to command,
"JOHN RAINOLDES."

"London, October 9, 1579."

This expulsion was by Dr. John Barfoote [42], then vice-president of the college,

[39] Probably 1580. See note 40.]

[40] [This letter has been collated with a copy in Fulman's MSS. IX. 180. He probably furnished Walton with it. In p. 182 he says, "It should "seem that in October 1580, J. B. took occasion "to expel J. R. and others: though I once thought "it to be in 1579, and so told Mr. Walton, who "thereupon added the year, which was not in the "copy, but in the margin:" probably he means the margin of the above letter. The same day, Reynolds wrote as follows to Walshingham:

(Fulman IX. 174.) "Non putaram futurum "unquam, illustrissime Walsinghame, ut cujus "benevolentiam in meis commodis procurandis "expertus essem, ejus auxilium ad injurias "depellendas implorare cogerer. Verum unius "hominis impotens ambitio, dum omnia per-"rumpit jura, quo velificetur cupiditati suæ, si me "solum, esset levius, sed una quinque nostrum e "collegio ejecit: quam injuste non dico; relinquo "judici decidendum Episcopo Wintoniensi; quem "et leges nostræ nobis in controversiis judicem "esse volunt, et æquum fore judicem, ipsius re-"ligio, fides, probitas persuadent. Veruntamen, "quia nobis insultant adversarii præoccupatum "esse animum episcopi, et obvallatum ita, ut "nullum vel locum vel aditum relicturus sit que-"relis nostris: a tua dignitate suppliciter rogamus "ut eum per literas sollicitare digneris, ne sinat "legitimæ defensionis locum nobis intercludi. "Non petimus ut locis restituamur pristinis, qui-"bus sumus ejecti. Nam ea, si jure judicabimur "amisisse, neque desideramus, neque possumus "accipere, licet offerantur ultro, quia vetamur "jurejurando. Justitiam, justitiam petimus et "æquitatem: petimus ut audiatur, ut expenda-"tur causa nostra: ne veritas calumniis, poten-"tia jus opprimatur. Si, quæ sunt facta, jure "sunt facta: causam non dicimus quin maneant "immota. Sin et per injuriam est in nos grassa-"tus, et quod per scelus ausus est id per vim ob-"tinebet: nos quidem feremus ut poterimus, ne-"que dubitamus quin Deus patientiæ et consola-"tionis, cum æquos nobis animos, tum mali sola-"tia sit daturus. Sed collegium nostrum in sor-"dibus erit et mœrore. Sed Academia nostra "lugebit casum suorum civium. Sed illi quibus "pietas, quibus concientia, quibus virtus est curæ, "causam justissimam ab iniquissima de gradu de-"jici lamentabuntur. Verum ista ne eveniant in "tua, Vir illustrissime, multum est manu. Quem "in finem duo sunt quæ abs te petimus: unum, ut "Episcopum Wintoniensem per literas interpelles, "ne patiatur injuria nos opprimi; examinetur res in "judicio, agamus causam utrique suam, ferat "palmam justitia, cedat victoria veritati. Alter-"um, ut nobilissimum comitem Varvicensem pla-"catum mihi reddas: quo nesciente, sine dubio, "rei iniquitatem, hæc injuria nobis facta est; ut "Chrysogonus libertus Syllæ Sextum Roscium op-"pressit imprudente L. Sylla. Atque utinam ex "te cognoscat quam sim integer ab eo scelere, "quod inimici mei apud illum impingunt falso, quo "generosum viri nobilis animum in me inflam-"ment: me facere quæ facio, non æquitatis studio, "non legum tuendarum, non collegii nostri: sed "ut ejus voluntati ac studio resistam, et quasi tri-"umphum de eo reportem. Deus, qui revelabit "arcana cordium, mihi testis est, has voces scela-"ratas esse calumnias; et veniet tempus, veniet, "quum hoc venenum aspidum sub labiis iniquo-"rum dabit justus Judex ipsis ebibendum. Meas "itaque petitiones æquitate causæ nostræ subnix-"as, tuæ amplitudini: tuam amplitudinem et uni-"versæ causæ nostræ successum Dei gratiæ com-"mendo. Londini, 9 Octobr."

In the same volume, fol. 85, Fulman has the following entry: "Great expectation of Dr. Cole "resigning, first in favour of J. Barfoote, after-"wards of J. Reynolds, 1580:" (the date of Hooker's expulsion.)]

[41] [If Oct. 1579 be the right date of this letter, the bishop here meant is Horn: if 1580, his successor, Watson. Strype, Grindal, 380.]

[42] [Fulm. X. 68. says of him, "Natus in agro "Hantoniensi, circa Festum Purificationis $154\frac{7}{8}$; "æt. 16, admiss. in Discip. Feb. 5, $156\frac{3}{4}$; Scho-"laris 1566. Dec. 13; Ambrosio Comiti Warwi-"censi a sacris; cujus auctoritate Archidiaconus "Lincolniensis, Apr. 1, 1581. Ob. 1595." Bish-

and chaplain to Ambrose earl of Warwick. I cannot learn the pretended cause; but, that they were restored the same month is most certain.

I return to Mr. Hooker in his college, where he continued his studies in all quietness for the space of three years [43]; about which time he entered into sacred orders, being then made Deacon and Priest; and, not long after, was appointed to preach at St. Paul's Cross [44].

In order to which sermon, to London he came, and immediately to the Shunammite's house; (which is a house so called, for that, besides the stipend paid the preacher, there is provision made also for his lodging and diet for two days before, and one day after his sermon.) This house was then kept by John Churchman, sometime a draper of good note in Watling-street, upon whom poverty had at last come like an armed man, and brought him into a necessitous condition; which, though it be a punishment, is not always an argument of God's disfavour, for he was a virtuous man: I shall not yet give the like testimony of his wife, but leave the reader to judge by what follows. But to this house Mr. Hooker came so wet, so weary, and weatherbeaten, that he was never known to express more passion, than against a friend that dissuaded him from footing it to London, and for finding him no easier an horse; supposing the horse trotted, when he did not: and at this time also, such a faintness and fear possest him, that he would not be persuaded two days' rest and quietness, or any other means, could be used to make him able to preach his Sunday's sermon; but a warm bed, and rest, and drink, proper for a cold, given him by Mrs. Churchman, and her diligent attendance added unto it, enabled him to perform the office of the day, which was in or about the year 1581.

And in this first public appearance to the world, he was not so happy as to be free from exceptions against a point of doctrine delivered in his sermon, which was, "That "in God there were two wills; an antece- "dent, and a consequent will: his first will, "that all mankind should be saved; but his "second will was, that those only should be "saved, that did live answerable to that de- "gree of grace which he had offered, or "afforded them [45]." This seemed to cross a late opinion of Mr. Calvin's, and then taken for granted by many that had not a capacity to examine it, as it had been by him before, and hath been since by Master Henry Mason [46], Dr. Jackson, [47], Dr. Hammond [48], and others of great learning, who believed that a contrary opinion entrenches upon the honour and justice of our merciful God. How he justified this, I will not undertake to declare: but it was not excepted against (as Mr. Hooker declares in his rational answer to Mr. Travers) by John Elmer [49], then Bishop of London, at this time one of his auditors, and at last one of his advocates too, when Mr. Hooker was accused for it [50].

But the justifying of this doctrine did not prove of so bad consequence, as the kindness of Mrs. Churchman's curing him of his late distemper and cold; for that was so gratefully [51] apprehended by Mr. Hooker, that he thought himself bound in conscience to believe all that she said: so that the good man came to be persuaded by her, "that "he was a man of tender constitution:" and "that it was best for him to have a wife, "that might prove a nurse to him; such an "one as might both prolong his life, and

op Cooper made him archdeacon. See a report from him to Archbishop Whitgift, of his peremptory dealings with some puritan ministers, in Strype, Ann. III. 1, 349.]

[43] [Corrected, by Walton, from "three *or more* "years."]

[44] [Altered from, "in obedience to the college "statutes he was to preach either at St. Peter's, "Oxford, or at St. Paul's Cross, London; and the "last fell to his allotment."]

[45] [See E. P. v. 49, and Fragment III. of the Answer to "A Christian Letter," &c. In 1595, Dr. Baro, Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, was attacked for preaching the same doctrine almost in the same words. Strype, Whitgift, II. 298. and III. 347.]

[46] [First of Brasennose college, Oxford, afterwards chaplain of C. C. C. and by Bishop King of London, made rector of St. Andrew's Undershaft; from which being expelled in 1641, he retired to Wigan, his native place, and died there in August 1647, aged about 74. The treatise of his referred to by Walton is "Certain passages in Mr. "Sam. Hoard's book, entitled God's love to man- "kind manifested by disproving His absolute de- "cree for their damnation." It was answered by Dr. Twiss in 1653. See Wood's Ath. Oxon. III. 220, 172.]

[47] [Works, II. 173, 202. III. 793. ed. 1673.]

[48] [In his Letters to Dr. Sanderson, on God's Grace and Decrees, Works I. 663, &c. and especially Letter I. § 28.....51, 70... 72. and Third Letter of Prescience, § 58. ed. 1684.]

[49] [By whose nomination probably Hooker preached: "it having been of long time customa- "ry for the Bishops of London to summon up from "the universities, or elsewhere, persons of the best "abilities to preach those public sermons, whither "the Prince and court, and the magistrates of the "city, besides a vast conflux of people, used to re- "sort. Strype, Life of Aylmer, 201.]

[50] [This may refer to the year 158$\frac{4}{5}$, when Hooker was made Master of the Temple, partly by the recommendation of Bishop Aylmer. Strype, Ann. III. 1, 352: although in Whitg. I. 344, he says, "*Sandys*, Bishop of London."]

[51] [In the register of C. C. C. is the following: an instance, probably, of Hooker's gratitude: "1581, 21 Jun. Ego Gulielmus *Churchman* vices- "imo primo Junii admissus sum et juratus in sub- "sacristam hujus collegii."]

" make it more comfortable; and such an " one she could and would provide for him, " if he thought fit to marry." And he not considering that the children of this world " are wiser in their generation than the chil- " dren of light;" but like a true Nathaniel, fearing no guile, because he meant none, did give her such a power as Eleazar was trusted with, (you may read it in the book of Genesis,) when he was sent to choose a wife for Isaac; for even so he trusted her to choose for him, promising upon a fair summons to return to London, and accept of her choice; and he did so in that or about the year following. Now the wife provided for him was her daughter Joan, who brought him neither beauty nor portion; and for her conditions, they were too like that wife's, which is by Solomon compared to " a dripping house [52];" so that the good man had no reason to " rejoice in the " wife of his youth," but too just cause to say with the holy Prophet, " Wo is me, that " I am constrained to have my habitation " in the tents of Kedar!"

This choice of Mr. Hooker's (if it were his choice) may be wondered at; but let us consider that the prophet Ezekiel says, " there is a wheel within a wheel;" a secret sacred wheel of Providence (most visible in marriages), guided by his hand, that " allows not the race to the swift," nor " bread to the wise," nor good wives to good men: and he that can bring good out of evil (for mortals are blind to this reason) only knows why this blessing was denied to patient Job, to meek Moses [53], and to our as meek and patient Mr. Hooker. But so it was: and let the reader cease to wonder, for " affliction is a divine diet;" which, though it be not pleasing to mankind, yet Almighty God hath often, very often imposed it as good, though bitter physick to those children whose souls are dearest to him.

And by this marriage the good man was drawn from the tranquility of his college [54]; from that garden of piety, of pleasure, of peace, and a sweet conversation, into the thorny wilderness of a busy world; into those corroding cares that attend a married priest, and a country parsonage; which was Drayton Beauchamp in Buckinghamshire (not far from Aylesbury, and in the diocese of Lincoln;) to which he was presented by John Cheny, esq. then patron of it, the 9th of December 1584, where he behaved himself so as to give no occasion of evil, but (as St. Paul adviseth a minister of God) " in " much patience, in afflictions, in anguishes, " in necessities; in poverty, and no doubt " in long suffering;" yet troubling no man with his discontents and wants.

And in this condition he continued about a year, in which time his two pupils, Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer [55], took a journey to see their tutor; where they found him with a book in his hand, (it was the Odes of Horace,) he being then, like humble and innocent Abel, tending his small allotment of sheep in a common field, which he told his pupils he was forced to do then, for that his servant was gone home to dine, and assist his wife to do some necessary household business. When his servant returned and released him, then his two pupils attended him unto his house, where their best entertainment was his quiet company, which was presently denied them; for " Richard was called to rock the cradle [56];" and the rest of their welcome was so like this, that they stayed but till the next morning, which was time enough to discover and pity their tutor's condition: and they having in that time rejoiced in the remembrance, and then paraphrased on many of the innocent recreations of their younger days, and other like diversions, and thereby given him as much present comfort as they were able, they were forced to leave him to the company of his wife Joan, and seek themselves a quieter lodging for the next night. But at their parting from him, Mr. Cranmer said, " Good tutor, I am sorry your " lot is fallen in no better ground as to your " parsonage: and more sorry that your wife " proves not a more comfortable companion " after you have wearied yourself in your " restless studies." To whom the good man replied, " My dear George, if saints have " usually a double share in the miseries of " this life, I that am none, ought not to re- " pine at what my wise Creator hath ap- " pointed for me, but labour (as indeed I do " daily) to submit mine to his will, and pos- " sess my soul in patience and peace."

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[52] Proverbs xix. 13. " The contentions of a " wife are a continual dropping."]

[53] [Originally, " *as some think*, to meek Moses." Why the alteration was made is not clear, especially considering Hooker's own interpretation of the place in scripture here referred to. See E. P. v. c. 62. par. 24.]

[54] [The college at that time was less tranquil than usual: as might be expected after the strong measures taken in 1568. Mr. Fulman's papers contain many instances, besides those which have been adduced, of the turbulence and faction by which it was long infested.]

[55] [Originally, " were returned from travel and " took a journey," &c. Now it appears from Fulman's papers, vol. VIII. that Sandys was made regent M. A. July 8, 1583; Cranmer, not till July 13, 1589. This seems to shew that they went abroad together *after* their visit to Hooker, and of course confirms Walton's correction.]

[56] [" This narrative reminds me of a domestic " picture in the Life of Melancthon, who was seen " by one of his friends with one hand rocking the " cradle of his child, with the other holding a " book." Zouch, Life of Walton, subjoined to Walton's Lives, II. p. 370. note.]

At their return to London, Edwin Sandys acquaints his father[57], who was then Archbishop of York, with his tutor's sad condition, and solicits for his removal to some benefice that might give him a more quiet and a more comfortable subsistence; which his father did most willingly grant him, when it should next fall into his power. And not long after this time, which was in the year 1585[58], Mr Alvie (Master of the Temple) died, who was a man of strict life, of great learning, and of so venerable behaviour, as to gain so high a degree of love and reverence from all men, that he was generally known by the name of Father Alvie. And at the Temple reading, next after the death of this Father Alvie, he the said Archbishop of York, being then at dinner with the judges, the reader and benchers of that society, met with a general condolement for the death of Father Alvie, and with a high commendation of his saint-like life, and of his great merit both towards God and man; and as they bewailed his death, so they wished for a like pattern of virtue and learning to succeed him. And here came in a fair occasion for the bishop to commend Mr. Hooker to Father Alvie's place, which he did with so effectual an earnestness, and that seconded with so many other testimonies of his worth, that Mr. Hooker was sent for from Draiton Beauchamp to London, and there the mastership of the Temple proposed unto him by the bishop, as a greater freedom from his country cares, the advantage of a better society, and a more liberal pension than his country parsonage did afford him. But these reasons were not powerful enough to incline him to a willing acceptance of it; his wish was rather to gain a better country living, where he might "see God's blessing spring out of "the earth, and be free from noise" (so he exprest the desire of his heart,) "and eat "that bread which he might more properly "call his own in privacy and quietness." But, notwithstanding this averseness, he was at last persuaded to accept of the bishop's proposal; and was by patent for life made Master of the Temple the 17th of March, 1585[59], and he being then in the thirty-fourth year of his age.

[60] [But before any mention was made of Mr. Hooker for this place, two other divines were nominated to succeed Alvey; whereof Mr. Walter Travers, a disciplinarian in his judgment and practice, and preacher here in the afternoons, was chief, and recommended by Alvey himself on his deathbed, to be master after him: and no marvel, for Alvey's and Travers' principles did somewhat correspond. And many gentlemen of the house desired him; which desire the lord treasurer Burghley was privy to, and by their request and his own inclination towards him, being a good preacher, he moved the queen to allow of him; for the disposal of the place was in her. But Archbishop Whitgift knew the man, and his hot temper and principles, from the time he was fellow in Trinity college, and had observed his steps ever after; he knew how turbulently he had carried himself at the college, how he had disowned the English established church and episcopacy, and went to Geneva, and afterwards to Antwerp, to be ordained minister, as he was by Villers[61] and Cartwright and others, the heads of a congregation there; and so came back again more confirmed for the discipline. And knowing how much the doctrine and converse of the master to be placed here would influence the gentlemen, and their influence and authority prevail in all parts of the realm, where their habitations and estates were, that careful prelate made it his endeavour to stop Travers' coming in; and had a learned man in his view, and of principles more conformable and agreeable to the church, namely, one Dr. Bond, the queen's chaplain, and one well known to her. She well understanding the importance of this place, and knowing by the archbishop what Travers was, by a letter he timely writ to her majesty upon the vacancy, gave particular order to the treasurer to discourse with the archbishop about it.

Endeavours for Travers to be Master of the Temple

Opposed by the archbishop.

The lord treasurer, hereupon, in a letter consulted with the said archbishop and mentioned Travers to him as one desired by many of the house. But the archbishop in his answer, plainly signified to his lordship that he judged him altogether unfit, for the reasons mentioned before; and that he had recommended to the queen Dr. Bond as a very fit person. But however she declined him, fearing his bodily strength

[57] [Corrected from "then Bishop of London, and "after archbishop."]

[58] He was dead, and the place void in the month of August, anno 1584. J. S. [John Strype.]

[59] This you may find in the Temple records. William Ermstead was Master of the Temple at the dissolution of the priory, and died 2 Eliz.

Richard Alvey, Bat. Divinity, Pat. 13 Feb. 2 Eliz. *Magister sive Custos Domus et Ecclesiæ novi Templi;* died 27 Eliz.

Richard Hooker succeeded that year by patent, *in terminis*, as Alvey had it, and he left it 33 Eliz.

That year Dr. Balgey succeeded Richard Hooker. [The year meant by Walton is no doubt $158\frac{4}{5}$.]

[60] [The portions between brackets are the additions of Mr. Strype, who revised the life of Hooker for the edition of his works printed 1705.]

[61] [Of whom see some account in Strype, Whitg. l. 477.]

to perform the duty of the place, as she did Travers for other causes. And by laying both aside, she avoided giving disgust to either of those great men. This Dr. Bond seems to be that Dr. Nicholas Bond that afterwards was President of Magdalen college, Oxon, and was much abused by Martin Mar-prelate.

These particulars I have collected from a letter of the archbishop to the queen, and other letters that passed between the archbishop and the lord treasurer about this affair, while the mastership was vacant. The passages whereof taken verbatim out of their said letters, may deserve here to be specified for the satisfaction of the readers.

And first, in the month of August, upon the death of the former master, the archbishop wrote this letter unto the queen:

"It may please your majesty to be adver-
"tised that the mastership of the temple is
"vacant by the death of Mr.
"Alvey. The living is not
"great, yet doth it require a
"learned, discreet, and wise
"man, in respect to the com-
"pany there: who being well directed and
"taught may do much good elsewhere in
"the commonwealth, as otherwise also they
"may do much harm. And because I hear
"there is a suit made unto your highness
"for one Mr. Travers, I thought it my duty
"to signify unto your majesty, that the said
"Travers hath been and is one of the chief
"and principal authors of dissension in this
"church, a contemner of the book of
"Prayers, and of other orders by authority
"established; an earnest seeker of innova-
"tion; and either in no degree of the min-
"istry at all, or else ordered beyond the
"seas; not according to the form in this
"church of England used. Whose placing
"in that room, especially by your majesty,
"would greatly animate the rest of that
"faction, and do very much harm in sundry
"respects.

The archbishop to the queen concerning the vacancy of the Temple.

"Your majesty hath a chaplain of your
"own, Dr. Bond, a man in my opinion very
"fit for that office, and willing also to take
"pains therein, if it shall please your high-
"ness to bestow it upon him. Which I
"refer to your most gracious disposition:
"beseeching Almighty God long to bless,
"prosper, and preserve your majesty to his
"glory, and all our comforts.

"Your majesty's most faithful servant
"and chaplain,

"Jo. Cantuar."

"From Croyden,
"the day of August, 1584."

Next, in a letter of the archbishop to the lord treasurer, dated from Lambeth, Sept. 14, 1584, he hath these words:

"I beseech your lordship to help such an
"one to the mastership of the Temple, as is
"known to be conformable to
"the laws and orders establish-
"ed; and a defender not a de-
"prayer of the present state and govern-
"ment. He that now readeth there is
"nothing less, as I of mine own knowledge
"and experience can testify. Dr. Bond
"is desirous of it, and I know not a fitter
"man."

The archbishop to the lord treasurer.

The lord treasurer in a letter to the archbishop, dated from Oatlands (where the queen now was,) Sept. 17, 1584, thus wrote:

"The queen hath asked me what I
"thought of Travers to be master of the
"Temple. Whereunto I an-
"swered, that at the request
"of Dr. Alvey in his sickness,
"and a number of honest gen-
"tlemen of the Temple, I had yielded my
"allowance of him to the place, so as he
"would shew himself conformable to the
"orders of the church. Whereunto I was
"informed that he would so be. But her
"majesty told me, that your grace did not
"so allow of him. Which I said might be
"for some things supposed to be written by
"him in a book intituled, *De Disciplina*
"*Ecclesiastica*. Whereupon her majesty
"commanded me to write to your grace, to
"know your opinion, which I pray your
"grace to signify unto her, as God shall
"move you. Surely it were a great pity
"that any impediment should be occasion to
"the contrary; for he is well learned, very
"honest and well allowed and loved of
"the generality of that house. Mr. Bond
"told me, that your grace liked well of
"him; and so do I also, as one well learn-
"ed, and honest; but as I told him, if he
"came not to the place with some applause
"of the company, he shall be weary there-
"of. And yet I commended him unto her
"majesty, if Travers should not have it.
"But her majesty thinks him not fit for that
"place, because of his infirmities. Thus
"wishing your grace assistance of God's
"Spirit to govern your charge unblame-
"ably,

The lord treasurer to the archbishop.

"Your grace's to command,
"Will. Burghley."

"From the court at Oatlands,
"the 17th Sept. 1584."

Part of the archbishop's letter in answer to this was to this tenor:

"Mr. Travers, whom your lordship names
"in your letter, is to no man better known,
"I think, than to myself. I did
"elect him fellow of Trinity
"college, being before reject-
"ed by Dr. Beaumont for his
"intolerable stomach: where-
"of I had also afterwards such experi-
"ence, that I was forced by due punish-
"ment so to weary him, till he was fain

The archbishop in answer to the letter of the lord treasurer.

" to travel, and depart from the college to " Geneva, otherwise he should have been " expelled for want of conformity towards " the orders of the house, and for his per- " tinacy. Neither was there ever any " under our government, in whom I found " less submission and humility than in " him. Nevertheless if time and years " have now altered that disposition (which " I cannot believe, seeing yet no token there- " of, but rather the contrary), I will be as " ready to do him good as any friend he " hath. Otherwise I cannot in duty but do " my endeavour to keep him from that " place, where he may do so much harm, " and do little or no good at all. For howso- " ever some commend him to your lordship " and others, yet I think that the greater " and better number of both the Temples " have not so good an opinion of him. Sure " I am that divers grave, and of the best af- " fected of them, have shewed their mislik- " ing of him to me; not only out of respect " of his disorderliness, in the manner of the " communion, and contempt of the prayers, " but also of his negligence in reading. " Whose lectures, by their report, are so " barren of matter, that his hearers take no " commodity thereby.

" The book *De Disciplina Ecclesiastica*, " by common opinion, hath been reputed of " his penning, since the first publishing of " it. And by divers arguments I am moved " to make no doubt thereof. The drift of " which book is wholly against the state " and government. Wherein also, among " other things, he condemneth the taking " and paying of firstfruits, tenths, &c.[62] " And therefore, unless he will testify his " conformity by subscription, as all others " do, which now enter into ecclesiastical " livings, and make proof unto me that he " is a minister ordered according to the " laws of this church of England, as I ver- " ily believe he is not, because he forsook " his place in the college upon that ac- " count; I can by no means yield my con- " sent to the placing him there, or else- " where, in any function of this church."]

And here I shall make a stop; and, that the reader may the better judge of what follows, give him a character of the times, and temper of the people of this nation, when Mr. Hooker had his admission into this place: a place which he accepted, rather than desired; and yet here he promised himself a virtuous quietness, that blessed tranquillity which he always prayed and laboured for; that so he might in peace bring forth the fruits of peace, and glorify God by uninterrupted prayers and praises: for this he always thirsted and prayed: but Almighty God did not grant it: for his admission into this place was the very beginning of those oppositions and anxieties, which till then this good man was a stranger to; and of which the reader may guess by what follows.

In this character of the times, I shall, by the reader's favour, and for his information, look so far back as to the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; a time, in which the many pretended titles to the crown, the frequent treasons, the doubts of her successor, the late civil war, and the sharp persecution for religion that raged to the effusion of so much blood in the reign of Queen Mary, were fresh in the memory of all men; and begot fears in the most pious and wisest of this nation, lest the like days should return again to them, or their present posterity. And the apprehension of these dangers begot a hearty desire of a settlement in the church and state; believing there was no other probable way left to make them sit quietly under their own vines and fig-trees, and enjoy the desired fruit of their labours. But time, and peace, and plenty, begot self-ends; and these begot animosities, envy, opposition, and unthankfulness for those very blessings for which they lately thirsted, being then the very utmost of their desires and even beyond their hopes.

This was the temper of the times in the beginning of her reign[63] and thus it continued too long; for those very people that had enjoyed the desires of their hearts in a reformation from the church of Rome, became at last so like the grave, as never to be satisfied, but were still thirsting for more and more: neglecting to pay that obedience, and perform those vows which they made in their days of adversities and fear: so that in short time there appeared three several interests, each of them fearless and restless in the prosecution of their designs; they may for distinction be called, the active Romanists, the restless Nonconformists, (of which there were many sorts,) and, the passive, peaceable Protestants. The counsels of the first considered and resolved on in Rome: the second in Scotland, in Geneva, and in divers selected, secret, dangerous conventicles, both there, and within the bosom of our own nation: the third pleaded and defended their cause by establisht laws, both ecclesiastical and civil; and, if they were active, it was to prevent the other two

[62] [Fol. 88. " Quum omnis hic locus de ecclesia " nostra indignissime spoliata a doctissimo viro " Martino Bucero perpurgatus sit eo libro quem " ante memini, quumque eodem libro non solum " Impropriationum, sed et Annalium (quæ ejusdem " species quædam esse videntur) Collationum, Re- " signationum, et aliarum nundinationum et spoli- " ationum direptiones prosecutus sit: malo hæc ex " eruditissimis illius scriptis peti, quo majorem " autoritatem oratio hæc habere possit."]

[63] [See a note on these words in Dr. Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog. IV. 217.]

from destroying what was by those known laws happily establisht to them and their posterity.

I shall forbear to mention the very many and dangerous plots of the Romanists against the church and state; because what is principally intended in this digression, is an account of the opinions and activity of the Nonconformists; against whose judgment and practice, Mr. Hooker became at last, but most unwillingly, to be engaged in a book-war; a war which he maintained not as against an enemy, but with the spirit of meekness and reason.

In which number of Nonconformists, though some might be sincere, well-meaning men, whose indiscreet zeal might be so like charity, as thereby to cover a multitude of their errors; yet, of this party, there were many that were possest with a high degree of "spiritual wickedness;" I mean, with an innate restless pride and malice. I do not mean the visible carnal sins of gluttony and drunkenness, and the like, (from which good Lord deliver us,) but sins of a higher nature, because they are more unlike God, who is the God of love and mercy, and order, and peace; and more like the Devil, who is not a glutton, nor can be drunk, and yet is a devil; but I mean those spiritual wickednesses of malice and revenge, and an opposition to government: men that joyed to be the authors of misery, which is properly his work, that is the enemy and disturber of mankind; and thereby greater sinners than the glutton or drunkard, though some will not believe it. And of this party, there were also many, whom prejudice and a furious zeal had so blinded, as to make them neither to hear reason, nor adhere to the ways of peace: men, that were the very dregs and pest of mankind: men whom pride and self-conceit had made to overvalue their own pitiful, crooked wisdom so much, as not to be ashamed to hold foolish and unmannerly disputes against those men whom they ought to reverence, and those laws which they ought to obey; men that laboured and joyed first to find out the faults, and then to "speak evil of government," and to be the authors of confusion: men, whom company, and conversation, and custom had at last so blinded, and made so insensible that these were sins, that, like those that "perisht in the gainsaying of Core," so these died without repenting of these "spir-"itual wickednesses," of which the practices of Coppinger and Hacket[64] in their lives, and the death of them and their adherents, are God knows too sad examples; and ought to be cautions to those men that are inclined to the like "spiritual wicked-"nesses."

And in these times which tended thus to confusion, there were also many of these scruplemongers that pretended a tenderness of conscience, refusing to take an oath before a lawful magistrate[65]: and yet these very men, in their secret conventicles, did covenant[66] and swear to each other, to be assiduous and faithful in using their best endeavours to set up the presbyterian doctrine and discipline; and both in such a manner as they themselves had not yet agreed on[67], but, up that government must. To which end there were many that wandered up and down, and were active in sowing discontents and sedition, by venomous and secret murmurings, and a dispersion of scurrilous pamphlets and libels against the church and state; but especially against the bishops; by which means, together with venomous and indiscreet sermons, the common people became so fanatic, as to believe *the Bishops to be Antichrist*, and the only obstructors of God's Discipline; and at last some of them were given over to so bloody a zeal, and such other desperate delusions, as to find out a text in the Revelation of St. John, that "Antichrist was to be overcome "by the sword." So that those very men[68], that began with tender and meek petitions[69], proceeded to admonitions[70], then to satirical remonstrances[71], and at last having like Absalom[72] numbered who was not, and who was, for their cause, they got a supposed certainty of so great a party, that they durst threaten first the bishops, and then the Queen and parliament[73]; to all of which they were secretly encouraged by the earl of Leicester, then in great favour with her majesty, and the reputed cherisher and patron-general of these pretenders to tenderness of conscience; his design being, by their means, to bring such an odium upon the bishops, as to

[64] [See Camden. Ann. pars ii. pag. 34. ed. 1627. Strype, Ann. IV. 95.]

[65] [Strype, Whitg. I. 502. II. 25, 28. III. 120. I. 351, 357. Hooker, Pref. to E. P. VIII. 13.]

[66] [By subscription. Strype, Whitg. III. 239, II. 13.

Dr. Woodsworth thinks Walton inaccurate in the mention of their *swearing*. But see Strype, Parker, II. 285. Collier, E. H. II. 544.]

[67] [Dr. Bancroft proves their disagreement at large; Survey of the pretended holy Discipline, c. 9—19, 24, 34.]

[68] [That is the very same class or party: Sampson, Humphrey, &c. being the leaders of the Petitioners; Cartwright, Travers, Field, &c. of the Admonitioners; Penry, Udall, and others, of the Remonstrants.]

[69] [E. g. In the Convocation 1562. Strype, Ann. I. 1, 500.

Foster, alias Colman, his petition to Secretary Cecil, 1569. Ann. I. 2, 350.]

[70] [The two Admonitions to the Parliament, 1572.]

[71] [The tracts under the name of Martin Marprelate, and the like, 1588.]

[72] [2 Sam. xv.]

[73] [Hooker, Pref. to E. P. viii. 13.]

procure an alienation of their lands, and a large proportion of them for himself: which avaricious desire had at last so blinded his reason, that his ambitious and greedy hopes seemed to put him into a present possession of Lambeth-house [74].

And to these undertakings the Nonconformists of this nation were much encouraged and heightened by a correspondence and confederacy with that brotherhood in Scotland [75]; so that here they became so bold, that one [76] told the Queen openly in a sermon, "She was like an untamed "heifer, that would not be ruled by God's "people, but obstructed his discipline." And in Scotland they were more confident, for there they declared her an Atheist [77], and grew to such a height as not to be accountable for any thing spoken against her; *nor for treason against their own king, if it were but spoken in the pulpit* [78]; shewing at last such a disobedience to him, that his mother being in England, and then in distress, and in prison, and in danger of death, the church denied the King their prayers for her [79]; and at another time, when he had appointed a day of feasting, their church declared for a general fast, in opposition to his authority [80].

To this height they were grown in both nations; and by these means there was distilled into the minds of the common people such other venomous and turbulent principles, as were inconsistent with the safety of the church and state: and these opinions vented so daringly, that, beside the loss of life and limbs [81], the governors of the church and state were forced to use such other severities, as will not admit of an excuse, if it had not been to prevent the gangrene of confusion, and the perilous consequences of it; which, without such prevention, would have been first confusion, and then ruin and misery to this numerous nation.

These errors and animosities were so remarkable, that they begot wonder in an ingenious Italian, who being about this time come newly into this nation, writ scoffingly to a friend in his own country, to this purpose, "That the common people of England "were wiser than the wisest of his nation; "for here the very women and shopkeep- "ers were able to judge of predestination, "and determine what laws were fit to be "made concerning church-government; "and then, what were fit to be obeyed or "abolisht: That they were more able (or "at least thought so) to raise and determine "perplext cases of conscience, than the "wisest of the most learned colleges in Ita- "ly: That men of the slightest learning, "and the most ignorant of the common peo- "ple, were mad for a new, or super, or re- "reformation of religion; and that in this "*they appeared like that man, who would "never cease to whet and whet his knife, till "there was no steel left to make it useful.*" And he concluded his letter with this observation, "That those very men that were "most busy in oppositions, and disputations "and controversies, and finding out the "faults of their governors, had usually the "least of Humility and Mortification, or of "the power of Godliness."

And to heighten all these discontents and dangers, there was also sprung up a generation of godless men; men that had so long given way to their own lusts and delusions, and so highly opposed the blessed motions of his Spirit, and the inward light of their own consciences, that they became the very slaves of vice, and had thereby sinned themselves into a belief of that which they would, but could not believe; into a belief which is repugnant even to human nature (for the heathens believe that there are many gods), but these had sinned themselves into a belief, that there was no God; and so, finding nothing in themselves but what was worse than nothing, began to wish what they were not able to hope for, namely, "that they might be like the beasts that

[74] [Fuller, C. H. b. ix. 130. "Leicester cast a "covetous eye on Lambeth house, alleging as "good arguments for his obtaining thereof, as "ever were urged by Ahab for Naboth's vine- "yard."]

[75] [See the Letter of the general Assembly to the Bishops of England, Strype, Parker III. 150. "Since the liberty of prophesying was taken up, "which came but lately into the northern parts, "(unless it were in the towns of Newcastle and "Berwick, where Knox, Mackbray, and Udall "had sown their tares,) all things have gone so "cross and backward in our church, that I can- "not call the history for these forty years or more "to mind, or express my observations upon it, but "with a bleeding heart." Dr. T. Jackson, Works, vol. III. p. 273.

"It was in the year 1550, or very near it, that "the famous Scotch divine, John Knox, was ap- "pointed preacher to Berwick, and after that to "Newcastle." Strype, Mem. II. 1. 369.]

[76] Mr. Dering. ["If you have said sometime of "yourself, *tanquam ovis*, 'as a sheep appointed "to be slaine,' take heed you heare not now of the "Prophet, *tanquam indomita juvenca*, 'as an un- "tamed and unrulie heifer.'" (from Jerem. xxxi. 18.) Wordsworth, Eccl. Biogr. IV. 226. Walton probably took the anecdote from Fuller. Church Hist. b. ix. p. 109. See more of Dering, Strype, Ann. 1. 398, &c.]

[77] Vide Bishop Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland.

[B. VI. Ann. 1596. p. 419. ed. 1655.]

[78] [Ibid. p. 330. (1584.) p. 421.(1596.)]

[79] [Spotswood, p. 354. (1586.)]

[80] [Ibid. 324. (1582.)]

[81] [Penry was executed May 1593. Barrow and Greenwood the month before. Strype, Whitg. II. 175, &c. Stubbs and Page lost their right hands, for the book against the Queen's marriage, 1580.]

"perish:" and in wicked company (which is the atheist's sanctuary) were so bold as to say so, though the worst of mankind, when he is left alone at midnight, may wish, but is not then able to think it: even into a belief that there is no God. Into this wretched, this reprobate condition, many had then sinned themselves [82].

And now, when the church was pestered with them, and with all those other forenamed irregularities; when her lands were in danger of alienation, her power at least neglected, and her peace torn to pieces by several schisms, and such heresies as do usually attend that sin, for heresies do usually outlive their first authors; when the common people seemed ambitious of doing those very things that were forbidden and attended with most dangers, that thereby they might be punished, and then applauded and pitied; when they called the spirit of opposition a tender conscience, and complained of persecution, because they wanted power to persecute others; when the giddy multitude raged, and became restless to find out misery for themselves and others; and the rabble would herd themselves together, and endeavour to govern and act in spite of authority: in this extremity of fear, and danger of the church and state, when, to suppress the growing evils of both, they needed a man of prudence and piety, and of an high and fearless fortitude; they were blest in all by John Whitgift his being made Archbishop of Canterbury; of whom Sir Henry Wotton that knew him well in his youth, and had studied him in his age, gives this true character: "that he was a man of rev-"erend and sacred memory; and of the "primitive temper; a man of such a temper, "as when the Church by lowliness of spirit "did flourish in highest examples of vir-"tue [83]." And indeed this man proved so.

And though I dare not undertake to add to this excellent and true character of Sir Henry Wotton; yet, I shall neither do right to this discourse, nor to my reader, if I forbear to give him a further and short account of the life and manners of this excellent man; and it shall be short, for I long to end this digression, that I may lead my reader back to Mr. Hooker, where we left him at the Temple.

John Whitgift was born in the county of Lincoln, of a family that was ancient, and noted to be both prudent and affable, and gentle by nature; he was educated in Cambridge; much of his learning was acquired in Pembroke-hall, (where Mr. Bradford the martyr was his tutor;) from thence he was removed to Peter-house; from thence to be Master of Pembroke-hall; and from thence to the Mastership of Trinity college: about which time the Queen made him her chaplain: and not long after, Prebend of Ely [82], and then Dean of Lincoln; and having for many years past looked upon him with much reverence and favour, gave him a fair testimony of both, by giving him the bishoprick of Worcester, and (which was not with her a usual favour [83]) forgiving him his first-fruits; then by constituting him Vice-president of the principality of Wales. And having experimented his wisdom, his justice, and moderation in the menage of her affairs, in both these places; she in the twenty-sixth of her reign made him Archbishop of Canterbury, and not long after of her privy council; and trusted him to manage all her ecclesiastical affairs and preferments. In all of which removes, he was like the ark, which left a blessing upon the place where it rested [84]; and in all his employments was like Jehoida, that did good unto Israel [85].

These were the steps of this bishop's ascension to this place of dignity and cares; in which place (to speak Mr. Camden's very words in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth [86]) "he devoutly consecrated both his "whole life to God, and his painful labours "to the good of his Church." And yet, in this place he met with many oppositions in the regulation of church-affairs, which were much disordered at his entrance, by reason of the age and remissness of Bishop Grindal [87], his immediate predecessor, the activity of the Nonconformists, and their chief assistant, the Earl of Leicester; and indeed, by too many others of the like sacrilegious principles. With these he was to encounter; and though he wanted neither courage nor a good cause, yet he foresaw that without a great measure of the Queen's favour, it was impossible to stand in the breach that had been lately made into the lands and immunities of the Church, or indeed to maintain the remaining lands and rights of it. And therefore by justifiable sacred insinuations, such as St. Paul to Agrippa, ("Agrippa, believest thou? I "know thou believest,") he wrought himself into so great a degree of favour with

[82] [See Cranmer's Letter to Hooker.]

[83] [Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 19, ed. 1651.]

[82] [This he had not from the Queen, but from Bishop Cox. Strype, Whitg. I. 26, and Paule's Life of Whitg. in Wordsworth, E. B. IV. 321, from which latter Walton took most of the particulars here related.]

[83] ["A rare gift for her, who was so good an "huswife of her revenues." Fuller, C. H. b. x. p. 25.]

[84] [2 Sam. vi. 11.]

[85] [2 Chron. xxiv. 16.]

[86] [Camden's *Britannia*, translated by Holland, p. 338, ed. 1610.]

[87] Or rather by reason of his suspension and sequestration, which he lay under (together with the Queen's displeasure) for some years, when the ecclesiastical affairs were managed by certain civilians. J. S.

her, as, by his pious use of it, hath got both of them a great degree of fame in this world, and of glory in that into which they are now both entered.

His merits to the Queen, and her favours to him, were such, that she called him *her little black husband*, and called his servants *her servants* [88]: and she saw so visible and blessed a sincerity shine in all his cares and endeavours for the Church's, and for her good, that she was supposed to trust him with the very secrets of her soul, and to make him her confessor: of which she gave many fair testimonies; and of which one was, that "she would never eat flesh "in Lent without obtaining a license from "her little black husband:" and would often say, "she pitied him because she trust-"ed him, and had thereby eased herself, by "laying the burden of all her clergy-cares "upon his shoulders, which he managed "with prudence and piety."

I shall not keep myself within the promised rules of brevity in this account of his interest with her majesty, and his care of the Church's rights, if in this digression I should enlarge to particulars; and therefore my desire is, that one example may serve for a testimony of both. And, that the reader may the better understand it, he may take notice, that not many years before his being made archbishop, there passed an act or acts of parliament [89], intending the better preservation of the church-lands, by recalling a power which was vested in others to sell or lease them, by lodging and trusting the future care and protection of them only in the crown: and amongst many that made a bad use of this power or trust of the Queen's, the Earl of Leicester was one [90]; and the bishop having, by his interest with her majesty, put a stop to the earl's sacrilegious designs, they two fell to an open opposition before her; after which they both quitted the room, not friends in appearance: but the bishop made a sudden and a seasonable return to her majesty, (for he found her alone,) and spake to her with great humility and reverence, to this purpose:

"I beseech your majesty to hear me with "patience, and to believe that your's and "the Church's safety are dearer to me than "my life, but my conscience dearer than "both: and therefore give me leave to "do my duty, and tell you, that *princes "are deputed nursing fathers of the Church, "and owe it a protection;* and therefore "God forbid that you should be so much "as passive in her ruins, when you may "prevent it; or that I should behold it "without horror and detestation; or should "forbear to tell your majesty of the sin and "danger of sacrilege. And though you "and myself were born in an age of frail-"ties, when the primitive piety and care of "the Church's lands and immunities are "much decayed; yet, madam, let me beg "that you would first consider that there "are such sins as profaneness and sacri-"lege; and that, if there were not, they "could not have names in Holy Writ, and "particularly in the New Testament. And "I beseech you to consider, that though our "Saviour said, 'He judged no man;' and "to testify it, would not judge nor divide "the inheritance betwixt the two brethren, "nor would judge the woman taken in adul-"tery; yet in this point of the Church's "rights he was so zealous, that he made "himself both the accuser and the judge, "and the executioner too, to punish these "sins; witnessed, in that he himself made "the whip to drive the profaners out of the "temple, overthrew the tables of the mo-"neychangers, and drove them out of it. "And I beseech you to consider, that it "was St. Paul that said to those Chris-"tians of his time that were offended with "idolatry, yet committed sacrilege, 'Thou "that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit "sacrilege?' supposing, (I think,) sacrilege "the greater sin. This may occasion your "majesty to consider that there is such a "sin as sacrilege; and to incline you to "prevent the curse that will follow it, I be-"seech you also to consider, that Constan-"tine, the first Christian emperor, and "Helena his mother [91]; that King Ed-"gar [92], and Edward the Confessor [93], and "indeed many others of your predecessors, "and many private Christians, have also "given to God, and to his Church, much "land, and many immunities, which they "might have given to those of their own "families, and did not; but gave them for "ever as *an absolute right and sacrifice to "God:* and with these immunities and "lands, *they have entailed a curse upon the "alienators of them* [94]; God prevent your "majesty from being liable to that curse, "which will cleave unto churchlands, as "the leprosy to the Jews.

[88] [Paule's Life of Whitg. in Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog. IV. 387.]

[89] [1 Eliz. c. 19; 13 Eliz. c. 20, &c. See Blackstone's Commentaries II. 319, 320, 321, Coleridge's edition; and Collier's Eccl. Hist. II. 430, 422.]

[90] [E. g. "The Earl of Leicester, in a suit to "her Majesty, upon the decease of Barnes, Bish-"op of Durham, moved her to take to herself di-"vers bishops' lands, the bishoprieks being then "void, to the value of 1,200*l.* yearly rent; and to "settle upon them impropriations in the room "thereof." The fee-simple of a large portion of such lands to be afterwards granted to him, the earl. Strype. Ann. III. i. 689.]

[91] [Fuller, Ch. Hist. B. 1. p. 23.]

[92] [Ibid. B. II. p. 131, 132.]

[93] [Ibid. B. II. p. 143.]

[94] [Hooker, E. P. V. 79, 14.]

"And to make you that are trusted with "their preservation, the better to under- "stand the danger of it, I beseech you for- "get not, that to prevent these curses, the "Church's land and power have been also "endeavored to be preserved (as far as hu- "man reason, and the law of this nation, "have been able to preserve them) by an "immediate and most sacred obligation on "the consciences of the princes of this "realm. For they that consult Magna "Charta [95] shall find, that as all your prede- "cessors were at their coronation, so you "also were sworn before all the nobility "and bishops then present, and in the pre- "sence of God, and in his stead to him that "anointed you, 'to maintain the church- "lands, and the rights belonging to it;' and "this you yourself have testified openly to "God at the holy altar, by laying your "hands on the Bible then lying upon it. "And not only Magna Charta, but many "modern statutes have denounced a curse "upon those that break Magna Charta: a "curse like the leprosy, that was entailed "on the Jews [96]; for as that, so these curses "have and will cleave to the very stones of "those buildings that have been consecrat- "ed to God; and the father's sin of sacri- "lege hath and will prove to be entailed "on his son and family. And now, madam, "what account can be given for the breach "of this oath at the last great day, either "by your majesty or by me, if it be wilfully, "or but negligently violated, I know not.

"And therefore, good madam, let not the "late lord's exceptions against the failings "of some few clergymen prevail with you "to punish posterity for the errors of this "present age; let particular men suffer for "their particular errors, but let God and his "Church have their inheritance: and though "I pretend not to prophesy, yet I beg pos- "terity to take notice of what is already "become visible in many families: *that "church-land added to an ancient and just "inheritance, hath proved like a moth fret- "ting a garment, and secretly consumed "both;* or *like the eagle that stole a coal "from the altar, and thereby set her nest "on fire, which consumed both her young "eagles, and herself that stole it* [97].

"And, though I shall forbear to speak re- "proachfully of your father; yet I beg you "to take notice, that a part of the Church's "rights, added to the vast treasure left him "by his father, hath been conceived to bring "an unavoidable consumption upon both, "notwithstanding all his diligence to pre- "serve them. And consider that after the "violation of those laws, to which he had "sworn in Magna Charta, God did so far "deny him his restraining grace, that as "King Saul after he was forsaken of God, "fell from one sin to another; so he, till at "last he fell into greater sins than I am "willing to mention. Madam, *religion is "the foundation and cement of human so- "cieties:* and when they that serve at God's "altar shall be exposed to poverty, then re- "ligion itself will be exposed to scorn, and "become contemptible; as you may already "observe it to be in too many poor vicar- "ages in this nation. And therefore, as "you are by a late act or acts of parlia- "ment entrusted with a great power to "preserve or waste the church's lands; "yet dispose of them *for Jesus' sake, as "you have promised to men, and vowed to "God; that is, as the donors intended;* let "neither falsehood nor flattery beguile you "to do otherwise: but put a stop to God's "and the Levite's portion, I beseech you, "and to the approaching ruins of His "Church, as you expect comfort at the last "great day; for, *Kings must be judged.* "Pardon this affectionate plainness, my most "dear sovereign, and let me beg to be still "continued in your favour, and the Lord "still continue you in his."

The Queen's patient hearing this af- fectionate speech, and her future care to preserve the Church's rights, which till then had been neglected, may appear a fair testimony, that he made her's and the Church's good the chiefest of his cares, and that she also thought so. And of this there were such daily testimonies given, as begat betwixt them so mutual a joy and confi- dence, that they seemed born to believe and do good to each other: she not doubt- ing his piety to be more than all his oppos- ers, which were many; nor doubting his prudence to be equal to the chiefest of her council, who were then as remarkable for active wisdom, as those dangerous times did require, or this nation did ever enjoy. And in this condition he continued twenty years [98], in which time he saw some flow- ings, but many more ebbings of her favour towards all men that had opposed him, es- pecially the Earl of Leicester: so that God seemed still to keep him in her favour, that he might preserve the remaining church- lands and immunities from sacrilegious alienations. And this good man deserved all the honour and power with which she gratified and trusted him; for he was a pious man, and naturally of noble and grateful principles: he eased her of all her church- cares by his wise menage of them: he gave her faithful and prudent counsels in all the extremities and dangers of her temporal

[95] ["The first article of Magna Charta is 'Que "les Eglises de Engleterre seront franches, et "aient les dreitures franches,' et enterinés, et "plenieres.'" Dr. Zouch. See Hooker, ubi sup.]

[96] [Deut. xxviii. 27, 35.]

[97] [Æsop's Fables, by L'Estrange, fable 72.]

[98] [He was confirmed Archbishop, Sept. 23, 1583, and died Feb. 29, $160\frac{3}{4}$.]

affairs, which were very many; he lived to be the chief comfort of her life in her declining age, and to be then most frequently with her, and her assistant at her private devotions; he lived to be the greatest comfort of her soul upon her death-bed, to be present at the expiration of her last breath, and to behold the closing of those eyes that had long looked upon him with reverence and affection. And let this also be added, that he was the chief mourner at her sad funeral; nor let this be forgotten that within a few hours after her death, he was the happy proclaimer, that King James (her peaceful successor) was heir to the crown.

Let me beg of my reader, that he allow me to say a little, and but a little, more of this good bishop, and I shall then presently lead him back to Mr. Hooker: and, because I would hasten, I will mention but one part of the bishop's charity and humility; but this of both [99]: he built a large almshouse near to his own palace at Croyden in Surrey, and endowed it with maintenance for a master and twenty-eight poor men and women; which he visited so often, that he knew their names and dispositions; and was so truly humble, that he called them Brothers and Sisters: and whensoever the Queen descended to that lowliness to dine with him at his palace in Lambeth, (which was very often,) he would usually the next day shew the like lowliness to his poor brothers and sisters at Croyden, and dine with them at his hospital; at which time, you may believe, there was joy at the table. And at this place he built also a fair free-school, with a good accommodation and maintenance for the master and scholars; which gave just occasion for Boyse Sisi [100], then ambassador for the French king, and resident here, at the bishop's death, to say, "The bishop had published many learned "books; but a free-school to train up youth "and an hospital to lodge and maintain aged "and poor people, were the best evidences "of Christian learning that a bishop could "leave to posterity." This good bishop lived to see King James settled in peace, and then fell into an extreme sickness at his palace in Lambeth [1]; of which when the King had notice, he went presently to visit him, and found him in his bed in a declining condition, and very weak; and after some short discourse betwixt them, the King at his departure assured him, "He had a "great affection for him, and a very high "value for his prudence and virtues, and "would endeavour to beg his life of God "for the good of his Church." To which the good bishop replied, *Pro ecclesia Dei, Pro ecclesia Dei:* which were the last words he ever spake; therein testifying, that as in his life, so at his death, his chiefest care was of God's Church.

This John Whitgift was made archbishop in the year 1583. In which busy place he continued twenty years and some months; and in which time, you may believe, he had many trials of his courage and patience; but his motto was, *Vincit qui patitur:* and he made it good.

Many of his many trials were occasioned by the then powerful Earl of Leicester, who did still (but secretly) raise and cherish a faction of Nonconformists to oppose him; especially one Thomas Cartwright, a man of noted learning; some time contemporary with the bishop in Cambridge, and of the same college, of which the bishop had been master: in which place there began some emulations, (the particulars I forbear [2],) and at last, open and high oppositions betwixt them; and in which you may believe Mr. Cartwright was most faulty, if his expulsion out of the university can incline you to it.

And in this discontent [3] after the earl's death, (which was 1588,) Mr. Cartwright appeared a chief cherisher of a party that were for the Geneva church government; and, to effect it, he ran himself into many dangers both of liberty and life; appearing at the last to justify himself and his

[99] [Paule, in Dr. Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog. IV. 591, 392.]

[100] [Jean de Thumery de Boissise, counsellor to King Henry IV: who signed the commercial treaty with England, 1606, (Rymer, xvi. 645,) and was afterwards ambassador of France in the duchy of Cleves, (Sully, Mem. VII. 245, ed. Liege 1788.) and in Denmark (ibid. 285.)]

[1] [He was seized with palsy at Whitehall, just after an audience of the King. Paule's Life, 397.]

[2] [Strype, Whitg. b. I. c. 4, 8. Ann. I. ii. 372 ... 382. II. i. 1–5. Bp. Cooper, Admon. 146. "Many know that a repulse of a dignity desired "was the cause that our schism brake forth, and "hath so eagerly continued."]

[3] [In the edition of 1723, and I believe in all following editions, this passage stands as follows, the errors having been rectified, and several additions made, as it seems, by Strype:

"Long before the earl's death ..... Mr. "Cartwright appeared ..... in many remon- "strances, especially that called the Admonition "to the Parliament. Which last he caused to be "printed: to which the Doctor made an Answer, "and Cartwright replied unto him: and then the "Doctor having rejoined to his reply, (however "Mr. Cartwright would not be satisfied,) he wrote "no more, but left, &c. [And to posterity he left "such a learned and useful book, as does abun- "dantly establish the reformation and constitution "of our Church, and vindicate it against all the "cavils of the innovators.] After some time, the "Doctor being preferred to the See, first of Wor- "cester, and then of Canterbury, Mr. Cartwright, "after his share of trouble and imprisonment, (for "setting up new presbyteries in divers places "against the established order,) having received "from the archbishop many personal favours, re- "tired himself to a more private living."]

party in many remonstrances, which he caused to be printed, and to which the bishop made a first answer, and Cartwright replied upon him: and then the bishop having rejoined to his first reply, Mr. Cartwright either was, or was persuaded to be, satisfied: for he wrote no more [4], but left the reader to be judge which had maintained their cause with most charity and reason. After some silence, Mr. Cartwright received from the bishop many personal favours, and betook himself to a more private living, which was at Warwick, where he was made master of an hospital, and lived quietly, and grew rich [5]; and where the bishop gave him a license to preach, upon promise not to meddle with controversies, but incline his hearers to piety and moderation: and this promise he kept during his life, which ended 1602, the bishop surviving him but some few months, each ending his days in perfect charity with the other.

[It is true, the archbishop treated Cartwright with such civility as gained much upon him, and made him declare unto his patron, the Earl of Leicester, how much the archbishop's humane carriage had endeared him to him; and withal shewed his desire that he might have liberty sometimes to have access to him; professing that he would seek to persuade all with whom he had concern and converse, to keep up an union with the church of England. This, I say, is certain; but it is not so certain, that the archbishop gave Cartwright a license to preach. It appears, that in the year 1585 he refused to grant it him, however solicited by Leicester's own letter to do it; and notwithstanding Cartwright's promises, he required more space of time to be satisfied of his conformity. For the elucidation whereof, and some further light into this matter, let both these letters be read and considered; the former of the earl to the archbishop; the latter of the archbishop to the earl. J. S.

"My good Lord,

"I most heartily thank you for your favourable and courteous usage of Mr. Cartwright, who hath so exceeding kindly taken it also, as I assure your Grace, he cannot speak enough of it. I trust it shall do a great deal of good. And he protesteth and professeth to me, to take no other course, but to the drawing of all men to the unity of the Church: and that your Grace hath so dealt with him, as no man shall so command him, and dispose of him, as you shall: and doth mean to let this opinion publicly be known, even in the pulpit, (if your grace so permit him,) what he himself will, and would all others should do, for obedience to the laws established. And if any little scruple be, it is not great, and easy to be reformed by your Grace; whom I do most heartily entreat to continue your favour and countenance towards him, with such access sometimes as your leisure may permit. For I perceive he doth much desire and crave it, &c. Thus, my good lord, praying to God to bless his Church, and to make his servants constant and faithful, I bid your Grace farewell.

The Earl of Leicester to the Archbishop concerning Mr. Cartwright.

"Your Grace's very assured friend,

"ROB. LEICESTER."

"At the court, this 14th of July."

To which letter the archbishop returned this answer.

"My singular good Lord,

"Mr. Cartwright shall be welcome to me at all times, and using himself quietly, as becomes him, and as I hope he will, he shall find me willing to do him any good: but to grant unto him, as yet, my license to preach, without longer trial, I cannot; especially seeing he protesteth himself to be of the same mind he was at the writing of his book, for the matter thereof, though not for the manner; myself also, I thank God, not altered in any point by me set down to the contrary; and knowing many things [in his book] to be very dangerous. Wherefore, notwithstanding I am content and ready to be at peace with him, so long as he liveth peaceably; yet doth my conscience and duty forbid me to give unto him any further public approbation, until I be better persuaded of his conformity. And so being bold to use my accustomed plainness with your good lordship, I commit you to the tuition of Almighty God; this 17th of July, 1585."]

The Archbishop to the earl.

[4] [There is an error here, which may be traced to Fuller, C. II. b. ix. p. 102. "It will not be "amiss to set down what writings, pro and con, "passed on the occasion of this book," (the Admonitions to the Parliament, 1572,) "between two "eminent authors of opposite parties. 1. The Admonition, first and second, made by Mr. Cartwright. 2. The Answer to the Admonition by "Dr. John Whitgift. 3. The Reply to the Answer to the Admonition by Mr. Tho. Cartwright. "4. The Defence of the Answer by Dr. John "Whitgift. This last kept the field, and (for "aught I can find) received no solemn refutation." To which he adds many conjectures on the possible causes of Cartwright's silence: not being at all aware of the Second Reply, a much larger work than the first; which Second Reply came out in two parts, 1575 and 1577.]

[5] ["We find him at this time growing rich in "the town of Warwick (there master of an hospital) by the benevolence and bounty of his followers: where he preached very temperately, "according to his promise made to the Archbishop." Fuller C. II. b. x. p. 2, almost verbatim from Paule's Life of Whitgift: see Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog. IV. 366.]

And now after this long digression made for the information of my reader concerning what follows, I bring him back to venerable Mr. Hooker, where we left him in the Temple; and where we shall find him as deeply engaged in a controversy with Walter Travers [6], a friend and favourite of Mr. Cartwright's, as the bishop had ever been with Mr. Cartwright himself; and of which I shall proceed to give this following account.

And first this; that though the pens of Mr. Cartwright and the bishop were now at rest [7], yet there was sprung up a new generation of restless men, that by company and clamours became possest of a faith which they ought to have kept to themselves, but could not: men that were become positive in asserting, "that a Papist cannot be saved:" insomuch, that about this time, at the execution of the Queen of Scots [8], the bishop that preached her funeral sermon (which was Dr. Howland [9], then Bishop of Peterborough) was reviled for not being positive for her damnation. And besides this boldness of their becoming gods, so far as to set limits to his mercies; there was not only one *Martin Mar-Prelate* [10], but other venomous books daily printed and dispersed; books that were so absurd and scurrilous, that the graver divines disdained them an answer. And yet these were grown into high esteem with the common people, till Tom Nash appeared against them all; who was a man of a sharp wit, and the master of a scoffing satirical merry pen, which he employed to discover the absurdities of those blind, malicious, senseless pamphlets, and sermons as senseless as they; Nash his answers being like his books [11], which bore these titles, *An Almond for a Parrot*, [12]. *A Fig for my Godson, Come crack me this Nut*, and the like; so that his merry wit made some sport, and such a discovery of their absurdities, as (which is strange) he put a greater stop to these malicious pamphlets than a much wiser man had been able [13].

And now the reader is to take notice, that at the death of Father Alvie, who was master of the Temple, this Walter Travers

[6] ["Mr. Walter Travers, whom I may term the "neck (allowing Mr. Cartwright for the head) of "the Presbyterian party." Fuller, C. H. b. ix. 136.]

[7] [Here the editions since Strype insert "and "had been a great while." The latter portion of Cartwright's Second Reply was published in 1577.]

[8] [Feb. 8, 158$\frac{6}{7}$.]

[9] [By a note in Dr. Zouch's edition, given also by Wordsworth, it appears that Dr. Wickham, Bishop of Lincoln, not Bishop Howland, preached the sermon on this occasion. Fuller, ix. 181, says, "she was buried in the quire of Peterbo- "rough, and Dr. Wickham, Bishop of Lincoln, "preached her funeral sermon; causelessly carped "at by the Martin Mar-Prelate, as too favourable "concerning her final condition."]

[10] [1587.]

[11] ['The meaning seems to be, Nash's answers "being like his (Martin's) books: which (an- "swers) bore, &c." Compare the titles at length of the pamphlets mentioned in the next note with the two following of Penry's. "O read over Dr. "John Bridges, for it is a worthy work; or, An "Epitome of the first book of that right worship- "full volume written against the Puritans in the "defence of the noble clergie, by as worshipful a "priest, John Bridges, presbyter, priest, or elder, "doctor of divillitie, and deane of Sarum. Where- "in the arguments of the Puritans are wisely pre- "vented, that when they come to answer M. "Doctor they must needs say something that hath "been spoken. Compiled for the behoofe and "overthrow of the parsons, fyckers, and currats, "that have learnt their catechisms and are past "grace. By the reverend and worthy Martin "Marprelate, gentleman, and dedicated to the "confocation house.... Printed over sea in Eu- "rope, within two furlongs of a bouncing priest, "at the cost and charge of M. Marprelate, gen- "tleman."

"Theses Martinianæ: i. e. certain demonstra- "tive conclusions, set down and collected, as it "should seem, by that famous and renowned "clark, the reverend Martin Marprelate the great; "serving as a sufficient and manifest confutation "of all that ever the college of catercaps, with "their whole band of clergie priests, have or can "bring for the defence of their ambitious and anti- "christian prelacy. Published and set forth as an "after-birth of the noble gentleman himself, by a "pretty stripling of his, Martin Junior, and dedi- "cated by him to his good neame and nuncka, "maister John Kankerbury.... Printed by the "assigns of Martin Junior, without any privilege "of the Cater-caps."]

[12] ["An Almond for a Parrot, or Cuthbert Cur- "ryknave's Alms. Fit for the knave Martin and "the rest of those impudent beggars, that cannot "be content to stay their stomach with a benefice, "but they will needs break their fasts with our "bishops. Imprinted at a place not far from a "place, by the assigns of Signior Somebody, and "are to be sold at his shop in Trouble-knave "Street, at the sign of the Standish."

"Pappe with an Hatchet; alias, A Fig for my "Godson; or, Crack me this Nut; or, A country "Cuff, i. e. a sound box of the ear for the idiot "Martin to hold his peace, seeing the patch will "take no warning. Written by one that dares "to call a dog a dog, and made to prevent Martin's "dog days. Imprinted by John Anoke and John "Astile for the Bailiff of Withernam, cum privi- "legio perennitatis, and are to be sold at the sign "of the Crab-tree Cudgel in Thwack-coat Lane."

'To give Pap with a Hatchet;' "a proverbial "phrase, for doing a kind thing in an unkind man- "ner," Nare's Glossary. 'Pap.' Watts, Biblioth. Brit. ascribes the pamphlet to Lilly and not to Nash.]

[13] ["By his (Dr. Bancroft's) advice that course "was taken, which did principally stop Martin's "and his fellows' mouths; *viz.* to have them an- "swered after their own vain writings." Abp. Whitgift, ap. Strype, Whitg. II. 387.]

was lecturer there for the evening sermons [14], which he preached with great approbation, especially of some citizens, and the younger gentlemen of that society; and for the most part approved by Mr. Hooker himself, in the midst of their oppositions: for he continued lecturer a part of his time: Mr. Travers being indeed a man of competent learning, of winning behaviour, and of a blameless life. But he had taken orders by the presbytery in Antwerp [15], (and with them some opinions, that could never be eradicated,) and if in any thing he was transported, it was in an extreme desire to set up that government in this nation: for the promoting of which he had a correspondence with Theodore Beza at Geneva [16], and others in Scotland [17]; and was one of the chiefest assistants to Mr. Cartwright in that design.

Mr. Travers had also a particular hope to set up this government in the Temple, and to that end used his most zealous endeavours to be master of it; and his being disappointed by Mr. Hooker's admittance, proved the occasion of a public opposition betwixt them in their sermons. Many of which were concerning the doctrine and ceremonies of this church: insomuch that as St. Paul withstood St. Peter to his face, so did they withstand each other in their sermons; for as one hath pleasantly exprest it, "The forenoon sermon spake Canterbury, and the afternoon, Geneva [18]."

In these sermons there was little of bitterness, but each party brought all the reasons he was able, to prove his adversary's opinion erroneous. And thus it continued a long time, till the oppositions became so visible, and the consequences so dangerous, especially in that place, that the prudent archbishop put a stop to Mr. Travers his preaching by a positive prohibition; [and that chiefly because of his foreign ordination [19]:] against which Mr. Travers appealed and petitioned her Majesty's Privy Council to have it recalled, where besides his patron the Earl of Leicester [20], he met also with many assisting friends; but they were not able to prevail with or against the archbishop, whom the Queen had entrusted with all church-power; and he had received so fair a testimony of Mr. Hooker's principles, and of his learning and moderation, that he withstood all solicitations.

But the denying this petition of Mr. Travers was unpleasant to divers of his party, and the reasonableness of it became at last to be so publicly magnified by them and many others of that party, as never to be answered: so that, intending the bishop's and Mr. Hooker's disgrace, they procured it to be privately printed [21], and scattered abroad; and then Mr. Hooker was forced to appear and make as public an answer: which he did, and dedicated it to the archbishop; and it proved so full an answer, an answer that had in it so much of clear reason, and writ with so much meekness and majesty of style, that the bishop began to have him in admiration [22], and to rejoice that he had appeared in his cause, and disdained not earnestly to beg his friendship; even a familiar friendship, with a man of so much *quiet learning* and *humility* [23].

To enumerate the many particular points in which Mr. Hooker and Mr. Travers dissented, (all or most of which I have seen written,) would prove at least tedious; and therefore I shall impose upon my reader no more than two, which shall immediately follow, and by which he may judge of the rest.

Mr. Travers excepted against Mr. Hooker, for that in one of his sermons he declared, "That the assurance of what we "believe by the word of God is not to us "so certain as that which we perceive by "sense." And Mr. Hooker confesseth he

[14] [Mr. Alvie himself appears to have been inclined to Puritanism, as his name occurs in "Troubles at Frankfort," among the signatures to "the Discipline," 1557. Phœnix. vol. ii. 142. This may partly account for Travers's appointment.]

[15] [Fuller, C. H. b. ix. p. 214, inserts the testimonial of his ordination, bearing date May 14, 1578.]

[16] [Fuller, ibid. "Meeting with some discon-"tents in the college after the death of Dr. Beau-"mont, in whose time he was elected fellow, he "took occasion to travel beyond seas, and coming "to Geneva, contracted familiarity with Mr. Beza "and other foreign divines, with whom he by let-"ters continued correspondency till the day of his "death."]

[17] [He and Cartwright were invited by Melvin and others to be readers in divinity in St. Andrew's: and the tone of the letter, given in Fuller, C. H. b. ix. p. 215, seems to imply previous acquaintance and correspondence.]

[18] [Fuller, Worthies of England, p. 264. "The "pulpit spake pure Canterbury in the morning, "and Geneva in the afternoon, until Travers was "silenced."]

[19] [The words in brackets were inserted by Strype. The Author of "M. Some laid open in "his colours," p. 25, says, "I have heard that "M. Travers, when he was thrust out of the Tem-"ple, was bidden by my Lord of Canterbury to "prove his calling: alleging that he was no min-"ister: for what authority, saith he in his choler, "hath M. Cartwright to make a minister?"]

[20] [Rather, Lord Burghley, to whom Travers was domestic chaplain, as appears by a memorial of his in Strype, Whitg. I. 475. Fuller adds that he was tutor to Burghley's son Robert, afterwards Earl of Salisbury. C. H. b. ix. p. 214.]

[21] [Rather "copied out:" see answer to Travers's Supplication, § 9. in vol. ii.]

[22] [Originally "to wonder at the man."]

[23] [Possibly the very words of the archbishop, in some letter or conversation, reported to Walton by the Cranmer family.]

said so, and endeavours to justify it by the reasons following [23]:

"First, I taught, that the things which "God promises in his word are surer than "what we touch, handle, or see: but are "we so sure and certain of them? If we "be, why doth God so often prove his prom-"ises to us as he doth, by arguments drawn "from our sensible experience? For we "must be surer of the proof, than of the "things proved; otherwise it is no proof. "For example, how is it that many men "looking on the moon at the same time, "every one knoweth it to be the moon as "certainly as the other doth? But many "believing one and the same promise, have "not all the same fulness of persuasion. "For how falleth it out, that men being as-"sured of any thing by sense, can be no "surer of it than they are: when as the "strongest in faith that liveth upon the "earth hath always need to labour, strive, "and pray, that his assurance concerning "heavenly and spiritual things may grow, "increase, and be augmented?"

The sermon [24] that gave him the cause of this his justification, makes the case more plain, by declaring, "that there is besides "this certainty of evidence, a certainty of "adherence." In which, having most excellently demonstrated what the certainty of adherence is, he makes this comfortable use of it: "Comfortable (he says) as to "weak believers, who suppose themselves "to be faithless, not to believe, when not-"withstanding they have their adherence; "the Holy Spirit hath his private opera-"tions, and worketh secretly in them, and "effectually too, though they want the in-"ward testimony of it."

Tell this, saith he, to a man that hath a mind too much dejected by a sad sense of his sin; to one that by a too severe judging of himself, concludes that he wants faith, because he wants the comfortable assurance of it; and his answer will be, "Do "not persuade me, against my knowledge, "against what I find and feel in myself: I "do not, I know I do not, believe." Mr. Hooker's own words follow: "Well, then, "to favour such men a little in their weak-"ness, let that be granted which they do "imagine; be it, that they adhere not to "God's promises, but are faithless, and "without belief: but are they not grieved "for their unbelief? They confess they are. "Do they not wish it might, and also strive "that it may be otherwise? We know "they do. Whence cometh this, but from "a secret love and liking that they have of "those things believed? For no man can "love those things which in his own opinion "are not; and if they think those things to "be, which they shew they love, when they "desire to believe them; then must it be, "that by desiring to believe, they prove "themselves true believers: for without "faith no man thinketh that things believed "are: which argument all the subtilties of "infernal powers will never be able to dis-"solve." This is an abridgment of part of the reasons Mr. Hooker gives for his justification of this his opinion, for which he was excepted against by Mr. Travers.

Mr. Hooker was also accused by Mr. Travers, for that he in one of his sermons [25] had declared, "That he doubted not but "that God was merciful to many of our "forefathers living in popish superstition, "forasmuch as they sinned ignorantly:" and Mr. Hooker in his answer professeth it to be his judgment, and declares his reasons for this charitable opinion to be as followeth.

But first [26] [because Travers's argument against this charitable opinion of Hooker was, that they could not be saved, because they sought to be justified by the merit of their works, and so overthrow the foundation of faith] he states the question about justification and works, and how the foundation of faith without works is overthrown; and then he proceeds to discover that way which natural men and some others have mistaken to be the way by which they hope to attain true and everlasting happiness: and having discovered the mistaken, he proceeds to direct to that true way, by which, and no other, everlasting life and blessedness is attainable. And these two ways he demonstrates thus (they be his own words that follow): "That, the way "of nature; this, the way of grace: the "end of that way, salvation merited, pre-"supposing the righteousness of men's "works; their righteousness, a natural "ability to do them; that ability, the good-"ness of God which created them in such "perfection. But the end of this way, "salvation bestowed upon men as a gift: "presupposing not their righteousness, "but the forgiveness of their unrighteous-"ness, justification; their justification, not "their natural ability to do good, but their "hearty sorrow for not doing, and unfeign-"ed belief in Him for whose sake not doers "are accepted, which is their vocation; their "vocation, the election of God, taking them "out of the number of lost children; their "election, a Mediator in whom to be elect-"ed; this mediation inexplicable mercy; "this mercy supposing their misery for "whom He vouchsafed to die, and make "himself a Mediator."

[23] [Answer to Travers's Supplication, §. 9.]

[24] [On the certainty and perpetuity of faith in the Elect.]

[25] [Of Justification.]

[26] ["because . . . of faith," interpolated, apparently by Strype.]

And he also declareth, "there is no meritorious cause for our justification but Christ; "no effectual, but His mercy;" and says also, "we deny the grace of our Lord "Jesus Christ, we abuse, disannul, and annihilate the benefit of His passion, if by a "proud imagination we believe we can "merit everlasting life, or can be worthy of "it." This belief (he declareth) is to destroy the very essence of our justification, and he makes all opinions that border upon this to be very dangerous. "Yet nevertheless" (and for this he was accused)"considering how many virtuous and just men, "how many saints and martyrs, have had "their dangerous opinions, amongst which "this was one, that they hoped to make "God some part of amends, by voluntary punishments which they laid upon "themselves: because by [of?] this, or the "like erroneous opinions which do by consequence overthrow the merits of Christ, "shall man be so bold as to write on their "graves, 'Such men are damned, there is "for them no salvation!' St. Austin says, "*Errare possum, hæreticus esse nolo.* And "except we put a difference betwixt them "that err ignorantly, and them that obstinately persist in it, how is it possible that "any man should hope to be saved? Give "me a Pope or a Cardinal, whom great "afflictions have made to know himself; "whose heart God hath touched with true "sorrow for all his sins, and filled with a "love of Christ and his Gospel; whose "eyes are willingly open to see the truth, "and his mouth ready to renounce all error, this one opinion of merit excepted, "which he thinketh God will require at his 'hands; and because he wanteth, trembleth, and is discouraged, and yet can "say, 'Lord, cleanse me from all my secret "sins!' shall I think, because of this, or a "like error, such men touch not so much "as the hem of Christ's garment? If they "do, wherefore should I doubt but that virtue may proceed from Christ to save "them? No, I will not be afraid to say to "such a one, 'You err in your opinion, but "be of good comfort, you have to do with "a merciful God, who will make the best "of that little which you hold well, and not "with a captious sophister, who gathereth "the worst out of every thing in which you "are mistaken.'

"But it will be said, (says Mr. Hooker,) "'The admittance of merit in any degree, "overthroweth the foundation, excludeth "from the hope of mercy, from all possibility of salvation.' (And now Mr. Hooker's "own words follow.)

"What, though they hold the truth sincerely in all other parts of Christian faith; "although they have in some measure all "the virtues and graces of the Spirit; although they have all other tokens of God's "children in them; although they be far "from having any proud opinion that they "shall be saved by the worthiness of their "deeds; although the only thing that troubleth and molesteth them be a little too "much dejection, somewhat too great a "fear arising from an erroneous conceit, "that God will require a worthiness in "them, which they are grieved to find "wanting in themselves? although they be "not obstinate in this opinion? although "they be willing and would be glad to forsake it, if any one reason were brought "sufficient to disprove it? although the "only cause why they do not forsake it ere "they die, be their ignorance of that means "by which it might be disproved? although "the cause why the ignorance in this point "is not removed, be the want of knowledge "in such as should be able, and are not, to "remove it? Let me die (says Mr. Hooker) if it be ever proved, that simply an "error doth exclude a Pope or Cardinal in "such a case utterly from hope of life. "Surely I must confess, that if it be an error to think that God may be merciful to "save men even when they err, my greatest comfort is my error: were it not for "the love I bear to this error, I would never wish to speak or to live."

I was willing to take notice of these two points, as supposing them to be very material; and that as they are thus contracted, they may prove useful to my reader; as also, for that the answers be arguments of Mr. Hooker's great and clear reason, and equal charity. Other exceptions were also made against him by Mr. Travers, as, "That he prayed before and not after his "sermons; that in his prayers he named "bishops; that he kneeled both when he "prayed and when he received the Sacrament; and" (says Mr. Hooker in his defence) "other exceptions so like these, as "but to name, I should have thought a "greater fault than to commit them."

And it is not unworthy the noting, that in the manage of so great a controversy, a sharper reproof than this, and one like it, did never fall from the happy pen of this humble man. That like it was upon a like occasion of exceptions, to which his answer was, "Your next argument consists of railing and of reasons: to your railing, I say "nothing; to your reasons, I say what follows[27]." And I am glad of this fair occasion, to testify the dovelike temper of this meek, this matchless man; and doubtless, if Almighty God had blessed the dissenters from the ceremonies and discipline of this church with a like measure of wisdom and humility, instead of their pertinacious zeal;

[27] [Compare E. P. V. 30, 4. "Our answer "therefore to their reasons is, No: to their scoffs, "Nothing."]

then, Obedience and Truth had kissed each other; then peace and piety had flourished in our nation, and this church and state had been blessed like "Jerusalem that is at unity "with itself;" but this can never be expected, till God shall bless the common people of this nation with a belief "*That schism is "a sin, and, they not fit to judge what is "schism:*" and bless them also with a belief, "that there may be offences taken, "which are not given;" and, "that laws "are not made for private men to dispute, "but to obey."

J. S. The articles of false doctrines objected by Travers to Hooker.

[Before we pass from these unhappy disceptations between Hooker and Travers, as we have heard two articles of pretended false doctrine objected by the one to the other, so it is pity the rest should be wholly lost, and for ever buried in silence: therefore, for the making this considerable part of the reverend man's life and history complete, and to retrieve whatsoever may be gotten of the pen and mind of so learned and judicious a person, take this further account, not only of two, but of all the articles that his beforementioned adversary had marshalled up against him collected from a sermon or sermons he had heard him preach at the Temple; together with his endeavoured confutation of them; and likewise Hooker's own vindication of himself to each of these articles. These articles seem to have been delivered by Travers to the Lord Treasurer. The same lord delivered them to Hooker to consider of, and to make his reply to. And of these articles the archbishop also was privy, and briefly declared his judgment and determination of them. I shall set all down exactly from an authentic manuscript.

DOCTRINES DELIVERED BY MR. HOOKER, AS THEY WERE SET DOWN AND SHEWED BY MR. TRAVERS, MAR. 30, 1585, UNDER THIS TITLE [28].

A short Note of sundry unsound Points of Doctrine at divers times delivered by Mr. Hooker in his public Sermons.

1. The church of Rome is a true church of Christ, and a church sanctified by profession of that truth, which God had revealed unto us by his Son, though not a pure and perfect church.

2. The Fathers which lived and died in Popish superstition were saved, because they sinned ignorantly.

3. They which are of the church of Rome may be saved by such a faith as they have in Christ, and a general repentance of all their sins.

4. the church of Rome holdeth all men sinners, even the Blessed Virgin, though some of them think otherwise of her.

5. The church of Rome teacheth Christ's righteousness to be the only meritorious cause of taking away sin.

6. The Galatians which joined with faith in Christ, circumcision, as necessary unto salvation, notwithstanding be saved.

7. Neither the church of Rome, nor the Galatians, deny the foundation directly, but only by consequent: and therefore may be saved. Or else neither the Lutherans, nor whosoever hold any error (for every error by consequent denieth the foundation), may be saved.

8. An additament taketh not away that whereunto it is added, but confirmeth it. As he that saith of any, that he is a righteous man, saith, that he is a man: except it be privative; as when he saith, he is a dead man. then he denieth him to be a man: and of this sort of [privative] additaments neither are works, which are added to Christ by the church of Rome; nor circumcision, added to him by the Galatians.

9. The Galatians' case is harder than the case of the church of Rome; for they added to Christ circumcision, which God had forbidden and abolished: but that which the church of Rome addeth, are works which God hath commanded.

10. No one sequel urged by the Apostle against the Galatians, for joining circumcision with Christ, but may be as well enforced against the Lutherans holding ubiquity.

11. A bishop or cardinal of the church of Rome, yea, the Pope himself, denying all other errors of popery, notwithstanding his opinion of justification by works, may be saved.

12. Predestination is not of the absolute will of God, but conditional.

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[28] [In the Harleian MSS. N°. 291, fol. 183—185, is a paper dated March 20, 1585, and headed, "Propositions taught and maintained by Mr. "Hooker. The same briefly confuted by L. T. "in a private Letter." And immediately following, "Doctrine preached by Mr. Hooker in the "Temple the first of March, 1585." These papers agree in substance, though not verbally with Strype's, as far as they go: for they do not contain either Hooker's answer or the archbishop's judgment on the disputed points. (L. T. was Lawrence Tomson. Dr. Bliss, in Ath. Oxon. I. 700. See an account of him in the same work, anno 1608, tom. II. p. 44. He was employed as a clerk by sir F. Walsingham. See a letter of his (Tomson's) at the end of Knewstub's Confutation of H. N. 1579.) It appears by Fuller, Ch. Hist. b. ix. p. 216, that notes of these sermons were taken by a great many persons. "Here might one on Sundays have seen "almost as many writers as hearers. Not only "young students, but even the gravest benchers "(such as Sir Edward Cook and sir James Al-"tham then were) were not more exact in taking "instructions from their clients, than in writing "notes from the mouths of their ministers."]

13. The doings of the wicked are not of the will of God positive, but only permissive.

14. The reprobates are not rejected, but for the evil works which God did foresee they would commit

15. The assurance of things which we believe by the word, is not so sure, as of those which we perceive by sense.

Here follows an Account, given in by Mr. Hooker himself, of what he preached March 28, 1585 [29]. *And then of what Travers in his Lectures excepted thereunto. And lastly, of Hooker's Reply and vindication of himself and his Sermons.*

" I doubt not but that God was merciful
Hooker's own relation of his assertions, and vindication of them against Travers.
" to thousands of our fathers,
" which lived in popish superstition: for that *they* sinned
" ignorantly. But *we* have the
" light of the truth.

[30] " Which doctrine was withstood, because we are commanded to depart out " of Babylon, else we should be partakers " of those plagues there denounced against " such as repent not of their superstitions: " which they cannot who know them not.

" I answered that there were thousands " in our days who hate sin, desiring to walk " according to the will of God; and yet " committing sin which they know not to be " sin. I think, that they that desire forgiveness of secret sins, which they know not " to be sins, and that are sorry for sins, that " they know not to be sins, [such] do repent.

" It is replied, that without faith there is " no repentance. Our fathers in desiring " mercy did but as divers pagans, and had " no true repentance.

" They thought they could not be saved " by Christ without works, as the Galatians " did: and so they denied the foundation of " faith.

" I answered, although the proposition " were true, that he who thinketh he cannot " be saved by Christ without works, overthroweth the foundation: yet we may persuade ourselves that our forefathers might " be saved. 1. Because many of them were " ignorant of the dogmatical positions of " the church of Rome. 2. Albeit they had " divers positions of that church, yet it followeth not that they had this. 3. Although they did generally hold this position, yet God might be merciful unto them. " No exception hath been taken against any " one of these assertions. 4. I add, that albeit all those, of whom we speak, did not " only hold this generally, but as the scholars of Rome hold this position now, of " joining works with Christ: whether doth " that position overthrow the foundation " directly, or only by consequence? If it " doth overthrow the foundation directly, " &c. To make all plain, these points are " to be handled. First, what is meant by " the foundation. Second, what it is to " deny the foundation directly. Thirdly, " whether the elect may be so deceived, " that they may come to this, to deny the " foundation directly. Fourthly, whether " the Galatians did directly deny it. Fifthly, " whether the church of Rome, by joining " works with Christ in the matter of salvation, do directly deny it.

I. To the first I answer: " The foundation is, that which Peter, Nathaniel, and " the Samaritan confessed; and that which " the Apostles expressly [affirm], Acts iv. " [12.] 'There is none other name under " heaven given among men, whereby we " must be saved.' It is, in fine, this, Salvation is by Christ only. This word *only*, " what doth it exclude? [As when we say,] " 'This judge shall *only* determine this matter:' this *only* doth not exclude all other " things, besides the person of the judge; " as necessary witnesses, the equity of the " cause, &c. but *all persons:* and not all " persons from being present, but from determining the cause. So when we say, " 'Salvation *only* is by Christ,' we do not " exclude all other things. For then how " could we say, that faith were necessary? " We exclude therefore not those means " whereby the benefits of Christ are applied " to us; but all other *persons*, for working " any thing for our redemption.

" II. To the second point: We are said " to deny the foundation directly, when " plainly and expressly we deny that Christ " only doth save. *By consequence* we deny " the foundation, when any such thing is " defended, whereby it may be inferred, that " Christ doth not only save.

" III. To the third: The elect of God " cannot so err that they should deny directly the foundation: for that Christ doth " keep them from that extremity: and there " is no salvation to such as deny the foundation directly. Therefore it is said, that " they 'shall worship the beast, whose " names are not found in the book of life.' " Antichrist may prevail much against them " [viz. the elect], and they may receive the " sign of the beast in the same degree, but

[29] [Strype in his Life of Whitg. I. 476. makes the date 1586. But it is an oversight there, as is evident from the context.]

[30] " Salvation belongeth to the Church of Christ. " We may not think, that they could be capable " of it, which lived in the errors held and maintained in the Church of Rome, that seat of Antichrist. Wherefore to his people God speaketh " in this sort: 'Go out of Babylon, my people, go " out of her that you be not partaker of her sins, " and that you taste not of her plagues."

" The Galatians thinking that they could not " be saved by Christ, except they were circumcised, did thereby exclude themselves from salvation. Christ did profit them nothing. So they " which join their own works with Christ." *Travers's own Answer.*

"not so that they should directly deny the "foundation

"IV. To the fourth: Albeit the Gala- "tians fell into error; but not so that they "lost salvation. If they had died before "they had known the doctrine of Paul, "being before deceived by those that they "thought did teach the truth; what do you "think? should they have been damned? "This we are taught, that such errors [as "are damning] shall not take hold, but on "those that love not the truth. The Gala- "tians had embraced the truth; and for it "had suffered many things, &c. There "came among them seducers that required "circumcision. They being moved with a "religious fear, thought it to be the word "of God, that they should be circumcised. "The best of them might be brought into "that opinion; and dying before they could "be otherwise instructed, they may not for "that be excluded from salvation. Circumci- "sion being joined with Christ doth only by "consequence overthrow the foundation. "To hold the foundation by an additament "is not to deny the foundation; unless the "additament be a privative. He is a just "man, therefore a man: but this followeth "not; he is a dead man, therefore he is a "man. In the 15th chapter of the Acts "they are called *credentes* [i. e. such as be- "lieved], that taught the necessity of cir- "cumcision. That name could not have "been given unto them, if directly they had "denied the foundation. That which the "Apostle doth urge against the Galatians, "in respect of circumcision, may be urged "against the Lutherans in respect of their "consubstantiation. [But they do not di- "rectly deny the foundation.] So neither "did the Galatians directly deny it.

"V. Lastly: Whether doth the church "of Rome directly deny the foundation, by "joining Christ and works? There is a dif- "ference between the papists and the Gala- "tians: for circumcision, which the Gala- "tians joined with Christ, was forbidden, "and taken away by Christ. But works are "commanded, which the church of Rome "doth join with Christ. So that there is "greater repugnancy to join circumcision "with Christ, than to join works with him. "But let them be equal. As the Galatians "only by consequent denied the foundation, "so do the Papists. (Zanchy, Calvin, Mor- "nay; I need not go so far as some of "these)[31]. But this I think, if the Pope, or "any of the Cardinals, should forsake all "other their corruptions, and yield up their "souls, holding the foundation again but by "a slender thread, and did but as it were "touch the hem of Christ's garment, believ- "ing that which the Church of Rome doth "in this point of doctrine, they may obtain "mercy. For they have to deal with God, "who is no captious sophister, and will not "examine them in quiddities, but accept "them if they plainly hold the foundation.

"This error is my only comfort as touch- "ing the salvation of our fathers. I follow "Mr. Martyr. I know *Ignorantia non ex-* "*cusat in toto*, but *in tanto*. It maketh not "a fault to be no fault, but that which is a "fault to be a less one."

The Archbishop's judgment of those controversies.

At length, thus did the Archbishop of Canterbury discreetly and warily correct and moderate these articles between them both:

I. "Papists living and dying Papists may "notwithstanding be saved. The reason; "ignorance excused them. As the apostle "allegeth, 1 Tim. i. 13. 'I obtained mercy "because I did it ignorantly.'

THE ARCHBISHOP'S JUDGMENT.

"Not *Papists*, but *our fathers*. Nor they "*all*, but *many of them*. Nor *living and* "*dying Papists*, but living in popish super- "stitions. Nor simply *might*, but *might by* "*the mercy of God* be saved. Ignorance "did not excuse the fault to make it no "fault: but the less their fault was, in re- "spect of ignorance, the more hope we have, "that God was merciful to them."

II. "Papists hold the foundation of faith: "so that they may be saved, notwithstand- "ing their opinion of merit."

Archbishop. "And Papists overthrow "the foundation of faith, both by their doc- "trine of merit, and otherwise many ways. "So that if they have as their errors de- "serve, I do not see how they should be "saved."

III. "General repentance may serve to "their salvation, though they confess not "their error of merit."

Archbishop. "General repentance will "not serve any but the faithful man. Nor "him, for any sin, but for such sins only as "he doth not mark, nor know to be sin."

IV. "The Church of Rome is within the "new covenant."

Archbishop. "The Church of Rome is "not as the assemblies of Turks, Jews, and "Painims."

V. "The Galatians joining the law with "Christ might have been saved, before they "received the Epistle."

Archbishop. "Of the Galatians, before "they were told of their error, what letteth "us to think, as of our fathers, before the "Church of Rome was admonished of her "defection from the truth?"]

And this also may be worthy of noting, that these exceptions of Mr. Travers against Mr. Hooker proved to be *felix error*, for they were the cause of his transcribing those few

[31] [The words in ( ) appear to be a reference, crept by mistake into the text. The passages referred to are specified in the body of the sermon.]

of his sermons, which we now see printed with his books; and of his Answer to Mr. Travers his Supplication: and of his most learned and useful Discourse of Justification, of Faith and Works; and by their transcription they fell into such hands as have preserved them from being lost, as too many of his other matchless writings were; and from these I have gathered many observations in this discourse of his life.

After the publication of his Answer to the Petition of Mr. Travers, Mr. Hooker grew daily into greater repute with the most learned and wise of the nation; but it had a contrary effect in very many of the Temple that were zealous for Mr. Travers and for his Church-discipline; insomuch, that though Mr. Travers left the place [32], yet the seeds of discontent could not be rooted out of that society, by the great reason, and as great meekness, of this humble man; for though the chief benchers gave him much reverence and encouragement, yet he there met with many neglects and oppositions by those of Master Travers's judgment; insomuch that it turned to his extreme grief: and that he might unbeguile and win them, he designed to write a deliberate sober Treatise of the Church's power to make canons for the use of ceremonies, and by law to impose an obedience to them, as upon her children; and this he proposed to do in eight books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity; intending therein to shew such arguments as should force an assent from all men, if reason delivered in sweet language, and void of any provocation, were able to do it; and that he might prevent all prejudice, he wrote before it a large Preface or Epistle to the Dissenting Brethren, wherein there were such bowels of love, and such a commixture of that love with reason, as was never exceeded but in Holy Writ; and particularly by that of St. Paul to his dear brother and fellow-labourer Philemon: than which, none was ever more like this Epistle of Mr. Hooker's: so that his dear friend and companion in his studies, Dr. Spenser, might after his death justly say [33], "What admirable height of learn-"ing and depth of judgment dwelt in the "lowly mind of this truly humble man, "great in all wise men's eyes except his "own; with what gravity and majesty of "speech his tongue and pen uttered heav-"enly mysteries; whose eyes, in the humil-"ity of his heart, were always cast down to "the ground: how all things that proceed-"ed from him were breathed as from the "spirit of love; as if he, like the bird of the "Holy Ghost, the Dove, had wanted gall: "let those that knew him not in his person, "judge by these living images of his soul, "his writings."

The foundation of these books was laid in the Temple; but he found it no fit place to finish what he had there designed; and he therefore earnestly solicited the archbishop for a remove from that place, to whom he spake to this purpose: "My Lord, "when I lost the freedom of my cell, which "was my college; yet, I found some de-"gree of it in my quiet country parsonage: "but I am weary of the noise and opposi-"tions of this place, and indeed God and "nature did not intend me for contentions, "but for study and quietness. My Lord, "my particular contests with Mr. Travers "here have proved the more unpleasant to "me, because I believe him to be a good "man [34]; and that belief hath occasioned "me to examine mine own conscience con-"cerning his opinions; and, to satisfy that, "I have consulted the scripture, and other "laws, both human and divine, whether the "conscience of him and others of his judg-"ment ought to be so far complied with as "to alter our frame of Church-government, "our manner of God's worship, our prais-"ing and praying to him, and our estab-"lished ceremonies, as often as his and oth-"ers' tender consciences shall require us: "and, in this examination, I have not only "satisfied myself, but have begun a Treat-"ise, in which I intend [35] a justification of

[32] "Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, and "Chancellor of Ireland, his ancient colleague in "Cambridge, invited him over to be Provost of "Trinity college in Dublin. Embracing the mo-"tion, over he went, accepting the place, and "continued some years therein, till discomposed "with the fear of their civil wars, he returned in-"to England, and lived here many years very "obscurely, (though in himself a shining light,) "as to the matter of outward maintenance. Yet "had he Agur's wish, neither poverty nor riches, "though his 'enough' seemed to be of the short-"est size . . . When Archbishop Ussher, brought "up under him, proffered money unto him for his "relief, Mr. Travers returned a thankful refusal "thereof. Sometimes he did preach, rather when "he durst, than when he would; debarred from "all cure of souls by his non-conformity. He "lived and died unmarried, and though leaving "many nephews (some eminent) scholars, be-"queathed all his books of Oriental languages "(wherein he was exquisite) and plate worth fifty "pounds, to Sion College in London." Fuller, C. H. IX. 218.

[32] [In his Preface to the edition of 1604.]

[34] ["In the very midst of the paroxysm betwixt "Hooker and Travers, the latter still bare (and "none can challenge the other to the contrary) a "reverend esteem of his adversary. And when "an unworthy aspersion, some years after, was "cast on Hooker, Mr. Travers being asked of a "private friend what he thought of the truth of "that accusation: 'In truth,' said he, 'I take Mr. "Hooker to be a holy man.'" Fuller. C. H. IX. 217.]

[35] [This paragraph originally stood as follows; "I have not only satisfied myself, but have be-

"the Laws of our Ecclesiastical Polity; in "which design God and his holy Angels "shall at the last great day bear me that "witness which my conscience now does; "that my meaning is not to provoke any, "but rather to satisfy all tender consciences, "and I shall never be able to do this, but "where I may study, and pray for God's "blessing upon my endeavours, and keep "myself in peace and privacy, and behold "God's blessing spring out of my mother "earth, and eat my own bread without op-"position; and therefore, if your Grace "can judge me worthy of such a favour, "let me beg it, that I may perfect what I "have begun."

About this time the parsonage or rectory of Boscum, in the diocese of Sarum, and six miles from that city, became void. The Bishop of Sarum is patron of it: but in the vacancy of that see (which was three years betwixt the translation [36] of Bishop Pierce to the see of York, and Bishop Caldwell's admission into it) the disposal of that and all benefices belonging to that see during this said vacancy, came to be disposed of by the Archbishop of Canterbury; and he presented Richard Hooker to it, in the year 1591. And Richard Hooker was also in this said year instituted, July 17, to be a minor prebend of Salisbury, the corps to it being Nether-Havin [37], about ten miles from that city; which prebend was of no great value, but intended chiefly to make him capable of a better preferment in that Church [38]. In this Boscum he continued till he had finished four of his eight proposed books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, and these were entered into the Register-book in Stationer's-hall, the 9th of March, 1592, but not published [39] till the year 1594, and then were with the beforementioned large and affectionate preface, which he directs "to them that seek (as "they term it) the Reformation of the Laws "and Orders Ecclesiastical in the Church

"gun a Treatise in which I intend the satisfaction "of others, by a demonstration of the reasonable-"ness of our laws of Ecclesiastical Polity; and "therein laid a hopeful foundation for the Church's "peace; and, so as not to provoke your adversary "Mr. Cartwright, nor Mr. Travers, whom I take "to be mine, (but not mine enemy,) God knows "this to be my meaning. To which end, I have "searched many books, and spent many thought-"ful hours; and I hope, not in vain; for I write "to reasonable men. But, my Lord, I shall never "be able to finish what I have begun, unless I be "removed into some quiet country parsonage, "where I may see God's blessing spring out of my "mother earth, and eat mine own bread in peace "and privacy. A place where I may, without "disturbance, meditate my approaching mortality, "and that great account, which all flesh must at "the last great day give to the God of all Spirits.

"This is my design; and, as these are the de-"sires of my heart, so they shall, by God's assist-"ance, be the constant endeavours of the uncer-"tain remainder of my life."

[36] [Originally "death of Bishop Pierce." Strype, Whitg. II. 202, charges Walton with this mistake, not being aware that he had corrected it in a subsequent edition. Dr. John Peers, or Piers, was confirmed Archbishop of York, Feb 19, 158⅞. Strype, Whitg. I. 548. Dr. John Coldwell, Dean of Rochester, was consecrated Bishop of Salisbury, Dec. 26, 1591. Id. ibid. II. 112.]

[37] [At the end of Dr. Bernard's Clavi Trabales, 1661, are some memoranda subscriptions to the Thirty-nine Articles, by divines of high authority; "among whom," says the compiler, "it pleased "me to find the hand of the reverend and learned "Mr. Hooker thus subscribing, 'Per me Richar-"dum Hooker clericum in artibus magistrum præ-"sentatum ad Canonicatum et Præbendam de "Neather-Haven in Ecclesia cathedrali Sarum. "17 Julii 1591.'" p. 147.]

[38] [He was at the same time made Subdean of Sarum. See that title in Le Neve's Fasti, 273. "1591, 33 Eliz. Richard Hooker was collated July "23, 1591. Void by the resignation of Baldgey:" who succeeded Hooker at the Temple. The Subdean is not, as such, a Canon residentiary, and his emoluments are very scanty. In the Chapter books appear the following entries:

Subdeans of Sarum.	Installed.
Ric. Hooker. per Lit. mandat. Archiepi.	23 Julii 1591.
Thos. Coldwell per Resign. Ric. Hooker	16 Feb. 1594.

Netheravon Prebend.

Ric. Hooker per Resign. Nic. Baldguy	23 Julii 1591.
Thos. Joy per Resign. —Hooker	6 Feb. 1594. (16 Feb.?)

In Sir Thos. Phillip's Book of the Wiltshire Institutions (taken from the Archives of the Registry) is the following entry, under the title, Registrum Johannis Coldwell:

1595.
Eccl. Boscomb.
Patronus.
Ricardus Hooker, clericus.
Clericus.
Benjamin Russell per resign. dicti Ric. Hooker.

In this, the description of Hooker as patron is an error, unless he was so for one turn, as it is said in some other instances, "ex concessione "Episcopi." The patronage of Boscomb has been in the bishop from the very earliest period. Between the years 1584 and 1591, Bishop Pierce's Register is lost: consequently Hooker's institution does not appear.

The above particulars were kindly communicated to the editor by a member of the Chapter. That Hooker was really the patron by concession *pro ea vice* seems the more probable, as the person presented had been a scholar of C. C. C and possibly one of Hooker's own pupils. "Benj. Russell, "discipulus, Feb. 6, 1579." From the President's Register.]

[39] [Originally "printed." The change may be thought to be warranted by the letter to Lord Burghley; for which see App. N°. IV. although Mr. Strype (Whitg. II. 148.) conjectures the book to have been sent in a written copy rather than in print.]

"of England;" of which books I shall yet say nothing more, but that he continued his laborious diligence to finish the remaining four during his life (of all which more properly hereafter) but at Boscum he finisht and publisht but only the first four, being then in the thirty-ninth year of his age.

He left Boscum in the year 1595, by a surrender of it into the hands of Bishop Caldwell, and he presented Benjamin Russel, who was instituted into it the 23d of June in the same year.

The parsonage of Bishopsborne in Kent, three miles from Canterbury, is in that archbishop's gift; but, in the latter end of the year 1594, Dr. William Redman, the rector of it, was made Bishop of Norwich [40]; by which means the power of presenting to it was *pro ea vice* in the Queen; and she presented Richard Hooker, whom she loved well, to this good living of Borne the 7th of July, 1595, in which living he continued till his death, without any addition of dignity or profit [41].

And now having brought our Richard Hooker from his birthplace to this, where he found a grave, I shall only give some account of his books, and of his behaviour in this parsonage of Borne, and then give a rest both to myself and my reader.

His first four Books and large Epistle have been declared to be printed at his being at Boscum, anno 1594. Next, I am to tell, that at the end of these four Books, there was when he first printed them this Advertisement to the Reader: "I have for "some causes thought it at this time more "fit to let go these first four Books by them-"selves than to stay both them and the rest "till the whole might together be published. "Such generalities of the cause in question "as are here handled, it will be perhaps "not amiss to consider apart, by way of in-"troduction unto the books that are to fol-"low concerning particulars; in the mean "time the reader is requested to mend the "printer's errors, as noted underneath."

And I am next to declare, that his fifth Book (which is larger than his first four) was first also printed by itself anno 1597, and dedicated to his patron (for till then he chose none) the archbishop. These Books were read with admiration of their excellency in this, and their just fame spread itself also into foreign nations. And I have been told more than forty years past, that either Cardinal Allen, or learned Dr. Stapleton [42] (both Englishmen, and in Italy about the time when Hooker's four Books were first printed) meeting with this general fame of them, were desirous to read an author that both the reformed and the learned of their own Romish Church did so much magnify, and therefore caused them to be sent for to Rome; and after reading them, boasted to the Pope, (which then was Clement the Eighth,) "That though he had "lately said he never met with an English "book whose writer deserved the name of "an author; yet there now appeared a won-"der to them, and it would be so to his "Holiness, if it were in Latin; for a poor ob-"scure English priest had writ four such "Books of Laws and Church-Polity, and in "a style that expressed such a grave and so "humble a majesty, with such clear demon-"stration of reason, that in all their read-"ings they had not met with any that ex-"ceeded him;" and this begot in the Pope an earnest desire that Dr. Stapleton should bring the said four books, and looking on the English read a part of them to him in Latin; which Dr. Stapleton did, to the end of the first book; at the conclusion of which the Pope spake to this purpose: "There is "no learning that this man hath not searcht "into; nothing too hard for his understand-"ing: this man indeed deserves the name "of an author; his books will get reverence "by age, for there is in them such seeds of "eternity, that if the rest be like this, they "shall last till the last fire shall consume "all learning."

Nor was this high, the only testimony and commendation given to his Books; for at the first coming of King James into this kingdom, he inquired of the Archbishop Whitgift for his friend Mr. Hooker that writ the Books of Church-Polity; to which the answer was, that he died a year before Queen Elizabeth, who received the sad news of his death with very much sorrow: to which the King replied, "And I receive "it with no less, that I shall want the desi-"red happiness of seeing and discoursing "with that man, from whose Books I have "received such satisfaction: indeed, my "Lord, I have received more satisfaction in

[40] [Consecrated 12 Jan. 1594. Strype, Whitg. II. 218.]

[41] [Mr. Wharton says (Def. of Plural. 192, 2d edition) that Hooker died possessed of very great preferments. But he offers no proof of this assertion; nor is any to be found in Le Neve's Fasti. Fulman, MSS. vol. 10. near the end, says, "Hey-"lin, Animadv. on Fuller's Ch. Hist. p. 161, calls "him Prebend of Canterbury; I think, without "good ground." Dr. Heylin's assertion is the less to be regarded, because in the same sentence he commits two other mistakes concerning Hooker: calling him "then Master of the Temple," and dating the first publication of his great work 1595. Dr. Spenser in his preface expressly affirms "he neither enjoyed nor expected any the least "dignity," meaning at the time of his death.]

[42] [Stapleton is particularly mentioned as an admirer of Hooker, in Bishop King's Letter to Walton. He died in 1598. Collier, E. H. II. 662. Cardinal Allen in 1594. Id. ibid. 643. This proves that the former must have been the person here meant.]

"reading a leaf, or paragraph, in Mr. Hook-
"er, though it were but about the fashion
"of Churches, or Church-musick, or the like,
"but especially of the Sacraments, than I
"have had in the reading particular large
"treatises written but of one of those sub-
"jects by others, though very learned men;
"and, I observe there is in Mr. Hooker no
"affected language [43]; but a grave, com-
"prehensive, clear manifestation of reason;
"and that backed with the authority of the
"Scripture, the fathers and schoolmen, and
"with all law both sacred and civil. And
"though many others write well, yet in the
"next age they will be forgotten; but doubt-
"less there is in every page of Mr. Hook-
"ers's book the picture of a divine soul, such
"pictures of Truth and Reason, and drawn
"in so sacred colours, that they shall never
"fade, but give an immortal memory to the
"author." And it is so truly true, that the King thought what he spake, that as the most learned of the nation have and still do mention Mr. Hooker with reverence; so he also did never mention him but with the epithet of *learned*, or *judicious*, or *reverend*, or *venerable* Mr. Hooker.

Nor did his son, our late King Charles the First, ever mention him but with the same reverence, enjoining his son [44], our now gracious King, to be studious in Mr. Hooker's books. And our learned antiquary Mr. Camden [45] mentioning the death, the modesty, and other virtues of Mr. Hooker, and magnifying his books, wisht, "that for "the honour of this, and benefit of other "nations, they were turned into the univer-"sal language." Which work, though undertaken by many, yet they have been weary, and forsaken it; but the reader may now expect it, having been long since begun, and lately finisht by the happy pen of Dr. Earl, now Lord Bishop of Salisbury, of whom I may justly say (and let it not offend him, because it is such a truth as ought not to be concealed from posterity, or those that now live, and yet know him not,) that since Mr. Hooker died, none have lived whom God hath blessed with more innocent wisdom, more sanctified learning, or a more pious, peaceable, primitive temper: so that this excellent person seems to be only like himself, and our venerable Richard Hooker; and only fit to make the learned of all nations happy, in knowing what hath been too long confined to the language of our little island [46].

[43] [Chr. Letter, p. 45. "Our last scruple and "demaund is this: seeing your bookes be so long "and tedious, in a stile not usuall, and, as we ve-"rilie thinke, the like harde to be found, farre dif-"fering from the simplicitie of holie scripture, and "nothing after the frame of the writings of the "reverend and learned fathers of our Church, as "of Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Jewell, Whitgift, "Fox, Fulke, &c. .... whether your meaning be "to show yourself some rare Demosthenes, or ex-"traordinary rabbi, &c." Hooker, MS. note. "The dislike you have of me for not thinking as "some others doe whom you love, hath drawne "you into invectives against my stile, and made "you eloquent in accusing me for that my ma-"ner of writing is not such as other mens hath "bene. You might with as great discretion find "falt that I look not like Calvin, Beza, Paulus "Fagius, P. Martyr, M. Luther. For I hold it as "possible to be like all those in countenance, as "them in stile whom you have mentioned. You "that carry the mind of a Phalaris towards your "adversary are not fit to exercise the office of an "Aristarchus. I must looke as nature, speak as "custome, and think as God's good Spirit hath "taught me, judg you howsoever either of my "mynd, or of my stile, or if you will of my looke "also." Again, Chr. Letter, p. 46. "In the "booke of that most learned and reverend Father "D. Whitgift wee finde the question judicially "(Hooker in margin, 'you wold say, judiciously') "sett downe, his aunswere to the matter in question "sensible, his reasons .... directly applied, so as "such poore men as wee be *may beare away* what "he saith .... but in your writing we are mighti-"ly incombred."

Hooker, MS. note. "You *beare it away*. I "wish it did rather cary you away from the errors "and vanities of your mind.

"But howsoever your part require you to speake "heere, the censure which all the pack of you "giveth both of my L. Grace his writings, and of "all other mens that hath the same cause is "'Ανέγνων, ἔγνων, κατέγνων."]

[44] [Rather his daughter, the Lady Elizabeth. See her relation at the end of Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ p. 261, ed. 1649. "He bid me read Bishop An-"drews' Sermons, Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, "and Bishop Laud's book against Fisher, which "would ground me against popery." Thus ex-prest by Gauden, in his Dedication of Hooker's Works to King Charles II. ed. 1662. "Your "Majesty's Royal Father, a few days before he "was crowned with martyrdom, recommended to "his dearest children the diligent reading of Mr. "Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, even next the "Bible." (Why the last clause was inserted does not appear.) This seems to have been Walton's authority for saying that his Majesty gave the injunction to his son.]

[45] In his annals of Eliz. 1599. ["Hoc anno ani-"mam cœlo reddidit Richardus Hookerus ex De-"vonia nobilium ingeniorum feraci oriundus, Ox-"oniæ in Corporis Christi collegio educatus, theo-"logus modestia, temperentia, mansuetudine et "cæteris virtutibus imitandus, et supra multiplici "eruditionis laude celebris, quam libri de Ecclesi-"asticæ Politeia, patria lingua editi, dignissime "qui Latine loquantur, abunde testentur." t. II p. 189. ed. 1627.]

[46] [Bishop Earle was tutor to Prince Charles, and attended him in his exile: (see Clarendon, III. 203, 752. ed. 1819.) Dean of Westminster 1660, Bishop of Worcester 1662, Bishop of Salisbury 1663, died Nov. 17, 1665, at Oxford, and is buried in Merton college chapel. The following is part of his epitaph there: "Ille qui Hookeri ingen-"tis Politiam Ecclesiasticam; ille qui Caroli Mar-"tyris Εἰκονα Βασιλικὴν, volumen, quo post Apoc-"alypsin divinius nullum, legavit orbi sic Latine

There might be many more and just occasions taken to speak of his books, which none ever did or can commend too much; but I decline them, and hasten to an account of his Christian behaviour and death at Borne; in which place he continued his customary rules of mortification and self-denial; was much in fasting, frequent in meditation and prayers, enjoying those blessed returns, which only men of strict lives feel and know, and of which men of loose and godless lives cannot be made sensible; for, spiritual things are spiritually discerned.

At his entrance into this place, his friendship was much sought for by Dr. Hadrian Saravia, then or about that time made one of the prebends of Canterbury, a German by birth [47], and sometimes a pastor both in Flanders and Holland [48], where he had studied and well considered the controverted points concerning episcopacy and sacrilege, and in England had a just occasion to declare his judgment concerning both, unto his brethren ministers in the Low Countries; which was excepted against by Theodore Beza and others [49]; against whose exceptions, he rejoined [50], and thereby became the happy author of many learned tracts, writ in Latin; especially of three; one of the Degrees of Ministers, and of the Bishop's Superiority above the Presbytery; a second against Sacrilege; and a third of Christian Obedience to Princes; the last being occasioned by Gretzerus the Jesuit [51]. And it is observable, that when in a time of church-tumults, Beza gave his reasons to the Chancellor of Scotland for the abrogation of episcopacy in that nation, partly by letters, and more fully in a treatise of a threefold episcopacy, (which he calls divine, human, and Satanical,) this Dr. Saravia had by the help of Bishop Whitgift made such an early discovery of their intentions [52], that he had almost as soon answer-

"redditas, ut uterque unius Fidei Defensor, patriam "adhuc retineat majestatem." April 26, 1662, in convocation, "the care of translating the Book of "Common Prayer into Latin was committed to "Dr. John Earl, Dean of Westminster, and "Dr. John Pearson." Collier, E. H. II. 889. Bishop Burnet says, "He was the man of all the "clergy, for whom the King had the greatest es-"teem. He had been his sub-tutor, and had fol-"lowed him in all his exile, with so clear a charac-"ter that the King could never see or hear of any "one thing amiss in him. So he, who had a se-"cret pleasure in finding out any thing that les-"sened a man esteemed eminent for piety, yet "had a value for him beyond all the men of his "order." Hist. of his Own Times, I. 225, ed. 1724.]

[47] ["Natione Belgica, natus Hedinæ Artesii." His epitaph in Canterbury cathedral, quoted by Strype, Wh. II. 210. "His father a Spaniard, his "mother one of Artois: both protestants." Strype, An. I. ii. 224. The Belgic provinces were often spoken of under the title of Lower Germany; and are so in Saravia's own dedication of his three Treatises.]

[48] [At Ghent, before 1566. Strype, ibid. 226. In the dedication mentioned above, Dr. S. says, "Apud meos fratres et collegas, et nonnullos ex "magistratu urbis Gandavi, &c." Thence he retired to England, and was sent by the council to Jersey, but was "evocatus ab Ecclesiis Belgi-"cis," and taught at Leyden for some ten years, ending 1587. Ibid. and in Baker's notes at the end of Strype, An. IV. 603.]

[49] [Especially Danæus; see Saravia's Answer to Beza; and Collier, E. H. II. 622.]

[50] [In 1594. Strype, An. I. ii. 224. Whitg. II. 207.]

[51] Strype, Whitg. II 202, gives some account of Dr. Saravia's first publication: which contains three tracts. 1. De Diversis Ministrorum Evangelii Gradibus. 2. De Honore Præsulibus et Presbyteris debito. 3. De Sacrilegis et Sacrilegorum Pœnis. What Walton calls his *third* Tract is probably that which now stands *fifth*, (in his works collected and published in folio, 1611,) viz. "Responsio Hadriani Saraviæ ad quasdam calum-"nias, Jesuiticas nimirum illas Gretzeri in defen-"sione sua Bellarminiana." It is chiefly taken up with a comparison between papal primacy and regal supremacy. Walton perhaps confuses it with the incomplete work (four books out of seven) "De Imperandi Potestate, et Christiana "Obedientia:" which closes the volume abovementioned. But that was not written against Gretser.]

[52] ["Honoratus vir Dom. Glamius, quondam "regni Scotiæ Cancellarius, de deturbandis Epis-"copis gradu, quem ab Apostolorum temporibus "in hunc usque diem ubique terrarum in Eccle-"sia tenuerunt, a D. Beza consilium, vel (ut mihi "videtur) potius suffragium petivit; ut ejus rei, "quam animo perficere constituerat, illum proba-"torem haberet et auctorem. Epistolarum autem "ipsorum nactus exemplaria, mirari cœpi, tam "levibus rationibus quenquam ad innovandam "tanti momenti rem potuisse moveri. Quando "illud argumentum contra eundem D. Bezam "pertractavi, hanc quoque disputationem adjecis-"sem, si ad meas manus pervenissent. Et ubi "illas nactus sum, non statim contra quidquam "pervulgandum existimavi, sed distuli in hunc "usque diem, expectans opportunitatem, qua "commodo Ecclesiarum cum minima offensione "prodire in lucem posset." Saravia, Dedic. prefixed to his Examen Tractatus de Episcopatuum Triplici Genere. It appears from an epistle of Whitgift to Beza, in Strype, Wh. II. 165, that the letter of Beza, referred to here, was not written to Lord Glamis himself, but to James Lawson, who succeeded Knox as minister in Edinburgh, and of whom some account may be found in M'Crie's Life of Knox, II. 213, 293. It was dated 1580. (misprinted 1590 in Strype.) Whitgift intimates in his letter, that Beza's book of a threefold episcopacy, had been "in 1580 sent to this island; "and not much after also translated into the En-"glish tongue, and privately printed; together "with his epistle to one *Lausanus*, a Scot, writ-"ten the same year." He speaks also of Saravia's book of Degrees in the Ministry, and of the care which he, Whitgift, and his brethren took to have the Church properly vindicated, in a wi-

ed that treatise as it became publick, and he therein discovered how Beza's opinion did contradict that of Calvin and his adherents; leaving them to interfere with themselves in point of episcopacy [53]; but of these tracts it will not concern me to say more, than that they were most of them dedicated to his and the Church of England's watchful patron, John Whitgift, the archbishop, and printed about the time in which Mr. Hooker also appeared first to the world in the publication of his first four Books of Ecclesiastical Polity [54].

This friendship being sought for by this learned doctor, you may believe was not denied by Mr. Hooker, who was by fortune so like him, as to be engaged against Mr. Travers, Mr. Cartwright, and others of their judgment, in a controversy too like Dr. Saravia's; so that in this year of 1595, and in this place of Borne, these two excellent persons began a holy friendship, increasing daily to so high and mutual affections, that their two wills seemed to be but one and the same: and, their designs, both for the glory of God, and peace of the Church, still assisting and improving each other's virtues, and the desired comforts of a peaceable piety. Which I have willingly mentioned, because it gives a foundation to some things that follow.

This parsonage of Borne is from Canterbury three miles, and near to the common road that leads from that city to Dover: in which parsonage Mr. Hooker had not been twelve months, but his Books, and the innocency and sanctity of his life became so remarkable that many turned out of the road, and others (scholars especially) went purposely to see the man, whose life and learning were so much admired; and alas! as our Saviour said of St. John Baptist, "What "went they out to see? a man clothed in "purple and fine linen?" No, indeed; but [55] an "obscure, harmless man; a man "in poor clothes, his loins usually girt in a "coarse gown, or canonical coat; of a mean "stature, and stooping, and yet more lowly "in the thoughts of his soul; his body worn

which indirectly much confirms the statement in the text. Only Walton seems to be wrong in what he says of the date of Saravia's Examen. The quotation from Saravia, just given, proves that work to have appeared a good while after Beza's. Probably Walton had seen or heard of Whitgift's letter in the Antiquities of Canterbury. Cantuaria Sacra, App. xv. and had applied what is there said of the book of Degrees, &c. to the Examen. At the end of Clavi Trabales is a letter of Saravia to the ministers of Guernsey, in which, p. 144, he says, "I pass over what I have "myself written concerning it (the Discipline) in "my book, De diversis Ministrorum Gradibus, and "in my defence against the answer of Mr. Beza, "and more largely in my Confutation of his book "De Triplici Genere Episcoporum. I cannot "wonder enough at the Scotchmen, who could be "persuaded to abolish and reject the state of "bishops, by reasons so ill grounded, partly false, "partly of no moment at all, and altogether un-"worthy of a man of such fame. If the Scots "had not more sought after the temporal means "of bishops, than after true reformation, never had "Mr. Beza's book persuaded them to do what "they have done." Dr. Saravia had been, as this letter states, one of the first protestant ministers in the islands, and knew "which were the "beginnings, and by what means and occasions "the preaching of God's word was planted "there." p. 137. "In those beginnings, at the "pursuit" (the letter is from the French) "of Mr. "John After, Dean, I was sent by my Lords of "the Council to the islands, as well in the school "that was newly erected," (Elisabeth college,) "as to be a minister there." p. 138. Whenever Saravia's works are re-edited (they amply deserve it) it is to be hoped that this letter will not be forgotten: nor yet the masterly paper on Barret's recantation (i. e. on the Calvinistic controversy) in Strype, Whitg. III. 321.]

[53] ["D. Calvinus in tractatu de necessitate re-"formandæ Ecclesiæ testatur, se paratum fuisse "subjicere se Hierarchiæ Ecclesiasticæ, quæ "Christo Domino subjici non recusaret. Ejus "verba hæc sunt. 'Talem nobis Hierarchiam "exhibeant, in qua sic emineant Episcopi, ut sub "Christo esse non recusent, ut ab illo tanquam "unico capite pendeant, et ad ipsum referantur; "in qua sic inter se fraternam societatem colant, "ut non alio modo quam ejus veritate sint colli-"gati: tum vero nullo non anathemate dignos "fateor, si qui erunt, qui non eam reverceantur, "summaque obedientia observent.' Hic audivi-"mus, quid de Episcopis, et Episcoporum Hier-"archia censuerit D. Calvinus. Ab ejus sententia "si D. Beza non recessisset, hac disputatione "nihil opus esset." Sarav. Prol. ad. Exam. Tract. de Episc. Tripl. Gen.]

[54] [The three tracts came out earlier, 1590, and were printed in English, 1591. In 1590 also Saravia was incorporated at Oxford, July 9, being before D. D. of the university of Leyden. Wood, Fasti, subjoined to the Athen. Oxon. I. 252. His preferments in England, after his return hither in 1587, were these, as far as appears. First, master of the school at Southampton: in which he was much distinguished, Nich. Fuller the orientalist being one of his pupils, (Ath. Oxon. II. 327,) and Sir Tho. Lake, Secretary of State to King James, (Chalmers, Biog. Dict.) Then Dr. Saravia was successively Prebendary of Gloucester, (ibid.) Canterbury, Dec. 6, 1595, (Le Neve, p. 16.) Westminster, July 5, 1601, (id. 371,) in the room of Bishop Andrews, and Rector of Great Chart in Kent, Feb. 24, 160$\frac{9}{10}$ (Clavi Trab. 148.) In 1607 he was nominated one of the translators of the Bible, his name appearing third, after those of Andrews and Overall, in the Westminster committee, to whom was assigned the Old Testament, from Genesis to the second book of Kings. (Fuller, C. H. X. 45.) His Hebrew learning probably, as well as his great discretion, led the archbishop to employ him in his communications with the "learned though morose" Hugh Broughton. Strype, Whitg. II. 118. III. 370. He died aged 82, Jan. 15, 161$\frac{2}{3}$. (Ath. Oxon. ubi sup.)]

[55] [Probably the very words of Walton's informant.]

"out, not with age, but study, and holy mor-
"tifications; his face full of heat-pimples,
"begot by his unactivity and sedentary
"life." And to this true character of his person, let me add this of his disposition and behaviour: God and nature blest him with so blessed a bashfulness, that as in his younger days his pupils might easily look him out of countenance; so neither then, nor in his age, "did he ever willingly look
"any man in the face; and was of so mild
"and humble a nature, that his poor parish-
"clerk and he did never talk but with both
"their hats on, or both off, at the same
"time:" and to this may be added, that though he was not purblind, yet he was short or weak sighted; and where he fixt his eyes at the beginning of his sermon, there they continued till it was ended; and the reader has a liberty to believe, that his modesty and dim sight were some of the reasons why he trusted Mrs. Churchman to choose his wife.

This parish-clerk lived till the third or fourth year of the late long parliament: betwixt which time and Mr. Hooker's death, there had come many to see the place of his burial, and the monument dedicated to his memory by Sir William Cooper, (who still lives,) and the poor clerk had many rewards for shewing Mr. Hooker's grave-place, and his said monument, and did always hear Mr. Hooker mentioned with commendations and reverence: to all which, he added his own knowledge and observations of his humility and holiness; and in all which discourses, the poor man was still more confirmed in his opinion of Mr. Hooker's virtues and learning: but it so fell out, that about the said third or fourth year of the long parliament, the then present parson of Borne was sequestred, (you may guess why,) and a Genevian minister put into his good living. This, and other like sequestrations, made the clerk express himself in a wonder, and say, "They had se-
"questred so many good men, that he doubt-
"ed, if his good master Mr. Hooker had
"lived till now, they would have sequest-
"red him too."

It was not long, before this intruding minister had made a party in and about the said parish, that were desirous to receive the sacrament as in Geneva; to which end, the day was appointed for a select company, and forms and stools set about the altar or communion table, for them to sit and eat, and drink; but when they went about this work, there was a want of some joint-stools, which the minister sent the clerk to fetch, and then to fetch cushions, (but not to kneel upon.) When the clerk saw them begin to sit down; he began to wonder; but when the minister bade him "cease
"wondering, and lock the church-door;" to whom he replied, "Pray take you the keys,
"and lock me out; I will never come more
"into this church; for all men will say, my
"master Hooker was a good man, and a
"good scholar, and I am sure it was not
"used to be thus in his days." And, report says, the old man went presently home, and died; I do not say died immediately but within a few days after [55].

But let us leave this grateful clerk in his quiet grave, and return to Mr. Hooker himself, continuing our observations of his Christian behaviour in this place, where he gave a holy valediction to all the pleasures and allurements of earth, possessing his soul in a virtuous quietness, which he maintained by constant study, prayers, and meditations: his use was to preach once every Sunday, and he or his curate to catechise after the second lesson in the evening prayer; his sermons were neither long nor earnest, but uttered with a grave zeal, and an humble voice; his eyes always fixt on one place to prevent his imagination from wandering, insomuch, that he seemed to study as he spake [56]; the design of his sermon (as indeed of all his discourses) was to shew reasons for what he spake; and with these reasons, such a kind of rhetorick, as did ra-

[55] [Samson Horton was buried May 9, 1648, having been parish clerk of Bishopsborne threescore years. Dr Zouch, from the Parish Register.]

[56] ["Mr. Hooker his voice was low, stature
"little, gesture none at all. . . . . Where his
"eye was left fixed at the beginning, it was found
"fixed at the end of the sermon: in a word, the
"doctrine he delivered had nothing but itself to
"garnish it. His stile was long and pithy, draw-
"ing on a whole flock of several clauses before he
"came to the close of a sentence. So that when
"the copiousness of his stile met not with propor-
"tionable capacity in his auditors, it was unjustly
"censured, for perplext, tedious, and obscure. His
"sermons followed the inclination of his studies,
"and were for the most part on controversies, and
"deep points of school divinity. Mr. Travers his
"utterance was graceful, gesture plausible, matter
"profitable, method plain, and his stile carried in it
"*indolem pietatis*, a genius of grace, flowing from
"his sanctified heart. Some say, that the congre-
"gation in the Temple *ebb'd in the forenoon and*
"*flowed in the afternoon*, and that the auditory of
"Mr. Travers was far the more numerous, the
"first occasion of emulation betwixt them. But
"such as knew Mr. Hooker, knew him too wise to
"take exception at such trifles, the rather because
"the most judicious is always the least part in all
"auditories." Fuller, C. H. IX. 216. This work was published just before the Restoration. In his Worthies of England, 1662, the following occurs. "Hooker his stile was prolix but not te-
"dious, and such who would patiently attend and
"give him credit all the reading or hearing of his
"sentences, had their expectation ever paid at
"the close thereof. He may be said to have
"made good music with his fiddle and stick alone,
"without any rosin, having neither pronunciation
"nor gesture to grace his matter." p. 264.]

ther convince and persuade, than frighten men into piety [57]; studying not so much for matter (which he never wanted) as for apt illustrations to inform and teach his unlearned hearers by familiar examples, and then make them better by convincing applications; never laboring by hard words, and then by needless distinctions and subdistinctions, to amuse his hearers, and get glory to himself; but glory only to God. Which intention, he would often say, was as discernable in a preacher, "as a natural "from an artificial beauty."

He never failed, the Sunday before every Ember-week, to give notice of it to his parishioners, persuading them both to fast, and then to double their devotions for a learned and pious clergy; but especially the last; saying often, "That the life of a "pious clergyman was visible rhetorick, and "so convincing, that the most godless men "(though they would not deny themselves "the enjoyment of their present lusts) did "yet secretly wish themselves like those of "the strictest lives." And to what he persuaded others, he added his own example of fasting and prayer; and did usually every Ember-week take from the parish clerk the key of the church-door; into which place he retired every day, and lockt himself up for many hours; and did the like most Fridays and other days of fasting.

He would by no means omit the customary time of *Procession* [58], persuading all both rich and poor if they desired the preservation of love, and their parish-rights and liberties, to accompany him in his perambulation; and most did so: in which perambulation, he would usually express more pleasant discourse than at other times, and would then always drop some loving and facetious observations to be remembered against the next year, especially by the boys and young people; still inclining them and all his present parishioners, to meekness, and mutual kindness, and love; because "love thinks not evil, but covers a "multitude of infirmities."

He was diligent to inquire who of his parish were sick, or any ways distrest, and would often visit them, unsent for; supposing that the fittest time to discover to them those errors to which health and prosperity had blinded them; and having by pious reasons and prayers moulded them into holy resolutions for the time to come, he would incline them to confession, and bewailing their sins, with purpose to forsake them, and then to receive the Communion, both as a strengthening of those holy resolutions, and as a seal betwixt God and them of his mercies to their souls, in case that present sickness did put a period to their lives.

And as he was thus watchful and charitable to the sick, so he was as diligent to prevent lawsuits, still urging his parishioners and neighbours to bear with each other's infirmities, and live in love, because (as St. John says) "he that lives in love "lives in God, for God is love." And to maintain this holy fire of love constantly burning on the altar of a pure heart, his advice was to watch and pray, and always keep themselves fit to receive the Communion: and then to receive it often, for it was both a confirming and strengthening of their graces; this was his advice: and at his entrance or departure out of any house, he would usually speak to the whole family, and bless them by name; insomuch, that as he seemed in his youth to be taught of God, so he seemed in this place to teach his precepts, as Enoch did by walking with him, in all holiness and humility, making each day a step towards a blessed eternity. And though in this weak and declining age of the world, such examples are become barren, and almost incredible; yet let his memory be blest with this true recordation, because he that praises Richard Hooker praises God, who hath given such gifts to men; and let this humble and affectionate relation of him become such a pattern, as may invite posterity to imitate these his virtues.

This was his constant behaviour both at Borne and in all the places in which he lived: thus did he walk with God and tread the footsteps of primitive piety; and yet, as that great example of meekness and purity, even our blessed Jesus, was not free from false accusations, no more was this disciple of his, this most humble, most innocent, holy man; his was a slander parallel to that of chaste Susannah's by the wicked elders; or that against St. Athanasius, as it is re-

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57 "The Gospel, which Mr. Hooker dispensed "in so still a voice and silent gesture, but with po- "tent demonstrations of scripture and reason, "which are the greatest virtue and efficacious- "ness of a preacher, whose mere Stentorian noise "and theatrick gesticulations in a pulpit, serve "more to amuse and scare, or to decoy or *lowbel* "the gaping, sleeping, or frighted people, than "much to edify, inform, or amend them." Gauden's Life of Hooker, p. 36.

("*Low-bell;* a hand-bell used in fowling, to "make the birds lie close, till, by a more violent "noise, and a light, they are alarmed, and fly "into the net.

'As timorous larks amazed are
'With light and with a low-bell.'
"Percy's Reliques, III. 331."
[From Nare's Glossary.]

58 [See in the 2d Book of Homilies, the "Ex- "hortation to be spoken to such parishes where "they use their Perambulation in Rogation week, "for the oversight of the bounds and limits of "their town." See also Bishop Sparrow's Rationale of Common Prayer, p. 160. It appears from Strype, Parker, I. 303.. 5, that this was one of the usages excepted against by the Puritans.]

corded in his life [59], (for that holy man had heretical enemies,) a slander which this age calls *trepanning* [60]; the particulars need not a repetition; and that it was false needs no other testimony than the public punishment of his accusers, and their open confession of his innocency. It was said that the accusation was contrived by a dissenting brother, one that endured not church-ceremonies, hating him for his Book's sake, which he was not able to answer; and his name hath been told me, but I have not so much confidence in the relation as to make my pen fix a scandal on him to posterity; I shall rather leave it doubtful to the great day of revelation. But this is certain, that he lay under the great charge, and the anxiety of this accusation, and kept it secret to himself for many months; and being a helpless man, had lain longer under this heavy burden, but that the Protector of the innocent gave such an accidental occasion as forced him to make it known to his two dear friends, Edwyn Sandys and George Cranmer: who were so sensible of their tutor's sufferings that they gave themselves no rest, till by their disquisitions and diligence they had found out the fraud, and brought him the welcome news, that his accusers did confess they had wronged him, and begged his pardon: to which the good man's reply was to this purpose, "The "Lord forgive them;" and, "The Lord "bless you for this comfortable news. Now "I have a just occasion to say with Solo- "mon, 'Friends are born for the days of "adversity,' and such you have proved to "me: and to my God I say, as did the mo- "ther of St. John Baptist, 'Thus hath the "Lord dealt with me, in the day wherein "he looked upon me, to take away my re- "proach among men.' And, O my God, "neither my life nor my reputation are safe "in mine own keeping, but in thine, who "didst take care of me when I yet hanged "upon my mother's breast: blessed are "they that put their trust in thee, O Lord; "for when false witnesses were risen up "against me; when shame was ready to "cover my face, when my nights were rest- "less, when my soul thirsted for a deliver- "ance, as the hart panteth after the rivers "of waters; then thou, Lord, didst hear "my complaints, pity my condition, and art "now become my deliverer; and as long "as I live, I will hold up my hands in this "manner, and magnify thy mercies, who "didst not give me over as a prey to mine "enemies, the net is broken and they are "taken in it. O blessed are they that put "their trust in thee: and no prosperity shall "make me forget those days of sorrow, or "to perform those vows that I have made "to thee in the days of my affliction; for "with such sacrifices, thou, O God, art well "pleased; and I will pay them."

Thus did the joy and gratitude of this good man's heart break forth. And it is observable, that as the invitation to this slander was his meek behaviour and dove-like simplicity, for which he was remarkable; so his Christian charity ought to be imitated; for, though the spirit of revenge is so pleasing to mankind, that it is never conquered but by a supernatural grace, revenge being indeed so deeply rooted in human nature, that to prevent the excesses of it (for men would not know moderation) Almighty God allows not any degree of it to any man but says, "Vengeance is mine:" and though this be said positively by God himself, yet this revenge is so pleasing, that man is hardly persuaded to submit the menage of it to the time, and justice, and wisdom of his Creator, but would hasten to be his own executioner of it: and yet nevertheless, if any man ever did wholly decline, and leave this pleasing passion to the time and measure of God alone, it was this Richard Hooker of whom I write; for when his slanderers were to suffer, he laboured to procure their pardon; and when that was denied him, his reply was, "That however "he would fast and pray, that God would "give them repentance, and patience to "undergo their punishment." And his prayers were so far returned into his own bosom, that the first was granted, if we may believe a penitent behaviour, and an open confession. And it is observable, that after this time he would often say to Doctor Saravia, "O with what quietness did I en- "joy my soul after I was free from the fears "of my slander! and how much more after "a conflict and victory over my desires of "revenge!"

About the year 1600, and of his age forty-six, he fell into a long and sharp sickness, occasioned by a cold taken in his passage by water betwixt London and Gravesend; from the malignity of which he was never recovered; for, after that time till his death he was not free from thoughtful days and restless nights; but a submission to His will that makes the sick man's bed easy by giving rest to his soul, made his very languishment comfortable; and yet all this time he was solicitous in his study, and said often to Dr. Saravia, (who saw him daily, and was the chief comfort of his life,) "That "he did not beg a long life of God for any "other reason, but to live to finish his three "remaining Books of Polity; and then,

[59] [Sozomen, E. H. II. 25. Theodoret E. H. I. 30.]

[60] [Or "trapanning:" see Todd's edition of Johnson's Dictionary. No example of the word is there given of a date previous to the 17th century.]

"Lord, let thy servant depart in peace;" which was his usual expression. And God heard his prayers, though he denied the Church the benefit of them, as completed by himself; and it is thought he hastened his own death, by hastening to give life to his Books. But this is certain, that the nearer he was to his death the more he grew in humility, in holy thoughts and resolutions.

About a month before his death, this good man that never knew, or at least never considered, the pleasures of the palate, became first to lose his appetite, and then, to have an averseness to all food, insomuch that he seemed to live some intermitted weeks by the smell of meat only, and yet still studied and writ. And now his guardian Angel seemed to foretell him that the day of his dissolution drew near; for which his vigorous soul appeared to thirst.

In this time of his sickness, and not many days before his death, his house was robbed; of which he having notice, his question was, "Are my books and written papers safe?" and being answered that they were, his reply was, "Then it matters not; "for no other loss can trouble me."

About one day before his death, Dr. Saravia, who knew the very secrets of his soul, for they were supposed to be confessors to each other,) came to him, and after a conference of the benefit, necessity, and safety of the Church's absolution, it was resolved the doctor should give him both that and the Sacrament the following day. To which end, the doctor came, and after a short retirement and privacy, they two returned to the company; and then the doctor gave him and some of those friends which were with him, the blessed Sacrament of the body and blood of our Jesus. Which being performed, the doctor thought he saw a reverend gaiety and joy in his face; but it lasted not long; for his bodily infirmities did return suddenly, and became more visible; insomuch that the doctor apprehended death ready to seize him; yet, after some amendment, left him at night, with a promise to return early the day following; which he did and then found him better in appearance, deep in contemplation, and not inclinable to discourse; which gave the doctor occasion to inquire his present thoughts: to which he replied, "That he was meditating the number and nature of angels, and their blessed obedience and order, without which, "peace could not be in heaven; and oh that "it might be so on earth!" After which words he said, "I have lived to see this "world is made up of perturbations, and I "have been long preparing to leave it, and "gathering comfort for the dreadful hour of "making my account with God, which I "now apprehend to be near; and though "I have by his grace loved him in my "youth, and feared him in mine age, and "labored to have a conscience void of offence to him, and to all men: yet, if thou, "O Lord, be extreme to mark what I have "done amiss, who can abide it? And "therefore, where I have failed, Lord shew "mercy to me, for I plead not my righteousness, but the forgiveness of my unrighteousness, for His merits who died to purchase "pardon for penitent sinners; and since I "owe thee a death, Lord let it not be terrible, and then take thine own time; I submit to it! Let not mine, O Lord, but let "thy will be done!" With which expression he fell into a dangerous slumber; dangerous as to his recovery; yet recover he did, but it was to speak only these few words: "Good doctor, God hath heard my "daily petitions, for I am at peace with all "men, and He is at peace with me; and "from that blessed assurance I feel that inward joy, which this world can neither "give nor take from me; my conscience "beareth me this witness, and this witness "makes the thoughts of death joyful. I "could wish to live to do the Church more "service, but cannot hope it, for my days "are past as a shadow that returns not." More he would have spoken, but his spirits failed him; and after a short conflict betwixt nature and death, a quiet sigh put a period to his last breath, and so he fell asleep. And now he seems to rest like Lazarus in Abraham's bosom; let me here draw his curtain, till with the most glorious company of the Patriarchs and Apostles, the most noble army of martyrs and Confessors, this most learned, most humble, holy man, shall also awake to receive an eternal tranquillity; and with it, a greater degree of glory than common Christians shall be made partakers of.

In the mean time, bless, O Lord, Lord bless his brethren, the clergy of this nation, with effectual endeavours to attain, if not to his great learning, yet to his remarkable Meekness, his godly Simplicity, and his Christian Moderation: for these will bring peace at the last! And, Lord, let his most excellent writings be blest with what he designed when he undertook them; which was, "Glory to thee, O God on high, peace "in thy Church, and good will to man-"kind!" Amen, Amen.

IZAAK WALTON.

The following epitaph was long since presented to the world, in memory of Mr. Hooker, by Sir William Cooper, who also built him a fair monument in Borne church, and acknowledges him to have been his spiritual father.

THOUGH nothing can be spoke worthy his fame,
Or the remembrance of that precious name,

Judicious Hooker; though this cost be spent
On him that hath a lasting monument
In his own Books, yet ought we to express,
If not his worth, yet our respectfulness.
Church ceremonies he maintained, then why
Without all ceremony should he die?
Was it because his life and death should be
Both equal patterns of humility?
Or that perhaps this only glorious one
Was above all to ask, why had he none?
Yet he that lay so long obscurely low
Doth now preferr'd to greater honours go.
Ambitious men, learn hence to be more wise;
Humility is the true way to rise:
And God in me this lesson did inspire,
To bid this humble man, Friend, sit up higher[61].

[61] ["Sir William Cowper, who erected this "monument, was the great grandfather of Wil- "liam, the first Earl Cowper. He suffered impris- "onment, the loss of his son, and other great ca- "lamities, for his fidelity to Charles I. He out- "lived all his troubles, residing at his castle of "Hertford, and famed for his hospitality, char- "ity, and other Christian virtues." Zouch, I. 439.]

AN

APPENDIX

TO THE

LIFE OF MR. RICHARD HOOKER.

And now having by a long and laborious search satisfied myself, and I hope my reader, by imparting to him the true relation of Mr. Hooker's life: I am desirous also to acquaint him with some observations that relate to it, and which could not properly fall to be spoken till after his death; of which my reader may expect a brief and true account in the following Appendix.

And first it is not to be doubted, but that he died in the forty-seventh, if not in the forty-sixth year of his age; which I mention, because many have believed him to be more aged; but I have so examined it, as to be confident I mistake not; and for the year of his death, Mr. Camden, who, in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth, 1599, mentions him with a high commendation of his life and learning, declares him to die in the year 1599; and yet in that inscription of his monument set up at the charge of Sir William Cowper in Borne Church, where Mr. Hooker was buried, his death is there said to be in *anno* 1603 [1], but doubtless both mistaken; for I have attested under the hand of William Somner the archhishop's register for the province of Canterbury, that Richard Hooker's will [2] bears date Octob.

[1] ["The following is an accurate copy of the "inscription on Hooker's monument:

"SUNT MELIORA MIHI.

"RICHARDUS HOOKER EXONIENSIS SCHO-"LARIS SOCIUSQ: COLLEGII CORP. XTII OXON. "DEINDE LONDINIIS TEMPLI INTERIORIS IN "SACRIS MAGISTER RECTORQ: HUJUS ECCLÆ. "SCRIPSIT VIII LIBROS POLITIÆ ECCLESIAS-"TICÆ ANGLICANÆ, QUORUM TRES DESIDE-"RANTUR. OBIIT ANo. DOM. MDC. ÆTATIS "SUÆ L.

"POSUIT HOC PIISSIMO VIRO MONUMEN-"TUM ANº. DOM. MDCXXXIII. GULIELMUS "COWPER ARMIGER IN CHRISTO JESU QUEM "GENUIT PER EVANGELIUM. 1 Cor. iv. 15." Dr. Zouch.]

[2] [Zouch's Walton, 1. 440. "The following is "extracted from the Registry of the Archdeacon's "Court of Canterbury. 'In the name of God, "Amen. This sixe and twentieth of October, in "the yeare of our Lord one thousand and sixe hun-"dred, I Richard Hooker of Bishopsborne, though "sicke in bodye, yet sounde in minde, thankes be "unto Almightye God, doe ordaine and make "this my last will and testament in manner and "forme followinge. First, I bequeath my soule "unto allmightye God my Creator, hoping assur-"edly of my salvation purchased through the "death of Christ Jesus, and my bodye to the earth "to be buried at the discretion of mine executor. "*Item*, I give and bequeath unto my daughter "Alice Hooker one hundred pounds of lawfull "Englishe money, to be paide unto her at the day "of her marriage. *Item*, I give and bequeath "unto my daughter Cicilye Hooker one hundred "pounds of lawful Englishe moneye, to be paid "uuto her at the day of her marriage. *Item*, I give "and bequeath unto my daughter Jane Hooker one "hundred pounds of lawful Englishe money, to be "paid unto her at the day of her marriage. *Item*, "I give unto my daughter Margaret Hooker one "hundred pounds of lawfnl Englishe moneye, to "be paid unto her at the day of her marriage. "And if it shall happen any of my said daughters "to departe this life before the day of their said "marriage, then I will that her or their portion "so dieinge, shall be equally divided among her "or their sisters survivinge. *Item*, I give and "bequeath unto the poor of the p'she of Barhâ five "pounds of lawful money, to be paid unto them "by mine executor. *Item*, I give unto the poore "of the p'she of Bishopesborne fiftye shillings of "lawful Englishe money, to be paid unto them by "mine executor. *Item*, I give and bequeath three "pounds of lawful Englishe money towards the "buildinge and makeing of a newe and sufficient "pulpett in the p'she church of Bishopesborne. "The residue of goods and chattells whatsoever "unbequethed, my funeral, debts, and legacies, "discharged and paid, I give unto Joane Hooker, "my wel beloved wife, whom I ordaine and "make sole executor of this my last will and tes-

26th, in *anno* 1600, and that it was proved the third of December following [3]. And that at his death he left four daughters, Alice, Cicily, Jane, and Margaret; that he gave to each of them an hundred pound; that he left Joan his wife his sole executrix; and that by his inventory, his estate, (a great part of it being in books) came to 1092*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* which was much more than he thought himself worth; and which was not got by his care, much less by the good housewifery of his wife, but saved by his trusty servant Thomas Lane, that was wiser than his master in getting money for him, and more frugal than his mistress in keeping of it: of which will of Mr. Hooker's I shall say no more, but that his dear friend Thomas, the father of George Cranmer, (of whom I have spoken, and shall have occasion to say more,) was one of the witnesses to it [4].

One of his elder daughters was married to one Chalinor, sometime a schoolmaster in Chichester, and are both dead long since. Margaret his youngest daughter was married unto Ezekiel Chark [5], bachelor in divinity, and rector of St. Nicholas in Harbledown near Canterbury, who died about sixteen years past, and had a son Ezekiel, now living, and in sacred orders, being at this time rector of Waldron in Sussex; she left also a daughter, with both whom I have spoken not many months past, and find her to be a widow in a condition that wants not, but very far from abounding; and these two attested unto me, that Richard Hooker their grandfather had a sister, by name Elizabeth Harvey, that lived to the age of 121 years, and died in the month of September, 1663 [6].

For his other two daughters, I can learn little certainty, but have heard they both died before they were marriageable; and for his wife, she was so unlike Jeptha's daughter, that she stayed not a comely time to bewail her widowhood; nor lived long enough to repent her second marriage, for which doubtless she would have found cause, if there had been but four months betwixt Mr. Hooker's and her death. But she is dead, and let her other infirmities be buried with her.

Thus much briefly for his age, the year of his death, his estate, his wife, and his children. I am next to speak of his Books, concerning which I shall have a necessity of being longer, or shall neither do right to myself, or my reader, which is chiefly intended in this Appendix.

I have declared in his Life, that he proposed Eight Books, and that his first four were printed *anno* 1594, and his Fifth Book, first printed, and alone, *anno* 1597, and that he lived to finish the remaining three of the proposed eight; but whether we have the last three as finisht by himself, is a just and material question: concerning which I do declare, that I have been told almost 40 years past, by one that very well knew Mr. Hooker, and the affairs of his family, that about a month after the death of Mr. Hooker, Bishop Whitgift, then Archbishop of Canterbury, sent one of his chaplains [7] to inquire

" tament. And I ordaine, and make my wel-be-
" loved father, Mr. John Churchman, and my as-
" sured good frende, Mr. Edwin Sandes, my
" overseers. By me, Richard Hooker, Sealed
" and delivered in the presence of them, whose
" names are subscribed; Robert Rose, Daniel
" Nichols, Avery Cheston. Proved the third
" day of December, 1600, before the Reverend
" James Bissel, clerk, surr'ate to Rev. George
" Newman, Doctor of Laws, Commissary Gene-
" ral of the city and diocese of Canterbury, by the
" oath of Joane Hooker, widow, the relict and ex-
" ecutrix named in the said will, &c. Thos.
" Backhouse, Registrar. Inventory, 1092*l.* 9*s.*
" 2*d.*" Ex. Wm. Cullen.

The churches of Barham and Bishopsbourne are consolidated, and the former is the most populous part of the cure. Cranmer's being then absent in Ireland will account for his not being named as "overseer."]

[3] And the reader may take notice, that since I first writ this Appendix to the Life of Mr. Hooker, Mr. Fulman, of Corpus Christi college, hath shewed me a good authority for the very day and hour of Mr. Hooker's death, in one of his Books of Polity, which had been Archbishop Laud's. In which book, beside many considerable marginal notes of some passages of his time, under the bishop's own hand, there is also written in the title page of that book (which now is Mr. Fulman's) this attestation:

" Ricardus Hooker vir summis doctrinæ dotibus
" ornatus, de Ecclesia præcipue Anglicana optime
" meritus, obiit Novemb. 2, circiter horam secun-
" dam postmeridianam. Anno 1600."

[4] [He might be present when the will was made, and Walton might learn as much from his daughter. But (as will have been seen) he was not a witness, technically speaking.]

[5] William Chark, of Peterhouse college, Cambridge, was one of the leaders of the Puritanical party in Hooker's time: and was the first preacher at Lincoln's Inn, appointed 1581. Strype, Ann. III. i. 79.]

[6] [Whom Fuller had conversed with: see before, p 59, note 4.]

[7] [The following letter, from Bishop Andrews to Dr. Parry, was first printed in the 8vo. edition of Hooker, Oxford 1793.

" *Salutem in Christo.*

" I cannot choose but write though you do not:
" I never failed since I last saw you, but dayly
" prayed for him till this very instant you, sent
" this heavie news. I have hitherto prayed, *Serva*
" *nobis hunc:* " now must I, *Da nobis alium.*
" Alas for our greate loss: and when I say ours,
" though I meane yours and myne, yet much more
" the common: with [which?] the less sense
" they have of so greate a damage, the more sad
" wee neede to bewayle them and ourselves, who
" knowe his workes and his worth to be such as
" behind him he hath not (that I knowe) left anie
" neere him. And whether I shall live to knowe
" anie neere him, I am in greate doubt, that I

of Mrs. Hooker for the three remaining Books of Polity, writ by her husband; of which she would not, or could not give any account: and that about three months after that time the bishop procured her to be sent for to London, and then by his procurement she was to be examined by some of her Majesty's council, concerning the disposal of those books; but by way of preparation for the next day's examination, the bishop invited her to Lambeth; and after some friendly questions, she confessed to him, "that one Mr. Charke, and another minister "that dwelt near Canterbury, came to her, "and desired that they might go into her "husband's study, and look upon some of "his writings; and that there they two "burnt and tore many of them, assuring her, "that they were writings not fit to be seen; "and that she knew nothing more concern-"ing them." Her lodging was then in King-street in Westminster, where she was found next morning dead in her bed, and her new husband suspected and questioned for it; but he was declared innocent of her death.

And I declare also, that Dr. John Spenser, (mentioned in the life of Mr. Hooker,) who was of Mr. Hooker's college, and of his time there, and betwixt whom there was so friendly a friendship, that they continually advised together in all their studies, and particularly in what concerned these Books of Polity: this Dr. Spenser, the three perfect books being lost, had delivered into his hands (I think by Bishop Whitgift) the imperfect Books, or first rough draughts of them, to be made as perfect as they might be, by him, who both knew Mr. Hooker's handwriting, and was best acquainted with his intentions [8]. And a fair testimony of this may appear by an Epistle first and usually printed before Mr. Hooker's five Books (but omitted I know not why, in the last impression of the eight printed together in *anno* 1662, in which the publishers seem to impose the three doubtful Books to be the undoubted Books of Mr. Hooker) with these two letters J. S. at the end of the said Epistle, which was meant for this John Spenser: in which Epistle the reader may find these very words, which may give some authority to what I have here written of his last three Books.

"And though Mr. Hooker hastened his "own death by hastening to give life to his "Books, yet he held out with his eyes to "behold these Benjamins, these sons of his "right hand, though to him they proved "Benonies, sons of pain and sorrow [9]. But, "some evil-disposed minds, whether of mal-"ice, or covetousness, or wicked blind zeal, "it is uncertain, as soon as they were born, "and their father dead, smothered them; "and by conveying the perfect copies, left "unto us nothing but the old imperfect "mangled draughts dismembered into "pieces; no favour, no grace, not the shad-"ow of themselves remaining in them. Had "the father lived to behold them thus defa-"ced, he might rightly have named them "Benonies, the sons of sorrow; but being "the learned will not suffer them to die and "be buried, it is intended the world shall "see them as they are: the learned will "find in them some shadows of resem-"blances of their father's face. God grant, "that as they were with their brethren dedi-"cated to the Church for messengers of "peace; so, in the strength of that little "breath of life that remaineth in them, they "may prosper in their work, and by satisfy-"ing the doubts of such as are willing to "learn, they may help to give an end to the "calamities of these our Civil Wars!

"J. S."

And next the reader may note, that this epistle of Dr. Spenser's was writ and first

"care not how manic and myself had redeemed "his longer life to have done good in a better "subject than he had in hand, though that were "very good. Good brother, have a care to deal "with his executrix or executor, (or him that is "like to have a greate stroke in it) his father in "lawe, that there be special care and regard for "preserving such papers as he left, besides the "three last books expected. By preserving I "meane, that not only they be not embezzled, "and come to nothing, but that they come not "into greate hands, whoe will only have use of "them *quatenus et quousque*, and suppresse the "rest, or unhappily all: but rather into the hands "of some of them that unfeignedly wished him "well, though of the meaner sort; who may upon "good assurance (very good assurance) be trust-"ed with them; for it is pitie they should admit "anie limitation. Doe this, and doe it mature; it "had bin more than time long since to have bin "about it, if I had sooner knowne it. If my "word or letter would doe anie good to Mr. "Churchman it should not want. But what can-"not yourself or Mr. Sandys doe therein? For "Mr. Cranmer is away; happie in that he shall "gaine a weeke or two before he knowe of it. "Almightie God comfort us over him! whose ta-"king away I trust I shall no longer live then with "grief I remember; therefore with grief because "with inward and most just honour I ever hon-"oured him since I knew him.

"Your assured
"Poore loving friend,
"L. ANDREWES."

"At the Court, 7 Nov. 1600."

For some account of Dr. Parry, see page 111, note 3. The Editor has not yet been able to meet with the above letter in the Bodleian library.]

[8] [See Bp. King's letter to Walton, infra, p. 107; and the note there from H. Jackson, p. 108.]

[9] [Confirmed by Dr. Covel, in his Just and Temperate Defence of the Books of Ecclesiastical Polity, p. 149, 1603. "Concerning those three Books "of his, which from his own mouth I am informed "that they were finished, I know not in whose "hands they are, nor whether the Church shall "ever be bettered by so excellent a work."]

printed within four years after the death of Mr. Hooker, in which time all diligent search had been made for the perfect copies; and then granted not recoverable, and therefore endeavoured to be completed out of M. Hooker's rough draughts, as is exprest by the said D. Spencer, since whose death it is now 50 years [10].

And I do profess by the faith of a Christian, that Dr. Spencer's wife (who was my aunt [11], and sister to George Cranmer, of whom I have spoken) told me forty years since, in these, or in words to this purpose, "that her husband had made up, or finisht "Mr. Hooker's last three Books; and that "upon her husband's death-bed, or in his "last sickness, he gave them into her hand, "with a charge they should not be seen by "any man, but be by her delivered into the "hands of the then Archbishop of Canter-"bury, which was Dr. Abbot, or unto Dr. "King then Bishop of London, and that she "did as he enjoined her."

I do conceive, that from D. Spencer's, and no other copy, there have been divers transcripts, and I know that these were to be found in several places, as namely, Sir Thomas Bodlie's library, in that of D. Andrews, late Bishop of Winton, in the late Lord Conway's, in the Archbishop of Canterbury's, and in the Bishop of Armagh's, and in many others [12]: and most of these pretended to be the author's own hand, but much disagreeing, being indeed altered and diminisht, as men have thought fittest to make Mr. Hooker's judgment suit with their fancies, or give authority to their corrupt designs; and for proof of a part of this, take these following testimonies.

Dr. Barnard, sometime chaplain to Dr. Usher, late Lord Archbishop of Armagh, hath declared in a late book called *Clavi Trabales*, printed by Richard Hodgkinson, *anno* 1661 [13], that in his search and exami-

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[10] [Dr. Spenser died Apr. 3, 1614. Wood, Ath. Oxon. II. 146, says, "Several years before his "death, he took extraordinary pains, together with "a most judicious and complete divine, named R. "Hooker, before mentioned, about the compiling "of a learned and profitable work, which he pub-"lished, (I mean some of the Books of Ecclesias-"tical Polity.) yet would not be moved to put his "name to; and therefore it fell out, that 'tulit "alter honores.'" This statement is apparently taken from the Epistle Dedicatory, prefixed to "A learned and gracious sermon preached at "Paul's Cross, by that famous and judicious di-"vine, John Spenser, D. of Divinity, and late "President of C. C. C. in Oxford. Published for "the benefit of Christ's Vineyard, by H. M. 1615." H. M. was Hamlet Marshall, Spenser's Curate. Athen. Oxon. II. 145. Mr. Marshall, however, does not name Hooker, nor his work. His words are, "When he had taken extraordinary pains, "together with a most judicious and complete di-"vine in our church, about the compiling of a "learned and profitable work now extant, yet "would he not be moved to put his hand to it, "though he had a special hand in it: and there-"fore," &c. These words are addressed to Bishop King, Spenser's most intimate friend, and the patron of his wife and children; and Mr. Marshall states himself to have "lived under Spenser's roof, "having been his minister for the space of five "years, penning and observing his precious medi-"tations." If therefore the passage really refer to Hooker, it must be taken as sufficient authority for the fact, otherwise probable enough, that Spenser gave so much help in the composition of Hooker's great work, as to make his partial friends think he might almost be reckoned joint author of it. It is curious, that in the page just before, Mr. Marshall has appropriated, without acknowledgment, the remarkable passage, quoted by Walton from Spenser himself, supr. p. 89, and beginning, "what admirable height," &c.: this passage Mr. Marshall has inserted as though it were his own, making it a part of his panegeric on Dr. Spenser.]

[11] [See note 2, p. 61.]

[12] [Authority for this statement is to be found in the following notice, prefixed to the first edition of the 6th and 8th Books, 1651:

"The several copies compared before publica-"tion.

"The copy that is in Sir Tho. Bodley's library "in Oxford.

"The copy that was in the Lord Archbishop "of Canterbury his library.

"The copy that was in Dr. Andrews, late Lord "Bishop of Winchester, his library.

"Two copies in the hands of the Lord Archbish-"op of Armagh.

"The copy in the hands of the Lord Viscount "Conway."

In the title page the publication is described as a "work long expected, and now published ac-"cording to the most authentic copies." The following is subjoined:

"To the Reader.

"Here is presented unto thee, two of the three "so long expected and much desired Books of "learned Mr. Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, viz. "the sixth and the eighth, as they were preserved "in the hands of those mirrors of learning, Dr. "Andrews, late Lord Bishop of Winchester, and "the present Dr. Usher, Lord Archbishop of Ar-"magh, with great hopes the seventh would have "been recovered, that they might have been pub-"lished to the world's view at once; but endeav-"ours used to that purpose have hitherto proved "fruitless. And now fearing that some errone-"ous, if not counterfeit copies might come abroad, "hath occasioned the publishing of these, to pre-"vent as much as may be any addition of abuses "to the author; and also that he which so much "desired the unity of the Church, might have the "divided members of his labours united."]

[13 ["Clavi Trabales, or, Nails fastened by some "great masters of assemblies," (alluding to Eccl. xii. 11.,) "confirming the King's supremacy, and "church government under bishops. I. Two "speeches of the late Lord Primate Usher's: the "one of the King's supremacy, the other of the "duty of subjects to supply the King's necessities. "II. His judgment and practice in point of loyal-"ty, episcopacy, liturgy, and constitutions of the "Church of England. III. Mr. Hooker's judg-

nation of the said bishop's manuscripts, he there found the three written Books, which were supposed the 6, 7, and 8, of Mr. Hooker's Books of Ecclesiastical Polity; and, that in the said three Books (now printed as Mr. Hooker's,)there are so many omissions, that they amount to many paragraphs, and which cause many incoherencies; the omissions are by him set down at large in the said printed Book, to which I refer the reader for the whole: but think fit in this place to insert this following short part of some of the said omissions.

"First, as there could be in natural bodies no motion of any thing, unless there were some first which moved all things, and continued unmoveable; even so in politic societies there must be some unpunishable, or else no man shall suffer punishment; for such [sith] punishments proceed always from superiors, to whom the administration of justice belongeth, which administration must have necessarily a fountain that deriveth it to all others, and receiveth not from any, because otherwise the course of justice should go infinitely in a circle, every superior having his superior without end, which cannot be; therefore, a well-spring, it followeth, there is a supreme head of justice whereunto all are subject, but itself in subjection to none. Which kind of preeminency if some ought to have in a kingdom, who but the king shall have it? Kings therefore, or no man, can have lawful power to judge [14].

"If private men offend, there is the magistrate over them which judgeth; if magistrates, they have their prince; if princes, there is Heaven, a tribunal, before which they shall appear; on earth they are not accountable to any." "Here," says the Doctor, "it breaks off abruptly [15]."

And I have these words also attested under the hand of Mr. Fabian Philips, a man of note for his useful books. "I will make oath, if I shall be required, that Dr. Sanderson, the late Bishop of Lincoln, did a

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"ment of the King's power in matters of religion, "advancement of bishops, &c. IV. Bishop Andrews of church-government, &c. both confirmed and enlarged by the said Primate. V. A letter of Dr. Hadrianus Saravia, of the like subjects. Unto which is added" (at p. 21,) "a sermon of regal power and the novelty of the doctrine of resistance. Published by Nicholas Bernard, D. D. and rector of Whitchurch, in Shropshire."

In the author's Preface is the following passage, after some account of Numbers I. and II. "Hereunto two other treatises have been thought fit to be added, (mentioned in the foresaid vindication, but then not intended to be published,) which the eminent primate had a hand in. The one, Mr. Hooker's Judgment, &c. left out of the common copies, enlarged and confirmed by the primate, all the marginal notes of the quotations out of the fathers, being under his own hand, are noted with this mark .*. The other," &c.

Bishop Sanderson, in his Preface to the Reader, which follows, bears strong testimony to the good faith of this publication. "We hold ourselves religiously obliged to use all faithfulness and sincerity in the publishing of other men's works; by suffering every author to speak his own sense in his own words, nor taking the boldness to change a phrase or syllable therein, at least not without giving the reader both notice where, and some good account also why, we have so done. Such faithfulness and ingenuity the learned publisher of these treatises professeth himself to have used, in setting them forth neither better nor worse, but just as he found them in the reverend primate's papers, some perfect and some imperfect, according as they were, and still are, in the copies which are in his custody, and which he is ready upon all occasions to shew if need shall require." Then, speaking of Bishop Andrews's treatise, he says, "Whatever defects it may have for want of the author's last hand thereunto, the publisher in order to the public good, thought fit to join it with the rest in this edition, especially the learned primate having had it under his file, as by the notes and other additions written with the primate's own hand, (which I have seen and can testify,) doth plainly appear. *The same also is to be said of the three pieces of the renowned Hooker, and of what is written with the same hand in the margent of the MS. copy;* whereof some account is given p. 47." It should be p. 49, where Dr. Bernard states, "I have found among the primate's papers a MS. containing Mr. Hooker's judgment of these three things. 1. Of regal power in ecclesiastical affairs. 2. Of the King's power in the advancement of bishops unto the rooms of prelacy. 3. Of the King's exemption from censures and other judicial power. All which (as the primate notes with his own hand) are not found in the common copies of Mr. Hooker's MS., (though by what art, and upon what design, so much was expunged, I know not,) only thus far the primate hath joined his testimony with Mr. Hooker in these, (which seem to be the true,) that he hath corrected and perfected the copy throughout with his own hand: and not only found out the several quotations, and put them down in the margent, but added many of his own, with some other large annotations, by which his zeal for the defence of regal power is the more evident."

The above extracts contain all that Dr. Bernard has stated on this subject in the Clavi Trabales. They hardly amount to a declaration, that he had himself found the three written Books among the archbishop's MSS. It seems rather as if he had found a copy, made by or for the archbishop, (and that an unfinished one,) of certain portions of the treatise. The marginal notes appear to imply as much: of some paragraphs, Ussher having remarked that they are, of others, that they are not wanting, in the common Books of Mr. Hooker's MS." E. g. p. 65, of Cl. Trab. compared with p. 73.]

[14] [The right reading is, "Kings therefore no man can have lawful power and authority to judge:" and so it appears in Clavi Trabales.]

[15] [Clavi Trabales, p. 94.]

"little before his death affirm to me, he had "seen a manuscript affirmed to him to be "the handwriting of Mr. Richard Hooker, "in which there was no mention made of "the king or supreme governors being ac- "countable to the people [16]; this I will make "oath, that that good man attested to me.

"FABIAN PHILIPS."

So that there appears to be both omissions and additions in the said last three printed Books; and this may probably be one reason why Dr. Sanderson, the said learned bishop (whose writings are so highly and justly valued) gave a strict charge near the time of his death, or in his last will, "that nothing of his, that was not al- "ready printed, should be printed after his "death."

It is well known how high a value our learned King James put upon the Books writ by Mr. Hooker, as also that our late King Charles (the martyr for the Church) valued them the second of all books, testified by his commending them to the reading of his son Charles, that now is our gracious king [17]; and you may suppose that this Charles the First was not a stranger to the pretended three Books, because in a discourse with the Lord Say, in the time of the long parliament, when the said lord required the king to grant the truth of his argument, because it was the judgment of Mr. Hooker, (quoting him in one of the three written Books,) the king replied, "they were not allowed to be Mr. Hook- "er's Books; but, however, he would allow "them to be Mr. Hooker's, and consent to "what his lordship proposed to prove out "of those doubtful Books, if he would but "consent to the judgment of Mr. Hooker in "the other five that were the undoubted "Books of Mr. Hooker [18]."

[In this relation concerning these three doubtful Books of Mr. Hooker's, my purpose was to inquire, then set down what I observed and know, which I have done, not as an engaged person, but indifferently; and now, leave my reader to give sentence, for their legitimation, as to himself; but so, as to leave others the same liberty of believing or disbelieving them to be Mr. Hooker's; and it is observable, that as Mr. Hooker advised with Dr. Spencer, in the design and manage of these books, so also, and chiefly with his dear pupil, George Cranmer [19], (whose sister was the wife of Dr. Spencer,) of which this following letter may be a testimony; and doth also give authority to some things mentioned both in this Appendix and in the Life of Mr. Hooker, and is therefore added [20]. I.W.

[16] [It is hardly necessary to observe, that this attestation implies the MS. to have professedly contained the eighth Book of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity. The passage referred to may be that, in which Hooker explains at large his idea of the original dependency of kings, as of other supreme governors, on the whole body of the nation. But he is elsewhere very careful in distinguishing between this original theoretical dependency, and their being practically accountable afterwards. It is conceivable, therefore, that Bishop Sanderson may have referred not to the printed or to any particular copy, but to a current notion of what the MSS. contained: although Walton, by his inferring hence that there are additions in "the last three printed books," evidently understood the bishop otherwise. Sanderson had probably seen the copy in the possession of his friend Dr. Barlow, now in the library of Queen's college: and not improbably that also, which Dr. Bernard used for his Clavi Trabales. See his (Sanderson's) preface to that work, as quoted above. Of F. Philips, see Wood, A. O. Fasti, 5.]

[17] [See note [44], p. 73.]

[18] [Dugdale, Short View of the late Troubles, p. 39.]

[19] [See also the notes on the sixth Book.]

[20] [The letter, relating wholly to the matter of Hooker's argument, and not at all to the events of his life, will be inserted in the present edition by way of Appendix to the fifth Book.]

FURTHER APPENDIX

TO THE

LIFE OF MR. RICHARD HOOKER.

NUMBER I.

The Copy of a Letter writ to Mr. Izaak Walton, by Dr. King, Lord Bishop of Chichester [1].

HONEST IZAAK,

THOUGH a familiarity of more than forty years' [2] continuance, and the constant experience of your love, even in the worst of the late sad times, be sufficient to endear our friendship; yet I must confess my affection much improved, not only by evidences of private respect to those very many that know and love you, but by your new demonstration of a public spirit, testified in a diligent, true, and useful collection, of so many material passages as you have now afforded me in the Life of venerable Mr. Hooker: of which, since desired by such a friend as yourself, I shall not deny to give the testimony of what I know concerning him and his learned Books; but shall first here take a fair occasion to tell you, that you have been happy in choosing to write the lives of three such persons, as posterity hath just cause to honour; which they will do the more for the true relation of them by your happy pen; of all which I shall give you my unfeigned censure.

I shall begin with my most dear and incomparable friend, Dr. Donne, late dean of St. Paul's church, who not only trusted me as his executor, but three days before his death delivered into my hands those excellent sermons of his now made public; professing before Dr. Winniff [3], Dr. Monford [4], and, I think, yourself, then present at his bed-side, that it was by my restless importunity that he had prepared them for the press; together with which (as his best legacy) he gave me all his sermon-notes, and his other papers, containing an extract of near fifteen hundred authors. How these were got out of my hands, you, who were the messenger for them [5], and how lost both to me and yourself, is not now seasonable to complain; but, since they did miscarry, I am glad that the general demonstration of his worth was so fairly preserved and represented to the world by your pen in the history of his life; indeed so well, that, beside others, the best critic of our later time (Mr. John Hales, of Eaton college) affirmed to me, "he had not seen a life written with "more advantage to the subject, or more "reputation to the writer, than that of Dr. "Donne's."

After the performance of this task for Dr. Donne, you undertook the like office for our friend Sir Henry Wotten, betwixt which two there was a friendship begun in Oxford, continued in their various travels, and more confirmed in the religious friendship of age, and doubtless this excellent person had writ the life of Dr. Donne, if death had not prevented him; by which means, his and your precollections for that work fell to the happy menage of your pen: a work, which you would have declined, if imperious persuasions had not been stronger than your modest resolutions against it. And I am thus far glad, that the first life was so imposed upon you, because it gave an unavoidable cause of writing the second: if not, it is too probable we had wanted both, which had been a prejudice to all lovers of

[1] [This letter has hitherto been *prefixed* to the Life of Hooker. But as it chiefly relates to the fate of the three last Books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, it was judged more convenient to transfer it to the Appendix.

According to Wood, Ath. Oxon. III. 839, Dr. Henry King was made Bishop of Chichester 1641, and died, October 1669.]

[2] [On comparing this with note (2) on the Introduction to the Life, it will appear that Walton's intimacy with the writer of this letter began about the time of his (Walton's) first marriage: Bishop King's family being most intimate with that of Mrs. Spenser, whose niece Walton married.]

[3] ["Dr. Winniff, Bp. of Lincoln 1641, died 1654: "see some account of him in Clarendon, Hist. of "Reb. b. iv. p. 423, ed. 1819." From Dr. Zouch in loc.]

[4] ["Dr. Thomas Mountfort, a residentiary of St. "Paul's, died Feb. 27, 1632." Dr. Zouch.]

[5] [The word "know" seems to have dropped out of the copy.]

honour and ingenious learning. And let me not leave my friend Sir Henry without this testimony added to yours, that he was a man of as florid a wit, and as elegant a pen, as any former (or ours which in that kind is a most excellent) age, hath ever produced.

And now having made this voluntary observation of our two deceased friends, I proceed to satisfy your desire concerning what I know and believe of the ever-memorable Mr. Hooker, who was *schismaticorum malleus*[6], so great a champion for the church of England's rights, against the factious torrent of Separatists that then ran high against Church Discipline, and in his unanswerable Books continues still to be so against the unquiet disciples of their schism, which now under other names still carry on their designs; and who, (as the proper heirs of their irrational zeal) would again rake into the scarce-closed wounds of a newly bleeding state and church.

And first, though I dare not say that I knew Mr. Hooker, yet, as our[7] ecclesiastical history reports to the honour of S. Ignatius, that he lived in the time of St. John, and had seen him in his childhood[8]; so, I also joy that in my minority I have often seen Mr. Hooker, with my father, who was after Lord Bishop of London[9]; from whom, and others, at that time, I have heard most of the material passages which you relate in the history of his life; and from my father received such a character of his learning, humility, and other virtues, that like jewels of unvaluable price, they still cast such a lustre as envy or the rust of time shall never darken.

From my father I have also heard all the circumstances of the plot to defame him; and how Sir Edwin Sandys outwitted his accusers, and gained their confession: and I could give an account of each particular of that plot, but that I judge it fitter to be forgotten, and rot in the same grave with the malicious authors.

I may not omit to declare, that my father's knowledge of Mr. Hooker was occasioned by the learned Dr. John Spencer, who after the death of Mr. Hooker was so careful to preserve his invaluable sixth, seventh, and eighth Books of Ecclesiastical Polity, and his other writings, that he procured Henry Jackson[10], then of Corpus Christi college, to transcribe for him all Mr. Hooker's remaining written papers[11]; many of which were imperfect; for his study had been rifled, or worse used, by Mr. Chark, and another, of principles too like his: but these papers were endeavoured to be completed by his dear friend, Dr. Spenser, who bequeathed them as a precious legacy to my father; after whose death they rested in my hand, till Dr. Abbot, then Archbishop of Canterbury, commanded them out of my custody, by authorizing Dr. John Barkham[12] to require and bring them to him to his palace in Lambeth[13]; at which time, I have heard,

[6] [" Petrus de Alliaco, circ. A. D. 1400, *Malleus a veritate aberrantium indefessus* appellari " solitus." Wharton, App. ad Hist. Lit. p. 84.]

[7] [" our," spoken as by a churchman to a layman.]

[8] [Martyr. S. Ignat. in Coteler. Patr. Apost. II. 163, 169.]

[9] [Dr. John King was student of Ch. Ch. 1576, had the living of St. Anne and St. Agnes, London, 1580: of St. Andrew's Holborn, 1597: was Dean of Ch. Ch. 1605: Bishop of London, 1611: died 1621. Wood's Ath. Oxon. II. 294. He was charged, after his death, with papistry: which charge his son, the writer of this letter, refuted in a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, which was published, and is extant.]

[10] [Henry Jackson, scholar of C. C. C. Dec. 1, " 1602, aged 16, having for two years before been " clerk of the said house." Wood, A. O. III. 577. He was successively rector of Trent in Somersetshire, and of Meysey Hampton in Gloucestershire, where he died, June 4, and was buried, June 9, 1662. He was much employed in translating the treatises of the English reformers into Latin. Fulm. X. 78. Wood says, " being a studious and cynical " person he never expected or desired more pre- " ferment. He was a great admirer of R. Hooker " and J. Reynolds, whose memories being most " dear to him, he did for the sake of the first in- " dustriously collect and publish some of his small " treatises, and of the latter, several of his epistles " and orations."]

[11] [" . . . . si totus non essem in poliendo libro " octavo D. Richardi Hookeri de Ecclesiastica " Politeia, quem Præses Collegii nostri mihi com- " mendavit, alliquid ad te misissem, ut tuum ex- " piscarer judicium an lucem necne mereatur." 1612. H. Jackson, in a letter preserved by Fulman, X. 86. " . . Jam occupatus sum in confici- " endo D. Hookeri libro 8vo. de Ecclesiastica " Politeia, qui est de regis dominio." Id. Septr. 1612. " Puto Præsidem nostrum emissurum sub " suo nomine D. Hookeri librum octavum, a me " plane vitæ restitutum. ' Tulit alter honores.'" Id. 1612, D. Thomæ Festo.]

[12] [Fuller, Worthies of England, p. 276, tit. Exeter. " John Barkham, born in this city, was " bred in Corpus Christi college in Oxford, where- " of he was fellow, chaplain afterwards to Arch- " bishop Bancroft, and parson of Bocking in Es- " sex. Much his modesty and no less his learn- " ing; who, though never the public parent of any, " was the careful nurse of many books, which had " otherwise expired in their infancy had not his " care preserved them . . . . A greater lover of " coins than money . . . . That excellent collec- " tion in Oxford library was his gift to the arch- " bishop, before the archbishop gave it to the uni- " versity. He died March 25, 1641."

[13] [The same thing was done in the case of Dr. Reynolds. Fulman (IX. 225.) has " A note of " such MSS. &c. as it pleased my L. grace to re- " tayne, of those which we were enjoyned to " bring unto him out of D. Rainolds' studie. Jun. " 4, 1607. . . . . Item, Travers to the Lords in " fol. Item, Divers other papers, the titles whereof " we could not take." Reynolds died May 21.]

they were put into the bishop's library, and that they remained there till the martyrdom of Archbishop Laud, and were then by the brethren of that faction given with all the library to Hugh Peters [14], as a reward for his remarkable service in those sad times of the Church's confusion: and though they could hardly fall into a fouler hand, yet there wanted not other endeavours to corrupt and make them speak that language, for which the faction then fought; which indeed was, "to subject the sovereign pow-" er to the people."

But I need not strive to vindicate Mr. Hooker in this particular; his known loyalty to his Prince whilst he lived, the sorrow expressed by King James at his death, the value our late Sovereign (of ever-blessed memory) put upon his works, and now the singular character of his worth by you given in the passages of his life, (especially in your Appendix to it,) do sufficiently clear him from that imputation: and I am glad you mention how much value Thomas Stapleton, Pope Clement the Eighth, and other eminent men of the Romish persuasion, have put upon his Books, having been told the same in my youth by persons of worth that have travelled Italy.

Lastly, I must again congratulate this undertaking of yours, as now more proper to you than any other person, by reason of your long knowledge and alliance to the worthy family of the Cranmers, (my old friends also,) who have been men of noted wisdom, especially Mr. George Cranmer, whose prudence, added to that of Sir Edwin Sandys, proved very useful in the completing of Mr. Hooker's matchless Books; one of their letters I herewith send you, to make use of, if you think fit [15]. And let me say further, you merit much from many of Mr. Hooker's best friends then living; namely, from the ever-renowned Archbishop Whitgift, of whose incomparable worth, with the character of the times, you have given us a more short and significant account than I have received from any other pen. You have done much for the learned Sir Henry Saville, his contemporary and familiar friend; amongst the surviving monuments of whose learning (give me leave to tell you so) two are omitted; his edition of Euclid [16]; but especially his translation of King James his Apology for the Oath of Allegiance, into elegant Latin [17]; which flying in that dress as far as Rome, was by the Pope and conclave sent to Salamanca unto Franciscus Suarez, (then residing there as President of that college,) with a command to answer it. And it is worth noting, that when he had perfected the work, (which he calls *Defensio Fidei Catholicæ*,) it was transmitted to Rome for a view of the inquisitors; who according to their custom blotted out what they pleased, and (as Mr. Hooker hath been used since his death) added whatsoever might advance the Pope's supremacy, or to carry on their own interest: commonly coupling together *deponere et occidere*, the deposing and then killing of princes [18]; which cruel and unchristian language Mr. John Saltkell, the amanuensis to Suarez, when he wrote that answer, (but since a convert, and living long in my father's house,) often professed, the good old man (whose piety and charity Mr. Saltkell magnified much) not only disavowed, but detested. Not to trouble you further, your reader (if, according to your desire, my approbation of your work carries any weight) will here find many just reasons to thank you for it; and possibly for this circumstance here mentioned (not known to many) may happily apprehend one to thank him, who is,

SIR,
Your ever faithful and
affectionate old Friend,
HENRY CHICHESTER.

Chichester, Novem. 17, 1664.

[14] ["Whereas formerly books, to the value of an "hundred pounds, were bestowed upon Mr. Peters, out of the Archbishop of Canterbury's particular private study: and whereas the said "study is appraised at a matter of forty pounds "more than the said hundred pounds: it is this "day ordered, that Mr. Peters shall have the "whole study of books freely bestowed upon "him." Commons' Journals, June 27, 1644.]

[15] [Bishop King could not mean Cranmer's Letter on the new Church Discipline, for that had been printed in 1642. He might mean the Notes by Cranmer and Sandys, on the sixth Book of Eccl. Polity; which notes Fulman received from Walton, and they are now preserved in the library of Corpus Christi college.]

[16] ["Prælectiones tresdecim in principium Ele-"mentorum Euclidis Oxoniæ habitæ, an. 1620. "Oxon. 1621, 4to." Wood, A. O. II. 314.]

[17] [The original is in K. James's Works, p. 247, &c. The date of the translation is 1609.]

[18] [Lib. VI. c. 4. §. 12—18. "Dicendum est, "post sententiam condemnatoriam regis de regni "privatione, latam per legitimam potestatem; vel "quod perinde est, post sententiam declaratoriam "criminis habentis talem pœnam ipso jure imposi-"tam; posse quidem eum, qui sententiam tulerit, "vel cui ipse commiserit, regem privare regno, "etiam illum interficiendo, si aliter non potuerit, "vel si justa sententia ad hanc etiam pœnam ex-"tendatur."]

NUMBER II.

[See before, p. 65. note [15].]

D. Johannes Rainoldus Georgio Cranmero[1].

*****tua paria[2], quæ vocas, mi Georgi, non probavi quidem, fateor; neque tamen tam ingratus mihi fuit conspectus amborum, in altero pari, quam unius in altero. Nam quamvis ad notitiam earum rerum quas scire cupis, aliquantum in Ramo, permultum in Vive, plurimum in Scaligero, te putem opis habiturum; tamen in Scoto et Aquinate non esse nihil quod inservire possit tuo studio promovendo, libens agnosco. Illud inter meum et tuum judicium discriminis intercedit, quod tu de iis videris honorificentius sentire, quam ego. Nam ego minus tribui Scoto quam Aquinati[3], Aquinati quam Scaligero, immo vero pluris unum Scaligerum quam sexcentos Scotos et Aquinates facio. Verum tamen si speras te collecturum aurum ex Ennii sterquilino[4], nihil impedio; præsertim cum promittas te daturum operam, ne maculeris luto. In altero vero pari, quo Campianum conjungis Ciceroni, τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ φακῇ μύρον[5], multo magis a te dissentio, nec in eo tuum mihi vel affectum satis sobrium, vel judicium satis sanum esse visum, concedo. Nam qui te præ manibus habere semper cum scribis, et laudas tanquam novum Æsculapii filium, et (quasi parum esset esse proximum Ciceroni) in verbis, in sententiis, in metaphoris, in figuris, denique in omni eloquentiæ munere perfectissimum[6] esse prædicas: negare non possum quin et studiosius eum pervolutare, quam decuit, virulentissimum hostem pietatis, et admirari vehementius, quam calamistratum oportuit rhetorculum, mihi videare. Cæterum de judicio tuo non judico. Sit Isocrate concinnior, acutior Hyperide, nervosior Demosthene, subtilior Lysia, copiosior Platone. Sit repertus nostro seculo, cui cedat Lactantius, antiquitate judice, Christianus Cicero. Affectus mihi tuus non placet, Georgi: qui tam libenter cum lectitas, a quo veritas mendaciis, pietas convitiis, religio calumniis; veritatis, pietatis, religionis cultores maledictis et contumeliis acerbissimis proscinduntur. At enim, "Sit," inquies, "in "rebus impurior; exhauriam ego sentinam, "et fæces, et inde purissima delibabo." At ex sentina pestilens odor exhalat, infestissimus valetudini, præsertim corporis infirmi. Tunc tuis viribus ita præfidis ut nihil metuas periculi? Avunculus quidem tuus, quum ei sciscitanti ut solet quid Georgius, literas ostenderem; ingemuit. Timuit fortasse plusquam necesse fuit, ut amor res solliciti plena est timoris; sed ingemuit. Faxit Deus, ut eventus illum potius nimis timidum, quam te parum prudentem fuisse coarguat. Sed meminisse debes prudenter dictum a Cicerone; "ut qui in sole ambulant, quam-"vis alia de causa ambulent;" nosti quid sequatur[7]. Ego vero Fabium existimo meritissimo interdixisse pueris poetas qui nocent moribus[8]. Quid ita M. Fabi? quia mihi potior bene vivendi, quam vel optime loquendi, ratio habetur. Illi tanta ratio bene vivendi; tibi minor recte credendi? Illi, "teneræ mentes, non solum quæ diser-"ta, sed vel magis quæ honesta sunt, dis-"cant:" tibi, quamvis impia, tamen si diserta, teneris ediscenda mentibus placebunt? Quid? ne ipse quidem Campianus tuus persuadet tibi meliora? qui "bella sterquili-"nia spernenda" monet[9]? Spernito. Laudas ejus scripta, ut perdiserta; agnoscis res impuras, sentinam, fæces. Ergo bella sterquilinia, te ipso judice. Contemnito. Quanquam utinam essent tantummodo sterquilinia bella: sunt gladii liti melle, sunt venena mixta vino. Quare mihi prorsus displicet quod scribis: "Non res ab illo, sed vo-"ces postulo." Perinde quasi diceres de poculo venenato, "non venenum sed vinum "haurio." Non res ab illo, sed voces postulas. Atque adeo Augustinus, cum esset

[1] [This letter, transcribed from Fulman, IX. 154—156, is inserted here, as furnishing some information concerning the literary and theological opinions of two of Hooker's most intimate friends.]

[2] [It should seem that Cranmer had written to his tutor, by way of rhetorical exercise, a pair of parallels: one between Scotus and Aquinas, another (which may be conjectured to have been more or less playful) between Cicero and the Jesuit Campion.]

[3] [Hooker did not quite agree with his tutor. For he calls Scotus "the wittiest of the school di-"vines." E. P. I. II, 5.]

[4] ["Cum is (Virgilius) aliquando Ennium in "manu haberet, rogareturque quidnam faceret, "respondit, se aurum colligere de stercore Ennii." Donat. in vit. Virgil. c. 18.]

[5] [Cic. ad. Att. I. 19.]

[6] ["Edmund Campion, formerly a scholar of "Oxford, about 1581 set forth a book consisting "of ten reasons, written in a *terse*, *elegant*, Latin "style, and dedicated to the scholars of both Uni-"versities, in vindication of what he had done in "returning to Rome, and exhortatory to them to "follow him, slandering the Protestant religion "with false and unworthy imputations. Care was "taken privily to disperse this book in the univer-"sities." Strype, Aylmer, 31.

"A book written by Campion, of the History "of Ireland. The Archbp. [Parker, 1572.] *liked* "*the wit of the writer.*" P. II. 164.]

[7] [De Orat. II. 14.]

[8] [Quintil. I. 14.]

[9] ["Sunt quædam illecebræ Lutheranæ, quibus "suum ille (Diabolus) regnum amplificat, quibus "ille tendiculis hamatus multos jam vestri ordinis "inescavit. Quænam? Aurum, gloria, deliciæ "veneres. Contemnite. Quid enim aliud ista "sunt, nisi terrarum ilia, canorus aer, popina ver-"mium, bella sterquilinia? Spernite." Campion sub fine Ration. xmæ. vid. "Doctrinæ Jesuitica "præcipua Capita. Rupellæ, 1585." p. 207.]

Manichæus, ut de seipso confitetur, "ver-
"bis" Ambrosii suspendebatur intentus; verum autem incuriosus et contemptor astabat. "Cum autem," inquit, "non satagerem discere quæ dicebat, sed tantum "quemadmodum dicebat, audire, veniebant "in animum meum simul cum verbis quæ "diligebam, res etiam quas negligebam; "neque enim ea dirimere poteram[10]." Quod si Augustinus Manichæus cum audiret (non propter res sed propter voces) Ambrosium Catholicum, et rebus captus, et vocibus, evasit Catholicus; ignosce mihi si putem esse posse periculum, ne Cranmerus religiosus dum Campianum Pontificium (non propter res, sed propter voces) assidua versat manu, (avertat Deus omen; sed qui amant, metuunt,) ne quid contrahat contagionis. Nam sive te cogitas esse vel ingenio majore, vel judicio, quam fuit Augustinus, teipsum nimis amas; sive homines facilius a pravis ad recta flecti, quam a rectis ad prava, putas; laberis imprudentia. Quamobrem si me forsitan uti consultore, quam teipso, malis; nec in Græces Julianum Apostatam cum Demosthene, nec in Latinis Campianum Papistam cum Cicerone, tanquam optimos magistros eloquentiæ conjunges. Vale, et tuum cole. Londini, ex ædibus D. Walsinghami, 15 Mart.

Tuus, amore parens, præceptor officio,
JOHANNES RAINOLDUS.

NUMBER III.

[These two letters, also preserved by Fulman, IX. 208, 210, are conjectured to be Hooker's on the following account. They were evidently written by a Hebrew scholar, a married man, having a residence in London, intimate with Reynolds and under obligations to him, and thoroughly entering into his character. All this, added to the initials R. H. may perhaps justify the insertion of the letters here. To the Editor they appear strongly marked by Hooker's peculiar vein of humour.]

To the worshipfull my verie loving frend Mr. D. Rainoldes at Queenes college[1] *in Oxford.*

S. Your excuse is so reasonable that if the fault had been found in earnest yeat you have thereof fullie cleered yourself. I wish your physick may this yeare so cure you that the next we maie see you heere[2], which I should be glad of. Mr. Parrie[3] is returned into the citie this last night as I understand, but as yeat I have not seen him, and therefore what to answere you touching my self for the matter of lazines and Moses Maimonius I do not know. I have both. And trulie the one doth not suffer the other to doe me that pleasure which otherwise it might. But concerning bookes which you saie you would often write of but that Cajetan hath hindered, there is no cause it should if at all be considered which I my self should waigh though you doe not. Nevertheless because I will not anie waie have you hindered by such means, I am content to observe *legem Cinciam*[4]. Persons' Directory[5] when I can procure you shall have. Mine own I lent unto Mr. Sandes D. Chaloner's[6] neighbour. Otherwise that you should have to use till I get one for you. In the meanwhile I send you an English Jordanus Brunus[7], the price amounteth unto two whole pence. He is

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[10] [Confess. V. 13, 14.]

[1] [In 1586, Sir F. Walsingham offered a stipend for a lecture of controversial divinity, for the purpose, as Heylyn says, of making the religion of "the church of Rome more odious;" and Reynolds being employed to read it, with a stipend of xx*l.* resigned his fellowship, and retired to Queen's college, where he lived many years. Fulman, IX. 116, 136—140. Heylyn's Life of Laud, p. 50. "Some marvelled at me, that I "left a certaintie for an uncertaintie, when I re-"signed my fellowship in Corpus Christi college. "But indeede dissensions and factions there did "make me so weary of the place, that a woorse "uncertaintie then so noble and worthy a knighte "as Syr Francis Walsingham, would have woon "me from it." Reynolds to Barfoote, 1594, in Fulm. IX. 192.]

[2] [If the letter be Hooker's, this seems to imply that it was written before he had any certainty of vacating the Temple by his presentation to Boscomb, which took place July 17, 1591. Broughton was in Germany, 1590, but in 1591 he was in England again: probably coming over that he might make something of the controversy with Reynolds. Lightfoot, Preface to Broughton's Works.]

[3] [Henry Parry, scholar of C. C. C. 1576, Nov. 13, (three years junior to Hooker;) Chaplain to the Queen, at the time of her death; Bishop of Worcester, 1610. Wood, A. O. II. 192.]

[4] ["Fuit de donis et muneribus, nequis ea ob "causam orandam caperet." Tac. Ann. XI. 5. It seems as if Reynolds had desired him to procure Cajetan's works, and he had sent Reynolds the book for a present. The mention of "two "whole pence," and the beginning of the other letter, confirm this conjecture.]

[5] ["The second part of a Christian Directory "or Exercise guiding men to Eternal Salvation." London, 1591, 12mo. See A. O. II. 70.]

[6] ["... my loving brother D. "Chaloner"—Reynolds to the Countess of W. (Warwick? See Nichols's Progresses of Q. E. II. A. D. 1596, p. 1.) in Fulm. IX. 183. See also fol. 186.]

[7] ["H. Broughton, ut vid." Fulman. For an account of him see Wordsworth, Eccl. Biog. IV. 150. Strype, Whitg. II. 113—118, An. IV. 105. Whitg. II. 220—226, 320—326, 355—361, III. 360, 367. II. 388, 389, 390, 406—415, 527. Broughton resembled Jordanus Brunus in his wild and roving tendencies, but not in his atheism. The name of the latter was familiar at that time in England, where he had resided from 1583 to

an earnest suter to the stationers for their hall to read his Concent in [8]. The report goeth here that he hath fullie satisfied you both by speech and letters and that you have now assented unto him [9]. What the question is I doe not know. But the report I accompt as true as the like concerning his confounding of the Jewes at Francford and their desyre to have had him read Hebrue unto them, which notwithstanding I assure you he seemeth a little himself contented to nourish by some wordes of his own in this pamphlet [10]. The commentaries which he mentioneth I can assure you to be meere emptie names. For except those which are in the Venice Bibles [11], let any man in Christendome show me so manie as he speaketh of upon the book of Esther, and I dare make myself his bondman. And even for those in Bomberg edition of the Bible, I know not whether Ezra and Solomo be joygned there or no in any of those editions which are his. But that you shall quicklie see. I will know what that Sepher Juchasim is, and when I have known I will send you word [12]. I would spend one twentie poundes to find a man so skilfull in those writings as he would seeme. He sometime nameth Sephur Zohar as roundlie [13] as if the book were familiar unto him. And yeat the book known to be such as scarce one Jew amongst thousandes doth by long studie attain tolerablie to understand. In summe if needes you must have adversaries I wish you had them which are more judicious and lesse vaine than this man. But for this time enough unlesse my matter were of more importance. To Mr. Provost [14] my hartie commendations. Ours heer salute you. Have care of your health which I wish the Lord to continue.

Yo[rs] ever,

R. H.

To the worshipfull my verie good frend Mr. D Rainoldes at Queenes college in Oxford.

S. You doe amisse to make a law to take place in things past. It must stand for hereafter and I am verie well content it shall. Of your two jewels the one, but whether the better or no I know not, as it is you shall receyve heere again inclosed. I hope notwithstanding the man's modestie in detracting from himself still in the Latin tonge, that yeat he hath more knowledg that waie than in the Greek, which by this epistle [15] doth seeme no otherwise to flow from him nor to proceede lesse naturallie then what? you know the old comparison of hony out of a stockfish. And therefore there is no need he should κήδεσθαι καλλιεπείας εὐλίξιος ὡραι-

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1586, and had dedicated a book to Sir Philip Sidney. Biog. Univ.]

[8] [" About 1584 or 1585, he set forth, and dedicated to the Queen, 'A Concent of Scripture' . . . . " But Dr. Reynolds, about the year 1589, in his "public readings . . . disputed against it . . . Brough- " ton wrote several tracts in vindication of his own " assertion. So that it became at last a general " discourse, . . . not only in that University, but in " London and other parts of the nation . . . At " length both of them had a meeting . . . At last " in 1591, he by a letter to the Archbishop and the " Bishop of London, (Aylmer,) dated London, " Nov. 4, acquainted them with the case." Strype, Whitg. II. 113, 114. " This opposition of his " Concent, as also the entreaty of divers friends, " put him on to read in private for the explication " of it: and he had auditors to the number of 80, " 90, or 100, ... and they met weekly. He " first read in Paul's, at the east end of the " church . . . . . then in a large chamber in " Cheapside; in Marklane, and some other pla- " ces." Lightfoot's Pref. to Broughton's Works, fol. 1662.]

[9] [" Oxford knoweth how I forced D. R. to " agree with me for the limits of Daniel's sevens." Broughton, Works, 619.]

[10] [" With one R. Elias, in Frankfort synagogue, " 1589, I drew all the law to Christ, so that he " denied nothing—but still desired to hear the " matter enlarged." A Require of Consent. Works, 617. This, however, appears to be of later date than the pamphlet referred to by R. H.]

[11] [Namely, Bomberg's: of which there were at that time four editions. See Horne's Introd. II. 119.]

[12] [" The Sepher Juchasim, of which R. H. pro- " fesses his ignorance, was not printed until 1566, " and that at Constantinople. The author lived " at the end of the 15th century."]

[13] [" The Book Zohar from its conciseness as " well as from its cabalistic language, is one of " great difficulty. Professor Tholuck has trans- " lated selections from it: which work being men- " tioned to an eminent Jewish convert, he express- " ed his conviction that none but a child of Israel " could thoroughly understand it. It is a book " of extreme value on account of its Christian in- " terpretation of passages in the Old Testament, " and its approach to Christian doctrines. So " that although the author was manifestly a Jew, " one can hardly help suspecting, that in his de- " scriptions of the office and character of the Mes- " sias, who was to come, he owed something to " his knowledge of Him who was come. The " author lived probably about the 2d century. " The quotations of Broughton out of this book " which I have observed are very uninteresting, " and imply any thing but a real knowledge of its " character."

[14] [H. Robinson, chaplain to Abp. Grindal, was Provost of Queen's coll. from 1581 to 1599: Bp. of Carlisle, 1598. In a letter before quoted, Broughton tells Whitgift and Aylmer, that " he " had written to Dr. Robinson, Provost of Queen's " college, certain theses which might end the " cause:" adding divers complaints of Reynolds Strype, Whitg. II. 114.]

[15] [" Broughton composed an oration in Greek, " which he sent to Whitgift concerning our Sa- " viour's descent into hell." Strype, Whitg. II. 320. In p. 390, he " reproaches Whitgift for his " *Latin Studies*," insinuating that he knew no Greek.]

σκόρου. A phrase than which I dare saie Heliodorus[16] hath not a sleeker and a trickshier[17] one. But were it not trow you a great deal better to have fewer tongues and a little more wisdome to guide them? For any thing I can discern by this small bit of write his judgment in things and wordes are much about one pitch. And therefore in my mind you have done very well in resolving not to troble yourself much with him[18]. Your lectures I should be marvelous glad to see published. But I fear least you be not able to perfect them still as you read. And if not then perhaps your revising them will be more than another reading, and by that meanes time will beguile both your purpose and other men's hope. Well, as God will, whome I beseech to direct and strengthen you for the best. We are now in the countrie. Yeat if there be ought which you would have to be done in London, there cometh everie daie lightlie some or other from thence. Mr. Parrye's suddain departure out of London caused your business to be forgotten as I think. My self could not at that time goe to D. Turner, when I receyved your letter, and therefore I sent Benjamin unto him, and by his appointment thapothecarie hath delivered for you that which I hope is come ere this to your own handes. If he have not written unto you himself, then upon receipt of your next letter I will goe unto him or send, that he may be discharged, and you shall have word thereof. If my self had bene within when it was delivered, I had done it then. I left word it should be done. But they to whome I gave charge thereof were not in the waie or els their mindfulnes was not out of the waie[19]. My hartie commendations to Mr. Provost. Ours all unto your self. The Lord preserve blesse and keepe you. Enfield the vth of September

Yors ever,
R. H.

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[16] ["Id confirmas Heliodori, gravis scilicet au-
"thoris judicio." Reynolds in a letter to Albericus Gentilis, subjoined to the "Overthrow of "Stage Plays," p. 166. Oxford, 1629.]

[17] ["My tricksy spirit."

Tempest, V. 1.

"I do know
"A many fools . . . . . that for
"A tricksy word
"Defy the matter."

Merch. of Venice, III. 5.]

[18] [Mr. Pusey, to whom the editor is indebted for notes 12 and 13, supr. writes on the subject of these letters, as follows: "I cannot "find any tract of Broughton's, which corresponds better to the references, than the Require "of Consent: although I do not see in this the "reference to the Sepher Juchasim, nor that to the "Commentaries on Esther. Without however "verifying the minuter points, one can see that R. "H. knew his subject, and that, probably, much "better than Broughton, who made so much dis-"play of it. From H.'s way of speaking, it seems "to have been notorious at the time, that Brough-"ton's confounding the Jews at Frankfort was a "pure fiction of his own vanity. He may have "challenged some Jews there to dispute, but there "seems to me internal evidence enough in this "tract alone to shew that the dispute (if held at "all) was not such as he has thought fit to pub-"lish. It appears a mere trick, to throw odium on "his antagonists, by representing a Jew as object-"ing to Christianity, just those points, which he "(B.) was urging against them. For the most "part too they are such points as no Jew would "urge by way of objection: and he must have "been a most complaisant antagonist, who se-"lected for debate against Broughton, the very "thesis on which B. had been practising all his "life, merely as it were to give him occasion of "triumphantly producing his favourite explana-"tions.

"On the whole he seems to have spoiled some "learning by an inordinate quantity of vanity, "which weakened his judgment and rendered "him unfit for important works: and his exclu-"sion from them, e. g. from the translation of the "Bible, soured his temper. The importance "which he attributes to some of the points in "which he differs from the translators, appears "almost like a partial insanity. At all times he "betrays a weak judgment, and could not have "been more happily characterized than in R. H.'s "words: 'pity he had not fewer tongues,' &c.

"With regard to the only point of importance "in the question between Broughton and his op-"ponents, the seventy weeks of Daniel, he seems "to have been as widely wrong as Dr. Reynolds: "for he bent the chronology to his own views, "and having assumed that the limits of the se-"venty weeks were the time of the vision and "the death of Christ, he shortened heathen chro-"nology to make it agree with his view.

"Lively, of whom Broughton speaks so lightly, "but whom Pococke never mentions but with "great respect, was probably, next to Pococke, "the greatest of our Hebraists."]

[19] [Meaning, perhaps, (if the negative be not, as seems likely, from a slip of the pen,) that their "mindfulness" was "nothing extraordinary, "nothing to wonder at."]

NUMBER IV.

A List, in order of time, of Letters preserved by Mr. Fulman, MSS. t. ix. relating to the disputes in C. C. C. which led to Hooker's temporary expulsion, A. D. 1580.

1. Reynolds to the Bishop of Winton (Horn) complaining of the appointment of John Spenser, B. A. then only nineteen, and of the county of Suffolk, (which had no place on the foundation,) to be Greek lecturer. 3 July, 1578, (fol. 188.)

2. Appeal to the same, by several fellows

of C. C. C. (as appears,) Hooker probably being one. 16 July. (fol. 188, 9.)

3. Reasons confirming the appeal. 26 July. (fol. 189, 190.)

4. Fragment of a letter on the same subject apparently from Reynolds to Sir F. Walsingham, Aug. 2. (fol. 191.)

5. (If there be no error in the date) Memorial "from D. Bickley, (Warden of Mer-"ton,) D. Floide," (probably Griffith Lloyd, then Principal of Jesus,) "D. Bush, D. Dunne, "the President of St. John's, the Principal "of Brodegates, and to the number of a "fourescore Masters of Art, to the Earl of "Warwick," (Leicester's brother,) remonstrating against the appointment of Barfoote to succeed Cole in the headship of C. C. C. Nov. 26, probably 1579. (fol. 182.)

6. Reynolds to Walsingham, inclosing part of a letter to the Earl of Warwick, in which he explains his reasons for opposing the proposed nomination of Barfoote. 9 March, $15\frac{79}{80}$. (fol. 178, 179.)

7. Dr. Humfrey, Dr. James, and others, to the Earl of Leicester, recommending Reynolds in case of a vacancy at C. C. C. probably 15 March, $15\frac{79}{80}$. (fol. 170.)

8. The same, to Walsingham, in support of the above. Same date. (fol. 171.)

9. Walsingham and Wilson, in reply to the above, signifying that Leicester had withdrawn his support promised to Barfoote, and that the fellows might "use their "liberty" in electing Reynolds. 20 March $15\frac{79}{80}$. (fol. 171.)

10. Reynolds to Walsingham, acknowledging the above, and requesting him to use his influence with the Earl of Warwick, not to press the election of Barfoote. 6 Apr. 1580. (fol. 172.)

11. Walsingham and Wilson to Dr. Cole, President of C. C. C. requesting him to time his resignation so as to insure, if possible, Reynolds for his successor. 9 Apr. 1580. (fol. 172.)

12. Reynolds to Walsingham, thanking him for the above, and informing him that Cole is willing to continue president, for which purpose he solicits Walsingham's aid. May 11, 1580. (fol. 173.)

13. Reynolds to Walsingham, complaining of his expulsion. Oct. 9, probably 1580. (fol. 174.) See note 40, on the Life of Hooker.

14. Reynolds to Knollis, the same date. See Life, p. 26. (fol. 180.)

15. Reynolds to Wilson, the same date, and to the same effect; adding a petition, that the Lord Treasurer might be prevailed on to intercede with the visitor for the expelled fellows. (fol. 180.)

16. Reynolds to Walsingham, stating that he had been advised by the Bishop of Winchester to endeavour to conciliate the Earl of Warwick; and requesting his good offices thereto. In this letter he speaks very strongly against Barfoote's character and conduct, and intimates that he was still agitating to obtain the headship. 22 Oct. 1580. (fol. 174.)

17. The same to the same; thanking him for having been instrumental in disposing the Earl of Warwick to receive him kindly, and acquiescing in his advice, that he should resign all thoughts of the headship: adding however expressions of extreme anxiety lest Barfoote should obtain it. Oxford, Nov. 2, probably 1580. (fol. 175.)

18. Reynolds to Secretary Wilson, (as appears,) apologizing for not having called to thank him, before he left London; expressing satisfaction at his own, and his friends' return, but alarm as to the future prospects of the college. No date.

[It may be questioned whether No. 5, (the Oxford Memorial to Lord Warwick,) ought not to come in here, rather than in the preceding year, to which Mr. Fulman, though doubtingly, assigns it. If it be rightly placed here, one may conjecture, that it prevailed with Lord Warwick to withdraw his recommendation, and that the matter was then finally compromised, as Reynolds before wished, (see Letter 12,) by Cole's retaining the presidentship.]

NUMBER V.

[1] *Mr. Richard Hooker to the Lord Treasurer, when he sent him the written copy of his Ecclesiastical Polity.*

My duty in most humble maner remembered. So it is, my good Lord, that manitimes affection causeth those things to be don, which would rather be forborn, if men were wholly guided by judgment. Albeit, therefore, I must needs in reason condemne myself of over-great boldness, for thus presuming to offer to your Lordship's view my poor and slender labours: yet, because that which moves me so to do, is a dutiful affection some way to manifest itself, and glad to take this present occasion, for want of other more worthy your Lordship's acceptation: I am in that behalf not out of hope, your Lordship's wisdom will the easier pardon my fault, the rather, because my self am persuaded, that my faultiness had been greater, if these writings concerning the nobler part of those laws under which we live, should not have craved with the first

MSS Burghlean.

[1] [From Strype, Life of Whitgift, III. 299.]

your Lordship's favourable approbation. Whose painful care to uphold al laws, and especially the ecclesiastical, hath by the space of so many years so apparently shewed it self: that if we, who enjoy the benefit thereof, did dissemble it, they whose malice doth most envy our good herein, would convince our unthankfulness. Wherefore submitting both myself and these my simple doings unto your Lordship's most wise judgment, I here humbly take my leave. London, the xiiith of March, 1592.

Your Lordships most willingly at commandment,

RICHARD HOOKER [2].

[2] [In the Appendix to the Life of Whitgift, Book I. No. xvii., is a similar letter to Burghley from Whitgift, sent with the Defence of the Answer to the Admonition.]

OF THE

LAWS OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

EIGHT BOOKS.

TO THE READER[1].

THIS unhappy controversy, about the received ceremonies and discipline of the Church of England, which hath so long time withdrawn so many of her ministers from their principal work, and employed their studies in contentious oppositions; hath by the unnatural growth and dangerous fruits thereof, made known to the world, that it never received blessing from the Father of peace. For whose experience doth not find, what confusion of order, and breach of the sacred bond of love, hath sprung from this dissension; how it hath rent the body of the church into divers parts, and divided her people into divers sects; how it hath taught the sheep to despise their pastors, and alienated the pastors from the love of their flocks; how it hath strengthened the irreligious in their impieties, and hath raised the hopes of the sacrilegious devourers of the remains of Christ's patrimony; and given way to the common adversary of God's truth, and our prosperity, to grow great in our land without resistance? who seeth not how it hath distracted the minds of the multitude, and shaken their faith, and scandalized their weakness, and hath generally killed the very heart of true piety, and religious devotion, by changing our zeal towards Christ's glory, into the fire of envy and malice, and heart-burning, and zeal to every man's private cause? This is the sum of all the gains which the tedious contentions of so many years have brought in, by the ruin of Christ's kingdom, the increase of Satan's, partly in superstition and partly in impiety. So much better were it in these our dwellings of peace, to endure any inconvenience whatsoever in the outward frame, than in desire of alteration, thus to set the whole house on fire. Which moved the religious heart of this learned writer, in zeal of God's truth, and in compassion to his church, the mother of us all, which gave us both the first breath of spiritual life, and from her breasts hath fed us unto this whatsoever measure of growth we have in Christ, to stand up and take upon him a general defence both of herself, and of her established laws; and by force of demonstration, so far as the nature of the present matter could bear, to make known to the world and these oppugners of her, that all those bitter accusations laid to her charge, are not the faults of her laws and orders, but either their own mistakes in the misunderstanding, or the abuses of men in the ill execution of them. A work subject to manifold reprehensions and oppositions, and not suitable to his soft and mild disposition, desirous of a quiet, private life, wherein he might bring forth the fruits of peace in peace. But the love of God and of his country, whose greatest danger grew from this division, made his heart hot within him, and at length the fire kindled, and amongst many other most reverend and learned men, he also presumed to speak with his pen. And the rather, because he saw that none of these ordinary objections of partialities could elevate the authority of his writing, who always affected a private state, and neither enjoyed, nor expected any the least dignity in our church. What admirable height of learning and depth of judgment dwelled within the lowly mind of this true humble man, great in all wise men's eyes, except his own; with what gravity and majesty of speech his tongue and pen uttered heavenly mysteries, whose eyes in the humility of his heart were always cast down to the ground; how all things that proceeded from him were breathed, as from the spirit of love, as if he like the bird of the Holy Ghost, the dove; had wanted gall, let them that knew him not in his person, judge by these living images of his soul, his writings. For out of these, even those who otherwise agree not with him in opinion, do afford him the testimony of a mild and a loving spirit: and of his learning, what greater proof can we have than this, that his writings are most admired by those who themselves do most excel in judicious learning, and by them the more often they are read, the more highly they are extolled and desired? which is the cause of this fourth edition of his former books, and that without any addition or diminution whatsoever. For who will put a pencil to such a work, from which such a workman hath taken his? There is a purpose of setting forth the three last books also, their father's *Posthumi*. For as in the great de-

[1] [Prefixed to the first five Books, as published in 1604, by Dr. John Spenser. This is printed from that edition.]

clining of his body, spent out with study, it was his ordinary petition to Almighty God, that if he might live to see the finishing of these books, then, *Lord, let thy servant depart in peace*, (to use his own words,) so it pleased God to grant him his desire. For he lived till he saw them perfected; and though like Rachel he died as it were in the travail of them, and hastened death upon himself, by hastening to give them life: yet he held out to behold with his eyes, these *partus ingenii*, these *Benjamins*, sons of his right hand, though to him they were *Benonies*, sons of pain and sorrow. But some evil disposed minds, whether of malice, or covetousness, or wicked blind zeal, it is uncertain, as if they had been Egyptian midwives, as soon as they were born, and their father dead, smothered them, and by conveying away the perfect copies, left unto us nothing but certain old unperfect and mangled draughts, dismembered into pieces, and scattered like Medea's Absyrtus, no favour, no grace, not the shadows of themselves almost remaining in them. Had the father lived to see them brought forth thus defaced, he might rightfully have named them *Benonies*, the sons of sorrow.

But seeing the importunities of many great and worthy persons will not suffer them quietly to die and to be buried, it is intended that they shall see them as they are. The learned and judicious eye will yet perhaps delight itself in beholding the goodly lineaments of their well set bodies, and in finding out some shadows and resemblances of their father's face. God grant that as they were with their brethren dedicated to the church for messengers of peace, so in the strength of that little breath of life that remaineth in them, they may prosper in their work; and by satisfying the doubts of such as are willing to learn, may help to give an end to the calamities of these our civil wars.

J. S.

A

PREFACE

TO THEM THAT SEEK (AS THEY TERM IT)

THE REFORMATION OF THE LAWS

AND

ORDERS ECCLESIASTICAL

IN THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

THOUGH for no other cause, yet for this; that posterity may know we have not loosely through silence permitted things to pass away as in a dream, there shall be for men's information extant thus much concerning the present state of the Church of God established amongst us, and their careful endeavour which would have upheld the same[1]. At your hands, beloved in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, (for in him the love which we bear unto all that would but seem to be born of him, it is not the sea of your gall and bitterness that shall ever drown,) I have no great cause to look for other than the selfsame portion and lot, which your manner hath been hitherto to lay on them that concur not in opinion and sentence with you[2]. But our hope is, that the God of peace shall (notwithstanding man's nature too impatient of contumelious malediction) enable us quietly and even gladly to suffer all things, for that work sake which we covet to perform.

The cause and occasion of handling these things, and what might be wished in them, for whose sakes so much pains is taken.

[2.] The wonderful zeal and fervour wherewith ye have withstood the received orders of this church, was the first thing which caused me to enter into consideration, whether (as all your published books and writings peremptorily maintain) every Christian man, fearing God, stand bound to join with you for the furtherance of that which ye term *the Lord's Discipline*. Wherein I must plainly confess unto you, that be-

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[1] [The same foreboding tone of thought is apparent in b. v. 79, 16.]

[2] [Christ. Letter, &c. p. 4. "May wee not "trulie say, that under the shewe of inveighing "against Puritanes, the chiefest pointes of popish "blasphemie are many times and in many places "by divers men not obscurelie broached, both in "sermons and in writing .... and verelie such a "thing offered itselfe unto our eyes, in reading "your bookes, and we had not skill howe to "judge otherwise of the handling of your penne "and of the scope of your matter. Notwithstanding because rash judgment may prejudice honest travailes, and faithfull labourers may have "their unadvised slippes, and we could not tell "how zeale, love, or glorie, might carie a man of "such towardlie and excellent giftes, in the first "shewing of himselfe to the worlde; or that an "earnest striving and bending yourselfe in heate "of disputation against the one side, might dazell "your eyes, and draw your hand at unawares to "farre and too favourable to the other side; "or else peradventure we might mistake your "meaning, and so wee should doe you wrong "against our willes. We thought it therefore our "parte, in regarde of our dutie to the Church, and "most agreeing to charitie, both for your credit "and our ease, in all Christian love to intreat you, "that as you tender the good estate of Christe's "Church among us, and of thousands converted "to the gospel, you would in like publike manner "(but plainly and directlie) show unto us and all "English protestants your owne true meaning, "and how your wordes in divers thinges doe "agree with the doctrine established among us." On which Hooker's note is, "That because they "are loth to prejudice honest travailes by rash "judgment and it might be they mistooke my "meaning, they thought it fittest in charity, in "great care of my credit, and in all Christian love, "to set abroad their suspitions, and to give notise "of alarm throughout hir majestie's dominions, "till such time as my mind were explained unto "them for satisfaction in their doubtes, wherby "they might be the better furnished to satisfy "others in my behalf."]

fore I examined your sundry declarations in that behalf, it could not settle in my head to think, but that undoubtedly such numbers of otherwise right well affected and most religiously inclined minds had some marvellous reasonable inducements, which led them with so great earnestness that way. But when once, as near as my slender ability would serve, I had with travail and care performed that part of the Apostle's advice and counsel in such cases, whereby he willeth to "try all things[3]," and was come at the length so far, that there remained only the other clause to be satisfied, wherein he concludeth that "what "good is must be held;" there was in my poor understanding no remedy, but to set down this as my final resolute persuasion: "Surely the present form of church-govern- "ment which the laws of this land have "established is such, as no law of God nor "reason of man hath hitherto been alleg- "ed of force sufficient to prove they do ill, "who to the uttermost of their power with- "stand the alteration thereof." Contrariwise, "The other, which instead of it we "are required to accept, is only by error and "misconceit named the ordinance of Jesus "Christ, no one proof as yet brought forth "whereby it may clearly appear to be so "in very deed."

[3.] The explication of which two things I have here thought good to offer into your own hands, heartily beseeching you even by the meekness of Jesus Christ, whom I trust ye love; that, as ye tender the peace and quietness of this church, if there be in you that gracious humility which hath ever been the crown and glory of a Christianly-disposed mind, if your own souls, hearts, and consciences (the sound integrity whereof can but hardly stand with the refusal of truth in personal respects) be, as I doubt not but they are, things most dear and precious unto you: "let not the faith which ye "have in our Lord Jesus Christ" be blemished "with partialities[4];" regard not who it is which speaketh, but weigh only what is spoken. Think not that ye read the words of one who bendeth himself as an adversary against the truth which ye have already embraced; but the words of one who desireth even to embrace together with you the selfsame truth, if it be the truth; and for that cause (for no other, God he knoweth) hath undertaken the burdensome labour of this painful kind of conference. For the plainer access whereunto, let it be lawful for me to rip up to the very bottom, how and by whom your discipline was planted, at such time as this age we live in began to make first trial thereof.

II. [5]A founder it had, whom, for mine own part, I think incomparably the wisest man that ever the French church did enjoy, since the hour it enjoyed him. His bringing up was in the study of the civil law. Divine knowledge he gathered, not by hearing or reading so much, as by teaching others. For, though thousands were debtors to him, as touching knowlege in that kind; yet he to none but only to God, the author of that most blessed fountain, the Book of Life, and of the admirable dexterity of wit, together with the helps of other learning which were his guides: till being occasioned to leave France, he fell at the length upon Geneva; which city the bishop and clergy thereof had a little before (as some do affirm) forsaken[6], being of likelihood frighted with the people's sudden attempt for abolishment of Popish religion: the event of which enterprise they thought it not safe for themselves to wait for in that place. At the coming of Calvin thither[7], the form of their civil regiment was popular, as it continueth at this day: neither king, nor duke, nor nobleman of any authority or power over them, but officers chosen by the people yearly out of themselves, to order all things with public consent. For spiritual government, they had no laws at all agreed upon, but did what the pastors of their souls by persuasion could win them unto. Calvin, being admitted one of their preachers, and a divinity reader amongst them, considered how dangerous it was that the whole estate of that church should hang still on so slender a thread, as the liking of an ignorant multitude is, if it have power to change whatsoever itself listeth. Wherefore taking unto him two of the other ministers[8] for more countenance of the action, (albeit the rest were all against it,) they moved, and in the end persuaded[9] with much ado, the people to

The first establishment of new discipline by Mr. Calvin's industry in the Church of Geneva; and the beginning of strife about it amongst ourselves.

A. D. 1536.

[3] [1 Thess. v. 21.]

[4] James ii. 1.

[5] [Compare the second chapter of Abp. Bancroft's Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline: in which a similar sketch is given of Calvin's proceedings at Geneva.]

[6] [Pierre de la Baume, of a noble family in France, was the last bishop acknowledged in Geneva. "Il partit à la mi-Juillet [1533] pour se "ranger au party de Savoye contre la Ville." Besides the agitation occasioned by the new opinions, he was at the time engaged in a dispute with the Syndics regarding the judicial prerogative. Spon, Hist. de Genève, I. 344. Aug. 27, 1535, Protestantism was established by ordinance of the Syndics. ibid. p. 366.]

[7] [Aug. 1536. He was on his way to Basle or Strasburgh, but went round by Geneva on account of the war, and was persuaded by Farel to remain. Spon, II. p. 14.]

[8] [Farel and Couraut. Beza, Vit. Calv. prefixed to his works. Gen. 1617: from which most of these particulars are taken.]

[9] [20 July, 1537.]

bind themselves by solemn oath, first never to admit the Papacy amongst them again; and secondly, to live in obedience unto such orders concerning the exercise of their religion, and the form of their ecclesiastical government, as those their true and faithful ministers of God's word had agreeably to scripture set down for that end and purpose.

[2.] When these things began to be put in ure, the people also (what causes moving them thereunto, themselves best know) began to repent them of that they had done, and irefully to champ upon the bit they had taken into their mouths; the rather, for that they grew by means of this innovation into dislike with some churches near about them, the benefit of whose good friendship their state could not well lack [10].

It was the manner of those times (whether through men's desire to enjoy alone the glory of their own enterprizes, or else because the quickness of their occasions required present dispatch; so it was,) that every particular church did that within itself, which some few of their own thought good, by whom the rest were all directed. Such number of churches then being, though free within themselves, yet small, common conference beforehand might have eased them of much after trouble [11]. But a greater inconvenience it bred, that every later endeavoured to be certain degrees more removed from conformity with the church of Rome, than the rest before had been [12]: whereupon grew marvellous great dissimilitudes, and by reason thereof, jealousies, heart-burnings, jars and discords amongst them. Which, notwithstanding, might have easily been prevented, if the orders, which each church did think fit and convenient for itself, had not so peremptorily been established under that high commanding form, which tendered them unto the people, as things everlastingly required by the law of that Lord of lords, against whose statutes there is no exception to be taken. For by this mean it came to pass, that one church could not but accuse and condemn another of disobedience to the will of Christ, in those things where manifest difference was between them: whereas the selfsame orders allowed, but yet established in more wary and suspense manner, as being to stand in force till God should give the opportunity of some general conference what might be best for every of them afterwards to do; this I say had both prevented all occasion of just dislike which others might take, and reserved a greater liberty unto the authors themselves of entering into farther consultation afterwards. Which though never so necessary they could not easily now admit, without some fear of derogation from their credit: and therefore that which once they had done, they became for ever after resolute to maintain.

Calvin therefore and the other two his associates, stiffly refusing to administer the holy Communion to such as would not quietly, without contradiction and murmur, submit themselves unto the orders which their solemn oath had bound them to obey, were in that quarrel banished the town [13]. A. D. 1538.

[3.] A few years after [14] (such was the levity of that people) the places of one or two of their ministers being fallen void, they were not before so willing to be rid of their learned pastor, as now importunate to obtain him again from them who had given him entertainment, and which were loath to part with him, had not unresistable earnestness been used. One of the town ministers, that saw in what manner the people were bent for the revocation of Calvin, gave him notice of their affection in this sort [15]. "The senate of two hundred being assem-

[10] ["Sous pretexte de conserver les libertez de 'la ville, et de ce qu'ils n'avoient pas voulu se 'conformer à l'usage de Berne pour la Communion, ils firent prononcer un arret au Conseil," &c. Spon. II. 18.]

[11] [Ch. Letter, p. 39. "You blame them, that in that troublesome time they wanted common conference." Hooker, MS. note. "No man blamed for those defects, which necessity casteth upon him."]

[12] [Chr. Letter, p. 43. "The Church of Rome favourablie admitted to be of the house of God; Calvin with the reformed Churches full of faults, and *most of all they which endevoured to be most removed from conformitie with the Church of Rome*."
Hooker, MS. note. "True. For are not your Anabaptists, Familists, Libertines, Arrians, and other like extreme reformers of popery grown by that very meanes hatefull to the whole world? Are not their heresies a thousand times more execrable and hateful than popery?
"Is it then a matter heinous to looke awry upon any man which hath been earnest against the Pope? As earnest men that way as M. Calvin are nothing spared by you and yours in any such conflict. You honour Calvin as the father of discipline: this is the boil that will not be touched."]

[13] [MS. note on Chr. Letter, p 39. "De Cal-"vino vere quod Tullius de Q. Metel. 'De civi-"tate decedere maluit quam de sententia.' Orat. "vol. III. p. 151. Oratione pro Balbo." c. 5.]

[14] [1541, 1 May, Spon. II. 25.]

[15] Epist. Cal. 24, [p. 27, ed. Gen. 1617. "In "crastinum Ducentorum congregatur concilium, "et omnes petunt Calvinum: congregatur et gen-"erale sequenti die, itidem clamant omnes, Cal-"vinum probum et doctum virum Christi minis-"trum volumus. Quod cum intellexissem, non "potui non laudare Deum, aliterque [neque "aliter?] judicare, quam quod a Domino esset "factum istud, et esset mirabile in oculis nostris: "quodque lapidem quem reprobarant ædificantes "in caput fieret anguli." Bernard to Calvin. 6 "Feb. 1541]

"bled, they all crave Calvin. The next "day a general convocation; they cry in "like sort again all, We will have Calvin, "that good and learned man, Christ's min- "ister. This," saith he, "when I under- "stood, I could not choose but praise God, "nor was I able to judge otherwise than "that 'this was the Lord's doing, and that "it was marvellous in our eyes,' and that "'the stone which the builders refused, was "now made the head of the corner[16].'" The other two[17] whom they had thrown out, (together with Calvin,) they were content should enjoy their exile. Many causes might lead them to be more desirous of him. First, his yielding unto them in one thing might happily put them in hope, that time would breed the like easiness of condescending further unto them. For in his absence he had persuaded them, with whom he was able to prevail, that albeit himself did better like of common bread to be used in the Eucharist, yet the other they rather should accept, than cause any trouble in the Church about it[18]. Again, they saw that the name of Calvin waxed every day greater abroad[19], and that together with his fame, their infamy was spread, which had so rashly and childlessly ejected him. Besides, it was not unlikely but that his credit in the world might many ways stand the poor town in great stead: as the truth is, their minister's foreign estimation hitherto hath been the best stake in their hedge. But whatsoever secret respects were likely to move them; for contenting of their minds Calvin returned (as it had been another Tully) to his old home.

Sept. 13.

[4.] He ripely considered how gross a thing it were for men of his quality, wise and grave men, to live with such a multitude, and to be tenants at will under them, as their ministers, both himself and others, had been. For the remedy of which inconvenience, he gave them plainly to understand, that if he did become their teacher again, they must be content to admit a complete form of discipline, which both they and also their pastors should now be solemnly sworn to observe for ever after. Of which discipline the main and principal parts were these: A standing ecclesiastical court to be established; perpetual judges in that court to be their ministers; others of the people to be annually chosen (twice so many in number as they) to be judges together with them in the same court: these two sorts to have the care of all men's manners, power of determining all kind of ecclesiastical causes, and authority to convent, to control, to punish, as far as with excommunication, whomsoever they should think worthy, none either small or great excepted.

This device I see not how the wisest at that time living could have bettered, if we duly consider what the present estate of Geneva did then require. For their bishop and his clergy being (as it is said) departed from them by moonlight, or howsoever, being departed; to choose in his room any other bishop, had been a thing altogether impossible. And for their ministers to seek that themselves alone might have coercive power over the whole church, would perhaps have been hardly construed at that time. But when so frank an offer was made that for every one minister there should be two of the people to sit and give voice in the ecclesiastical consistory, what inconvenience could they easily find which themselves might not be able always to remedy?

Howbeit (as evermore the simpler sort, are even when they see no apparent cause, jealous notwithstanding over the secret intents and purposes of wiser men) this proposition of his did somewhat trouble them. Of the ministers themselves which had stayed behind in the city when Calvin was gone, some, upon knowledge of the people's earnest intent to recall him to his place again, had beforehand written their letters of submission, and assured him of their allegiance for ever after, if it should like him to hearken unto that public suit. But yet misdoubting what might happen, if this discipline did go forward; they objected against it the example of other reformed churches living quietly and orderly without it. Some of chiefest place and countenance amongst the laity professed with greater stomach their judgments, that such a discipline was little better than Popish tyranny disguised and tendered unto them under a new form[20]. This sort, it may be[21], had some fear, that

[16] Luke xx. 17. [Ps. cxviii. 22, 23.]

[17] [There seems to be a slight oversight here. Farel and Couraut (not Viret) were the two ejected with Calvin in 1538. Couraut died the same year. (Calv. Ep. p. 10.) Viret was before that time settled at Lausanne, but returned to Geneva for a time to assist Calvin in the new settlement, 1541; as did Farel from Neufchatel, where he had obtained an appointment. Bayle, art. Viret. Spon. II. 19, 25.]

[18] ["Calvinus bonos nonnullos ista mutatione "usque adeo offensos, ut etiam a cœna sibi absti- "nendum putarent, serio monuit, ne ob istud ἀδιάφορον litem moverent." Beza. Vit. Calv.]

[19] [By his theological lectures at Strasburgh; his settlement of the church there; his defence of the church itself of Geneva against Cardinal Sadolet; his Institutes, Commentary on the Romans, and Book on the Lord's Supper.]

[20] [Capito, of Basle, writes thus to Farel in Calvin's Epist. p. 6. "Auditis, 'Tyranni esse volu- "istis in liberam ecclesiam, voluistis novum Pon- "tificatum revocare.' Beza: Non deerant .... qui "Papisticam tyrannidem sic revocari clamita- "rent."]

[21] [Chr. Letter, p. 39. "After speaking of his "restoring and recstablishing of discipline, you

the filling up of the seats in the consistory with so great a number of laymen was but to please the minds of the people, to the end they might think their own sway somewhat; but when things came to trial of practice, their pastor's learning would be at all times of force to over-persuade simple men, who knowing the time of their own presidentship to be but short would always stand in fear of their ministers' perpetual authority: and among the ministers themselves, one being so far in estimation above the rest, the voices of the rest were likely to be given for the most part respectively, with a kind of secret dependency and awe: so that in show a marvellous indifferently composed senate ecclesiastical was to govern, but in effect one only man should, as the spirit and soul of the residue, do all in all [22]. But what did these vain surmises boot? Brought they were now to so straight an issue, that of two things they must choose one: namely, whether they would to their endless disgrace, with ridiculous lightness dismiss him whose restitution they had in so impotent manner desired; or else condescend unto that demand, wherein he was resolute either to have it, or to leave them. They thought it better to be somewhat hardly yoked at home, than for ever abroad discredited. Wherefore in the end those orders were on all sides assented unto: with no less alacrity of mind than cities unable to hold out longer are wont to shew, when they take conditions such as it liketh him to offer them which hath them in the narrow straits of advantage. [Nov. 20.]

[5.] Not many years were over-passed, before these twice-sworn men adventured

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" have in one place, 'Many things might lead " them (to be more desirous of him.') And in " another place, 'he rightelie considered,' &c. " 'This devise I see not howe the wisest,' &c. " Therefore we pray you to tell us how such 'might " lead' and 'may bees,' such entring into his " thought, and crosse commending that for his " divise which he simply propounded as out of the " scriptures of God, may not drop into your read- " er's heart such unheeded impressions, as may " make him highly admire R. H. great gravitie " and judicious wisedome, and J. Calvin's carnall "policie, fine hipocrisie and peremptorie follie." Hooker, MS. note. " Safer to discuss all the " saincts in heaven than M. Calvin. Howe bold " they are themselves with as great men as M. " Calvin, namely, Chrysostome, Jerome, Am- " brose, Austin. Calvin himself not hereby justi- " fyed from censuring both the deedes and wri- " tings of men which went before him.—The acts " of every present age most sincerely judged of by " posterity. While men are living the judg- " ment of their friends is perverted with love, the " verdict of their enemies corrupt through envie.

" That Calvin's bitterness was a great cause to " augment his troble. His nature from a child " observed by his own parents, as Beza noteth, " was propense to sharpe and severe reprehension " where he thought any falt was." (' Destinabat " eum pater ab initio theologiæ studiis, ad quæ " ultro illum inclinare ex eo colligebat, quod in " illa etiam tenera ætate mirum in modum religio- " sus esset, et severus omnium in suis sodalibus " vitiorum censor.') And this not to be misliked " in him.

" But his maner of dealing against them which " were in deed bad men was that which wrought " him self much woe, and did them no good. " His friends saw this, as appeareth by his 95 " Epist. unto Farellus. [N. suo more rescripsisse " non infitiatus est Bucerus. Nam hoc unum " causatus est cur mihi non recitaret, quia nollet " mihi frustra stomachum movere. Hinc collige " quantum amarulentiæ fuerit, quod ille judicavit " pro sua prudentia non posse a me sine graviore " offensione transmitti." p. 388.] " His own wordes " declaring how in his sermons he handled and " delt with his adversaries, Epist. 15." [" Ita " ejus impietatem palam et aperte etiam pro con- " cione sugillabam, ut nihilo minus aut ipsi aut " aliis dubius esset sermo, quam si vel nominas- " sem, vel digito demonstrassem." p. 19. On his death bed he thus expressed himself to the senators of Geneva: " Ultro certe agnosco me vobis " hoc quoque nomine plurimum debere, quod ve- " hementiam illam meam interdum immoderatam " æquo animo tulistis." Beza.] His usage of H. 8, " hir M. father that now is. Such courses con- " demned by Beza in the fourth of his Epistles " against one Adrian a Dutch minister, p. 42." (" Hoc certe non fuit vel prudentis vel boni " etiam pastoris in illustrissimum illum Principem " nominatim declamare.")

Id. note on p. 37. " Remember to make a " comparison between Calvin and Beza, how dif- " ferent they were in naturall disposition, and " yeat how linked in amity and concord, Calvin " being of a stiff nature, Beza of a pliable, the one " stern and severe, the other tractable and gentle. " Both wise and discreet men. Whereby we see " what it is for any one church or place of govern- " ment to have two, one succeeding another, and " both in theire waies excellent, although unlike. " For Beza was one whom no man would dis- " please, Calvin one whom no man durst. His " dependants both abroad and at home; his intel- " ligence from forcign churches; his correspon- " dence every where with the chiefest; his indus- " try in pursuing them which did at any time " openly either withstand his proceedings or gain- " say his opinions; his booke intitled, ' contra Ne- " bulonem quendam;' his writing but of three lines " in disgrace of any man as forcible as any pro- " scription throughout all reformed churches; his " rescripts and answeres of as great authority as " decretall epistles. His grace in preaching the " meanest of all other guifts in him," [' Facundiæ " contemptor et verborum parcus.' Beza.] " yeat " even that way so had in honour and estimation, " that an hearer of his being asked wherefore he " came not sometime to other men's sermons as " well as Calvin's, answered, That if Calvin and " S. Paul himself should preach both at one hower, " he would leave S. Paul to heare Calvin. Zanch. " tom. VII. Epist. ante Miscell." This reference is from the C. C. C. Transcript.]

[22] [Compare Bancroft, Survey, p. 20.]

Ann Dom. 1541. [rather 1553.]

to give their last and hottest assault to the fortress of the same discipline; childishly granting by common consent of their whole senate, and that under their town seal, a relaxation to one Bertelier, whom the eldership had excommunicated [23]: further also decreeing, with strange absurdity, that to the same senate it should belong to give final judgment in matter of excommunication, and to absolve whom it pleased them: clean contrary to their own former deeds and oaths. The report of which decree being forthwith brought unto Calvin; "Before," saith he, "this decree take place, "either my blood or banishment shall sign "it." Again, two days before the communion should be celebrated, his speech was publickly to like effect: "Kill me if ever "this hand do reach forth the things that "are holy to them whom The Church hath "judged despisers [24]." Whereupon, for fear of tumult, the forenamed Bertelier was by his friends advised for that time not to use the liberty granted him by the senate, nor to present himself in the church, till they saw somewhat further what would ensue. After the communion quietly ministered, and some likelihood of peaceable ending of these troubles without any more ado, that very day in the afternoon, besides all men's expectation, concluding his ordinary sermon, he telleth them, that because he neither had learned nor taught to strive with such as are in authority, "therefore," saith he, "the case so standing as now it "doth, let me use these words of the apos-"tle unto you, 'I commend you unto God "and the word of his grace [25];'" and so bade them heartily all adieu [26].

[6.] It sometimes cometh to pass, that the readiest way which a wise man hath to conquer, is to fly. This voluntary and unexpected mention of sudden departure caused presently the senate (for according to their wonted manner they still continued only constant in unconstancy) to gather themselves together, and for a time to suspend their own decree, leaving things to proceed as before till they had heard the judgment of four Helvetian cities [27] concerning the matter which was in strife. This to have done at the first before they gave assent unto any order had shewed some wit and discretion in them: but now to do it was as much as to say in effect, that they would play their parts on a stage. Calvin therefore dispatcheth with all expedition his letters unto some principal pastor in every of those cities, craving earnestly at their hands, to respect this cause as a thing whereupon the whole state of religion and piety in that church did so much depend, that God and all good men were now inevitably certain to be trampled under foot, unless those four cities by their good means might be brought to give sentence with the ministers of Geneva when the cause should be brought before them: yea so to give it, that two things it might effectually contain; the one an absolute approbation of the discipline of Geneva as consonant unto the word of God, without any cautions, qualifications, ifs or ands; the other an earnest admonition not to innovate or change the same. His vehement request herein as touching both points was satisfied. For albeit the said Helvetian churches did never as yet observe that discipline, nevertheless, the senate of Geneva having required their judgment concerning these three questions: First, "After what "manner, by God's commandment, accord-"ing to the scripture and unspotted reli-"gion, excommunication is to be exer-"cised:" Secondly, "Whether it may not "be exercised some other way than by the "consistory:" Thirdly, "What the use of "their churches was to do in this case [28];" answer was returned from the said churches, "That they had heard already of those "consistorial laws, and did acknowledge "them to be *godly* ordinances *drawing to-*"*wards* the prescript of the word of God; "for which cause they did not think it good "for *the Church of Geneva* by innovation "to change the same, but rather to keep "them as they were [29]." Which answer,

[23] [Calv. Epist. p. 163.]

[24] [Inter concionandum, elata voce ac manu, "multa de sacris mysteriis in eorum contemptores "locutus: 'At ego, inquit, Chrysostomum secutus "vim quidem non opponam, sed ultro me potius "occidi facile patiar, quam hæc manus contem-"toribus Dei, rite judicatis, sancta Domini porri-"gat.'" Beza.]

[25] [Acts xx. 32.]

[26] ["Locum illum insignem Actorum Apostoli-"corum forte tractans, in quo Paulus Ecclesiæ "Ephesinæ valedicit, testatus se eum non esse, qui "adversus magistratum pugnare sciret aut doceret, "cætumque multis verbis cohortatus, ut in ea quam "audivisset doctrina perseveraret, tandem, veluti "postremam hanc concionem Genevæ habiturus, "'Et quandoquidem, inquit, ita se res habent, "liceat mihi quoque, fratres, apud vos hæc Apos-"toli verba usurpare, Commendo vos Deo et Ser-"moni gratiæ ipsius:' quæ voces tum sceleratos "illos mirifice perculerunt, tum bonos etiam tanto "magis serio officii admonuerunt." Beza.]

[27] [Zurich, Berne, Schaffhausen, Basle. See the letters from Calvin to Viret and Bullinger, and the case submitted to the Church of Zurich, with Bullinger's answer, in Calvin's Epistles, p. 163—171.]

[28] Epist. 166.

[29] [Bullinger to Calvin, Epist. p. 170. "Du-"dum audivisse nos de legibus istius Ecclesiæ "Consistorialibus, et agnoscere illas pias esse, et "accedere ad verbi Dei præscriptum: ideoque "non videri admittendum ut per innovationem "mutentur." Calvin's own statement of the affair may be found in his correspondence, p. 163—172.]

although not answering unto the former demands, but respecting what Master Calvin had judged requisite for them to answer, was notwithstanding accepted without any further reply: in as much as they plainly saw, that when stomach doth strive with wit, the match is not equal. And so the heat of their former contentions began to slake.

[7.] The present inhabitants of Geneva, I hope, will not take it in evil part, that the faultiness of their people heretofore is by us so far forth laid open, as their own learned guides and pastors have thought necessary to discover it unto the world. For out of their books and writings it is that I have collected this whole narration, to the end it might thereby appear in what sort amongst them that discipline was planted, for which so much contention is raised amongst ourselves. The reason which moved Calvin herein to be so earnest, was, as Beza himself testifieth [30], "For that he saw how needful these bridles were, to be put in the "jaws of that city." That which by wisdom he saw to be requisite for that people, was by as great wisdom compassed.

But wise men are men, and the truth is truth. That which Calvin did for establishment of his discipline, seemeth more commendable than that which he taught for the countenancing of it established [31]. Nature worketh in us all a love to our own counsels. The contradiction of others is a fan to inflame that love. Our love set on fire to maintain that which once we have done, sharpeneth the wit to dispute, to argue, and by all means to reason for it. Wherefore a marvel it were if a man of so great capacity, having such incitements to make him desirous of all kind of furtherances unto his cause, could espy in the whole Scripture of God nothing which might breed at the least a probable opinion of likelihood, that divine authority itself was the same way somewhat inclinable. And all which the wit even of Calvin was able from thence to draw, by sifting the very utmost sentence and syllable, is no more than that certain speeches there are which to him did seem to intimate that all Christian churches ought to have their elderships endued with power of excommunication, and that a part of those elderships every where should be chosen out from amongst the laity, after that form which himself had framed Geneva unto. But what argument are ye able to shew, whereby it was ever proved by Calvin, that any one sentence of Scripture doth necessarily enforce these things, or the rest wherein your opinion concurreth with his against the orders of your own church?

[8.] We should be injurious unto virtue itself, if we did derogate from them whom their industry hath made great. Two things of principal moment there are which have deservedly procured him honour throughout the world: the one his exceeding pains in composing the Institutions of Christian religion; the other his no less industrious travails for exposition of holy Scripture according unto the same Institutions. In which two things whosoever they were that after him bestowed their labour, he gained the advantage of prejudice against them, if they gainsayed; and of glory above them, if they consented. His writings published after the question about that discipline was once begun omit not any the least occasion of extolling the use and singular necessity thereof. Of what account the Master of Sentences [32] was in the church of Rome, the same and more amongst the preachers of reformed churches Calvin had purchased; so that the per-

[30] "Quod eam urbem videret omnino his frænis "indigere."

[31] [Chr. Letter, p. 42. "If such bold and bare "affirmations may go for payment, why may wee "not as well heare and believe Maister Harding, "which calles all the whole and pure doctrine be-"leeved and professed in England, A wicked new "devise of Geneva?"

Hooker, MS. note. "Do not you yourself call "the discipline which they use in Geneva, a new "found discipline? p. 45. If it be a new found "thing, and not found elswhere till Geneva had "erected it, yourself must say of discipline, It is a "new devise of Geneva: except you recant your "opinion concerning the newnes of it. For all "the world doth know that the first practice there "of was in Geneva. You graunting it to be but "a new found thing must either shew us some "author more ancient, or els acknowledge it as "we do to have been there devised. If you ex-"cuse the speech and say it is ironicall, you be-"tray yourself to be a favourer of that part, and "confess yourself an egregious dissembler.

"Because the anti-Trinitarians doe say, that our "doctrine of the glorious and blessed Trinity is a "wicked new devise of the Pope, will you say "that this may as well be believed as their speech "which say that sundry other things in the papa-"cie are both new and wicked? Although I "terme not their discipline wicked for mine owne "part. Only I hold it a new devise."

The passage referred to stands thus in p. 45 of the Chr. Letter: "Is that new found discipline "so nearlie seated with our English creed, that "such expert archers ayming at the one must "needes hit the other?" On which Hooker's note is, "A new found discipline! who is able to "endure such blasphemy? You speake but in "jeast. Were it known that you mean as you "say, surely those wordes might cost you dear. "But they are incident into your part, and have in "that respect their safe conduct."]

[32] [Peter Lombard. A. D. 1141. See Cave, Hist. Lit. I. 667, and Heumann ap. Brucker. Hist. Phil. III. 717. "Fastigium summum theologiæ "scholasticæ assecutus illi ætati visus est, ejusque "vestigiis insistere pulchrum duxit ipsius posteri-"tas scholastica."]

fectest divines were judged they, which were skilfullest in Calvin's writings. His books almost the very canon to judge both doctrine and discipline by [33]. French churches, both under others abroad and at home in their own country, all cast according to that mould which Calvin had made. The church of Scotland in erecting the fabric of their reformation took the selfsame pattern. Till at length the discipline, which was at first so weak, that without the staff of their approbation, who were not subject unto it themselves, it had not brought others under subjection, began now to challenge universal obedience [34], and to enter into open conflict with those very churches, which in desperate extremity had been relievers of it.

[9.] To one of those churches which lived in most peaceable sort, and abounded as well with men for their learning in other professions singular, as also with divines whose equals were not elsewhere to be found, a church ordered by Gualter's discipline, and not by that which Geneva adoreth; unto this church, the church of Heidelburgh, there cometh one who craving leave to dispute publicly defendeth with open disdain of their government, that "to "a minister with his eldership power is giv- "en by the law of God to excommunicate "whomsoever, yea even kings and princes "themselves [35]." Here were the seeds sown of that controversy which sprang up between Beza and Erastus about the matter of excommunication, whether there ought to be in all churches an eldership having power to excommunicate, and a part of that eldership to be of necessity certain chosen out from amongst the laity for that purpose. In which disputation they have, as to me it seemeth, divided very equally the truth between them; Beza most truly maintaining the necessity of excommunication, Erastus as truly the non-necessity of lay-elders to be ministers thereof.

[10.] Amongst ourselves, there was in King Edward's days some question moved by reason of a few men's scrupulosity [36] touching certain things. And beyond seas, of them which fled in the days of Queen Mary, some contenting themselves abroad with the use of their own service-book at home authorized before their departure out of the realm, others liking better the Common Prayer-book of the Church of Geneva translated, those smaller contentions before begun were by this means somewhat increased [37]. Under the happy reign of her Majesty which now is, the greatest matter awhile contended for was the wearing of the cap and surplice [38], till there came Ad-

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[33] ["What should the world doe with the old "musty doctors? Alleage scripture, and shew it "alleaged in the sense that Calvin alloweth, and "it is of more force in any man's defense, and to "the proof of any assertion, than if ten thousand "Augustines, Jeromes, Chrysostomes, Cyprians, "or whosoever els were brought foorth. Doe we "not daily see that men are accused of heresie for "holding that which the fathers held, and that "they never are cleere, if they find not somewhat "in Calvin to justify themselves?" MS. note of Hooker in the title page of "A Christian Letter," &c.]

[34] ["Two things there are which trouble great- "ly these later times: one that the Church of "Rome cannot, another that Geneva will not "erre." MS. note of Hooker on Chr. Letter, p. 37.]

[35] ["Accidit, ut Anglus quidam, qui propter rem "vestiariam ex Anglia ferebatur excessisse, doc- "toris titulo cuperet insigniri, et de adiaphoris et "vestibus disputationem proponeret. Hanc theo- "logi admittere noluerunt, ne scilicet Anglos of- "fenderent, ... ut autem nostræ res turbaren- "tur, pro nihilo, ut videtur, duxerunt. Quare "inter alias hanc thesin proposuit; oportere in qua- "vis recte constituta ecclesia hanc servari procu- "rationem, in qua ministri cum suo delecto ad "eam rem presbyterio jus teneant, quosvis peccan- "tes, etiam Principes, excommunicandi." Erastus, Præf. Thesium. The dispute occurred A. D. 1568. But the work was not published till after Erastus' death, 1589: the dispute having been quieted for the time by the interference of the Church of Zurich, and Frederic, Elector Palatine. Beza replied, 1590, by his tract "de vera Excom- "municatione et Christiano Presbyterio:" in the Preface to which he charges the publisher of Erastus' work as follows, "An boni et pii homines auc- "tores tibi fuerunt, ut clam ista excuderes? ut pro "Londini, vel alterius in Anglia civitatis nomine, "Peselavium fictitium supponeres?" And in a letter to Whitgift, (Strype, Whitg. III. 302,) he intimates the same: and Whitgift in his reply (II. 168.) allows it, though disclaiming all connivance at the publication on his own part.]

[36] [See Strype, Cranm. I. 302—309. Mem. II. i. 350—354. Burnet, Reform. II. 282.—III. 349—351. Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog. II. 437—440.]

[37] [See Strype, Grind. 1316. Mem. II. 404—411. Burnet II. 612, and especially "Troubles at "Frankfort," (of which book vid. Strype, An. II. i. 482,) in Phœnix II. 44, &c.]

[38] [In the convocation of 1562, about half of the lower house were for concession in these and one or two other points. (Strype, Ann. I. i. 499—506.) In 1564, complaints having been made from different quarters of positive molestation given by the nonconformists, Archbishop Parker endeavoured to enforce conformity, but was checked by the interest of the Puritans with Lord Leicester; so that he could not obtain the royal sanction for "the Advertisements" then issued, (Str. Parker, I. 300—345. Ann. I. ii. 125—175,) until the following year; when they occasioned several deprivations in the diocese of London. (Parker I. 420—460. Grind 142—146.) In 1567 this had led to the establishment of conventicles, (Parker I. 478. Grind. 168,) and more extensive reform began to be talked of, (Ann. I. ii. 349,) especially in 1570, at Cambridge, which caused Cartwright's expulsion (ibid. 372.) In 1571, a bill of alterations was proposed in parliament, which occasioning

monitions [39] directed unto the high court of Parliament, by men who concealing their names thought it glory enough to discover their minds and affections, which now were universally bent even against all the orders and laws, wherein this church is found unconformable to the platform of Geneva [40]. Concerning the Defender [41] of which Admonitions, all that I mean to say is but this: *there will come a time when three words uttered with charity and meekness shall receive a far more blessed reward than three thousand volumes written with disdainful sharpness of wit.* But the manner of men's writings must not alienate our hearts from the truth, if it appear they have the truth; as the followers of the same defender do think he hath; and in that persuasion they follow him, no otherwise than himself doth Calvin, Beza, and others, with the like persuasion that they in this cause had the truth. We being as fully persuaded otherwise, it resteth that some kind of trial be used to find out which part is in error.

III. The first mean whereby nature teacheth men to judge good from evil, as well in laws as in other things, is the force of their own discretion. Hereunto therefore St. Paul referreth oftentimes his own speech, to be considered of by them that heard him. "I speak "as to them which have understanding, "judge ye what I say [42]." Again afterward, "Judge in yourselves, is it comely that a wo-"man pray uncovered [43]?" The exercise of this kind of judgment our Savior requireth in the Jews [44]. In them of Berea the Scripture commendeth it [45]. Finally, whatsoever we do, if our own secret judgment consent not unto it as fit and good to be done, the doing of it to us is sin, although the thing itself be allowable. St. Paul's rule therefore generally is, "Let every man in his "own mind be fully persuaded of that thing "which he either alloweth or doth [46]."

By what means so many of the people are trained unto the liking of that discipline.

[2.] Some things are so familiar and plain, that truth from falsehood, and good from evil, is most easily discerned in them, even by men of no deep capacity. And of that nature, for the most part, are things absolutely unto all men's salvation necessary, either to be held or denied, either to be done or avoided. For which cause St. Augustine [47] acknowledgeth, that they are not only set down, but also plainly set down in Scripture; so that he which heareth or readeth may without any great difficulty understand. Other things also there are belonging (though in a lower degree of importance) unto the offices of Christian men: which, because they are more obscure, more intricate and hard to be judged

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the Queen's interference, had the effect, as it should seem, of preventing the adoption of the "Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum," which the archbishop at the time had thoughts of, (An. II. i. 93—99. P. II. 62, 63.)]

[39] [The rejection of Mr. Strickland's bill abovementioned, by the parliament of 1571, led to the immediate publication of the first "Admonition "to the Parliament." It was so eagerly read, that it went through four editions before the end of 1572, (Parker, II. 110, in which year Field and Wilcox were imprisoned for it. (Ann. II. i. 274. Parker II. 139.)]

[40] [Bishop Cooper, Adm. to the People of England, p. 160, takes the following view of the gradual advance of Puritanism. "At the beginning, "some learned and godly preachers, for private "respects in themselves, made strange to wear "the surplice, cap, or tippet: but yet so that they "declared themselves to think the thing indiffer-"ent, and not to judge evil of such as did use "them." (He seems to mean Grindal, Sandys, Parkhurst, Nowel, and others, 1562.) "Shortly "after rose up other," (Sampson, Humfrey, Lever, Whittingham, &c.) "defending that they "were not things indifferent, but distained with "antichristian idolatry, and therefore not to be "suffered in the Church. Not long after came "another sort," (Cartwright, Travers, Field, &c.) "affirming that those matters touching apparel "were but trifles, and not worthy contention in "the Church, but that there were greater things "far of more weight and importance, and indeed "touching faith and religion, and therefore meet "to be altered in a church rightly reformed. As "the Book of Common Prayer, the administra-"tion of the Sacraments, the government of the "Church, the election of ministers, and a num-"ber of other like. Fourthly, now break out "another sort," (the Brownists,) "earnestly affirm-"ing, and teaching, that we have no church, "no bishops, no ministers, no sacraments; and "therefore that all that love Jesus Christ ought "with all speed to separate themselves from our "congregations, because our assemblies are pro-"fane, wicked, and antichristian. Thus have "you heard of four degrees for the overthrow of "the state of the Church of England. Now "lastly of all come in these men, that make their "whole direction against the living of bishops and "other ecclesiastical ministers: that they should "have no temporal lands or jurisdiction."]

[41] [Thomas Cartwright. Whitgift's Answer to the Admonition was sent to Parker, Oct. 21, 1572, (Str. Whitg. I. 86,) and replied to by T. C. early the next year. For Whitgift was far advanced in his Defence, June 4, 1573 (Park. II. 254:) and it was sent to Lord Burghley, 5 Feb. 157$\frac{3}{4}$. Cartwright's 2d Reply came out in two portions, 1575 and 1577.]

[42] 1 Cor. x. 15.

[43] Ibid. xi. 13.

[44] Luke xii. 56, 57.

[45] Acts xvii. 11.

[46] Rom. xiv. 5,

[47] De peccator. merit. et remiss. t. x. p. 59, where after mentioning a certain obscure subject, he adds, "Credo, quod etiam hinc divinorum elo-"quiorum clarissima auctoritas esset, si homo id "sine dispendio promissæ salutis ignorare non "posset." And t. x. p. 71, the marginal note is, "Scripturæ claræ in his quæ ad salutem neces-"sariæ sunt."

of, therefore God hath appointed some to spend their whole time principally in the study of things divine, to the end that in these more doubtful cases their understanding might be a light to direct others. "If "the understanding, power or faculty of the "soul be" (saith the grand physician [48]) "like unto bodily sight, not of equal sharp- "ness in all, what can be more convenient "than that, even as the dark-sighted man is "directed by the clear about things visible; "so likewise in matters of deeper discourse "the wise in heart do shew the simple "where his way lieth?" In our doubtful cases of law, what man is there who seeth not how requisite it is that professors of skill in that faculty be our directors? So it is in all other kinds of knowledge. And even in this kind likewise the Lord hath himself appointed, that "the priests lips "should preserve knowledge, and that oth- "er men should seek the truth at his mouth, "*because* he is the messenger of the Lord "of hosts [49]." Gregory Naziazen, offended at the people's too great presumption in controlling the judgment of them to whom in such cases they should have rather submitted their own, seeketh by earnest entreaty to stay them within their bounds: "Presume not ye that are sheep to make "yourselves guides of them that should "guide you; neither seek ye to overskip "the fold which they about you have pitch- "ed. It sufficeth for your part, if ye can "well frame yourselves to be ordered. "Take not upon you to judge your judges, "nor to make them subject to your laws "who should be a law to you; for God is "not a God of sedition and confusion, but of "order and of peace [50]."

[3.] But ye will say that if the guides of the people be blind, the common sort of men must not close up their own eyes and be led by the conduct of such [51]: if the priest be "partial in the law [52]," the flock must not therefore depart from the ways of sincere truth, and in simplicity yield to be followers of him for his place sake and office over them. Which thing though in itself most true, is in your defence notwithstanding weak: because the matter wherein ye think that ye see, and imagine that your ways are sincere, is of far deeper consideration than any one amongst five hundred of you conceiveth. Let the vulgar sort amongst you know, that there is not the least branch of the cause wherein they are so resolute, but that to the trial of it a great deal more appertaineth than their conceit doth reach unto. I write not this in disgrace of the simplest that way given, but I would gladly they knew the nature of that cause wherein they think themselves thoroughly instructed and are not; by means whereof they daily run themselves, without feeling their own hazard, upon the dint of the apostles' sentence against "evil speakers as touching "things wherein they are ignorant [53]."

[4.] If it be granted a thing unlawful for private men, not called into public consultation, to dispute which is the best state of civil polity [54], (with a desire of bringing in some other kind, than that under which they already live, for of such disputes I take it his meaning was;) if it be a thing confessed, that of such questions they cannot determine without rashness, inasmuch as a great part of them consisteth in special circumstances, and for one kind as many reasons may be brought as for another; is there any reason in the world, why they should better judge what kind of regiment ecclesiastical is the fittest? For in the civil state more insight, and in those affairs more experience a great deal must needs be granted them, than in this they can possibly have. When they which write in defence of your discipline and commend it unto the Highest not in the least cunning manner, are forced notwithstanding to acknowledge, "that with whom the truth is "they know not [55]," they are not certain; what certainty or knowledge can the multitude have thereof?

[5.] Weigh what doth move the common sort so much to favour this innovation, and it shall soon appear unto you, that the force of particular reasons which for your seve-

[48] Galen. de opt. docen. gen. [Εἰ δ' ἔστι μὲν ὥσπερ ὄφθαλμος τῳ σώματι, τοιοῦτος ἐν τῃ ψυχῃ νοὺς, οὐ μὴν ἅπασι γε ὁμοίως ὀξὺς, ἐγχωρεῖ καθάπερ βλέπων ἀξύτερον ἐπάγει πρὸς τὸ θέαμα τὸν ἀμβλύτερον ὁρῶντα, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν νοημάτων, ὑπὸ τῶν φθασάντων ἰδεῖν ἐναργῶς τὸ νοητὸν ἐπάγεσθαι πρὸς τὴν θέασιν αὐτῆς τὸν ἀμβλύτατον. (qu. ἀμβλύτερον?) t. i. p. 8. Basil, 1538.

[49] Mal. ii. 7.

[50] Greg. Nazian. Orat. qua se excusat. [p. 37, of Musculus's Latin Version, Basil, 1550, or Opp. t. i. p. 154. Paris, 1609. Τὰ πρόβατα μὴ ποιμαίνετε τοὺς ποιμενάς, μηδὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ὅρους ἐπαίρεσθε· ἀρκεῖ γὰρ ὑμῖν, ἂν καλῶς ποιμαίνησθε· τὴ κρίνετε τοὺς κριτὰς, μηδὲ νομοθετεῖτε τοῖς νομοθεταις. Οὐ γὰρ ἐστι Θεὸς ἀκαταστασίας καὶ ἀταξίας, ἀλλ' εἰρήνης καὶ ταξέως. The second clause is in the Latin, "ne- "que super terminos *eorum* elevemini:" from which evidently Hooker translated.]

[51] Matt. xv. 14.

[52] Mal. ii. 9.

[53] Jude 10; 2 Pet. ii. 12.

[54] Calvin. Instit. lib. iv. cap. xx. § 8. ["Sane "valde otiosum esset, quis potissimus sit politiæ "in eo quo vivunt loco futurus status, a privatis "hominibus disputari: quibus de constituenda re "aliqua publica deliberare non licet."]

[55] The Author of the Petition directed to her Majesty, p. 3. ["I do not now write either to pull "down bishoprics, or erect presbyteries. With "whom the truth is I will not determine, for I "know not. What seemeth most probable and "true to me, that I know. How the truth should "come to light, that is the question." This writer was Penry. Bancr. Surv. 342.]

ral opinions are alleged is a thing whereof the multitude never did nor could so consider as to be therewith wholly carried; but certain general inducements are used to make saleable your cause in gross; and when once men have cast a fancy towards it, any slight declaration of specialties will serve to lead forward men's inclinable and prepared minds.

[6.] The method of winning the people's affection unto a general liking of the "cause" (for so ye term it) hath been this. First, in the hearing of the multitude, the faults especially of higher callings are ripped up with marvellous exceeding severity and sharpness of reproof[56]; which being oftentimes done begetteth a great good opinion of integrity, zeal, and holiness, to such constant reprovers of sin, as by likelihood would never be so much offended at that which is evil, unless themselves were singularly good.

[7.] The next thing hereunto is, to impute all faults and corruptions, wherewith the world aboundeth, unto the kind of ecclesiastical government established [57]. Wherein, as before by reproving faults they purchased unto themselves with the multitude a name to be virtuous; so by finding out this kind of cause they obtain to be judged wise above others: whereas in truth unto the form even of Jewish government, which the Lord himself (they all confess) did establish, with like show of reason they might impute those faults which the prophets condemn in the governors of that commonwealth, as to the English kind of regiment ecclesiastical, (whereof also God himself though in another sort is author,) the stains and blemishes found in our state; which springing from the root of human frailty and corruption, not only are, but have been always more or less, yea and (for any thing we know to the contrary) will be till the world's end complained of, what form of government soever take place.

[8.] Having gotten thus much sway in the hearts of men, a third step is to propose their own form of church-government, as the only sovereign remedy of all evils; and to adorn it with all the glorious titles that may be. And the nature, as of men that have sick bodies, so likewise of the people in the crazedness of their minds possessed with dislike and discontentment at things present, is to imagine that any thing, the virtue whereof they hear commended, would help them; but that most, which they least have tried.

[9.] The fourth degree of inducement is by fashioning the very notions and conceits of men's minds in such sort, that when they read the Scripture, they may think that every thing soundeth towards the advancement of that discipline, and to the utter disgrace of the contrary. Pythagoras, by bringing up his scholars in the speculative knowledge of numbers, made their conceits therein so strong, that when they came to the contemplation of things natural, they imagined that in every particular thing they even beheld as it were with their eyes, how the elements of number gave essence and being to the works of nature: a thing in reason impossible; which notwithstanding, through their misfashioned preconceit, appeared unto them no less certain, than if nature had written it in the very foreheads of all the creatures of God [58]. When they of the "Family of Love" have it once in their

[56] ["A certain writer for reformation . . . . writeth "of noblemen and gentlemen . . . . 'Whereof "came,' saith he, 'this division of such personages from others, seeing all men came of one "man and one woman? Was it for their lusty "hawking and hunting? for their nimble dicing, "and cunning carding? for their singing and "dancing? for their open bragging and swearing? "for their false fleering and flattering? for their "subtle killing and stealing? for their cruel polling "and pilling, &c. No, no, there was no such "thing.' You would be glad then, I am sure, to "know what thing it was: indeed the same au"thor doth not conceal it: in effect it is (though "it be delivered in better words) viz. that their "rebellion and treason against their governors pro"cured them that prerogative with the people "'Because,' saith he, 'they revenged and deliver"ed the oppressed people out of the hands of their "governors who abused their authority, and wick"edly, cruelly, and tyrannously ruled over them; "the people of a grateful and thankful mind gave "them that estimation and honour.'" Bancr. Sur. p. 7, quoting "A Treatise of Obedience," p. 114, of which treatise, see Strype, An. I. i. 182, 185. It was written by Chr. Goodman against Q. Mary, and published at Geneva, 1558, with a recomendatory preface by Whittingham.]

[57] ["The necessity of the thing is many ways "apparent, both in that it hath so plentiful warrant from God's own word .... and also in that "the gospel can take no root, nor have any free "passage, for want of it: and the greatness of "your fault appeareth by this; that in so doing "you are the cause of all the ignorance, atheism, "schisms, treasons, popery, and ungodliness, that "is to be found in this land." Pref. to Demonstr. of Discipline.]

[58] Arist. Metaph. lib. i. cap. 5. ["It is no hard "thing for a man that hath wit, and is strongly "possest of an opinion, and resolute to maintain "it, to find some places of scripture, which by good "handling will be woed to cast a favourable coun"tenance upon it. Pythagoras' Schollers having "been bred up in the doctrine of numbers, when "afterward they diverted upon the studies of na"ture, fancied in themselves somewhat in natural "bodies like unto numbers, and thereupon fell into "a conceit that numbers were the principles of "them. So fares it with him that to the reading "of Scripture comes fore-possest with some opin"ion." Hales's Golden Remains, p. 4, ed. 1658. See Diog. Laert. lib. viii. p. 220, ed. Pearson; Brucker, Hist. Phil. I. 1045, &c.]

heads, that Christ doth not signify any one person, but a quality whereof many are partakers; that to be "raised" is nothing else but to be regenerated, or endued with the said quality; and that when separation of them which have it from them which have it not is here made, this is "judgment:" how plainly do they imagine that the Scripture every where speaketh in the favour of that sect[59]? And assuredly, the very cause which maketh the simple and ignorant to think they even see how the word of God runneth currently on your side, is, that their minds are forestalled and their conceits perverted beforehand, by being taught, that an "elder" doth signify a layman admitted only to the office or rule of government in the Church; a "doctor," one which may only teach, and neither preach nor administer the Sacraments; a "deacon," one which hath charge of the alms-box, and of nothing else: that the "sceptre," the "rod," the "throne" and "kingdom" of Christ, are a form of regiment, only by pastors, elders, doctors, and deacons[60]; that by mystical resemblance

[59] [The Family of Love, or Familists, as they are sometimes called, originated with Henry Nicholas of Amsterdam, and afterwards of Embden, about the middle of the 16th century: and may be considered as a kind of offshoot from the German Anabaptists. For their progress in England see Strype, Ann. II. i. 556, ii. 282. Grindal, 383, Whitg. I. 421, III. 158. Christopher Vitel, a joiner of Colchester, was one of their chief propagandists here. See "The displaying of an horrible sect of "gross and wicked heretics, naming themselves "the Family of Love; with the lives of the au- "thors, &c. by J. R." (John Rogers,) 1578, Lon- "don." This writer says that H. N. had then as many as 1000 followers in England. From the number of their tracts, (he quotes about a dozen,) and from the attention which they appear to have attracted at the time, he would seem to have much underrated their numbers. Vitel replied to this pamphlet, and Rogers rejoined in 1579. (Both his pamphlets are in Bp. Atterbury's collection, in the library of Christ Church, Oxford, E. 522, 525.) The same year an elaborate and scholarlike "Confutation of certain monstrous and hor- "rible heresies taught by H. N." was published by J. Knewstubs, of Cambridge, afterwards one of the representatives of the Puritan party at the Hampton-court conference. He states, p. 32, "By the "doctrine of H. N., Christ is no one man but an "estate and condition in man, common unto so "many as have [50] received his doctrine that "they are grown thereby to perfection." And, p. 36, "H. N. his Christ is not God, but an affection "or disposition in man, which, if it were good, "were yet no more but godliness, not God him- "self." Which statements he abundantly confirms by quotations from various tracts, but refers to one which he had not seen, as being reported to contain the fullest developement of the new doctrine. That work is "An Introduction to the holy "understanding of the Glass of Rightcousness; set "forth by H. N." No printer's name nor date is given. The following passage may be taken as a fair specimen of it. c. 5. N°. 28.) "Behold, this "same holy being of God is the true life of the "Holy Ghost, which heretofore God wrought "among his people Israel, and likewise among the "Gentiles that feared his name.... 29. This "same being of God is indeed the right foot of the "soul, and bread of life, and is descended unto us "from heaven for a life to the man: and was here- "tofore broken and distributed to *the people of Is- "rael* and the disciples of Christ, to feed on in their "souls.... 31. This same bread which is given "unto them is the true meat offering of Christ, viz. "His Body: and this cup which is poured forth "unto them is the true shedding of His Blood, *the "which is the outflowing of the holy word or Spirit* "of Christ upon all believers of Christ, to everlast- "ing life.... 33. Behold, that same bread or "Body of Christ is the Word that became flesh "and it dwelt among them.... 34. *And the same "is the New Testament*, which God in those days "made and appointed with His people." Compare c. 18, N°. 16, &c. And c. 22, 30. "Unto all that "believed was the resurrection from the dead, and "everlasting life, witnessed and promised through "Jesus Christ. In sure and firm hope whereof the "upright believers have rested in the Lord Jesus "Christ, till the appearing of His coming, *which is "now, in this day of the Love revealed, out of the "heavenly Being*. With which Jesus Christ the "former believers of Christ, who were fallen asleep, "rested, or died in Him, *are now also manifested "in glory*. For Christ in the appearing of his "coming *raiseth* his deceased from the dead, to the "intent they should reign with Him over all his "enemies, and *condemneth* all the ungodly who "have not liked of him."

"I remember," (says Strype, Ann. II. i. 561, writing in 1725,) "a great admirer of this sect, "within less than twenty years ago, told me, that "there was then but one of the Family of Love "alive, and he an old man." But their principles, unfortunately, were not extinct. "I have now be- "fore me the works, (or part of them,) of Henry "Nicholas, the Father of the Family of Love: "they were given to a friend of mine by a Qua- "ker, with this encomium: that he believed he "would not find one word amiss, or one superflu- "ous, in the whole book, and commended it, as "an excellent piece. It is not unlikely that he "took it for a Quaker book; for there is not his "name at length, only H. N. to it; and it has "quite through the Quaker phyz and mien, that "twins are not more alike. And though he di- "rects it, To the Family of Love, yet an ignorant "Quaker might take that for his own family, and "apply it to the Quakers." Leslie's Works, II. 609, ed. 1721.

[60] ["Having occasion to talk upon a time with "an artisan of Kingston, about his refusal, after "the purest fashion, to be examined upon his "oath, because I saw how peart he was, and rapt "out text upon text (full ignorantly, God know- "eth,) I was so bold as to examine him in the se- "cond petition of the Lord's Prayer, demanding "of him what he thought was meant by this word, "'kingdom,' therein mentioned. Whereunto he "made in effect this answer, without any stag- "gering: 'We pray,' saith he, 'that our heaven- "ly Father would at the last grant unto us, that "we might have pastors, doctors, elders, and dea-

Mount Sion and Jerusalem are the churches which admit, Samaria and Babylon the churches which oppugn the same form of regiment. And in like sort they are taught to apply all things spoken of repairing the walls and decayed parts of the city and temple of God, by Esdras, Nehemias, and the rest [61]; as if purposely the Holy Ghost had therein meant to foresignify, what the authors of Admonitions to the Parliament, of Supplications to the Council, of Petitions to her Majesty, and of such other-like writs, should either do or suffer in behalf of this their cause.

[10.] From hence they proceed to a higher point, which is the persuading of men credulous and over-capable of such pleasing errors, that it is the special illumination of the Holy Ghost, whereby they discern those things in the word, which others reading yet discern them not. "Dearly beloved," saith St. John, "give not credit "unto every spirit [62]." There are but two ways whereby the Spirit leadeth men into all truth; the one extraordinary, the other common; the one belonging but unto some few, the other extending itself unto all that are of God; the one, that which we call by a special divine excellency Revelation, the other Reason. If the Spirit by such revelation have discovered unto them the secrets of that discipline out of Scripture, they must profess themselves to be all (even men, women, and children) Prophets. Or if reason be the hand which the Spirit hath led them by; forasmuch as persuasions grounded upon reason are either weaker or stronger according to the force of those reasons whereupon the same are grounded, they must every of them from the greatest to the least be able for every several article to shew some special reason as strong as their persuasion therein is earnest. Otherwise how can it be but that some other sinews there are from which that overplus of strength in persuasion doth arise? Most sure it is, that when men's affections do frame their opinions, they are in defence of error more earnest a great deal, than (for the most part) sound believers in the maintenance of truth apprehended according to the nature of that evidence which scripture yieldeth: which being in some things plain, as in the principles of Christian doctrine; in some things as in these matters of discipline, more dark and doubtful; frameth correspondently that inward assent which God's most gracious Spirit worketh by it as by his effectual instrument. It is not therefore the fervent earnestness of their persuasion, but the soundness of those reasons whereupon the same is built, which must declare their opinions in these things to have been wrought by the Holy Ghost, and not by the fraud of that evil spirit, which is even in his illusions strong [63].

[11.] After that the fancy of the common sort hath once thoroughly apprehended the Spirit to be author of their persuasions concerning discipline; then is instilled into their hearts, that the same Spirit leading men into this opinion doth thereby seal them to be God's children: and that, as the state of the times now standeth, the most special token to know them that are God's own from others, is an earnest affection that way. This hath bred high terms of separation between such and the rest of the world; whereby the one sort are named The brethren, The godly, and so forth; the other, worldlings, time-servers, pleasers of men not of God, with such like [64].

[12.] From hence, they are easily drawn on to think it exceeding necessary, for fear of quenching that good Spirit, to use all means whereby the same may be both strengthened in themselves, and made manifest unto others. This maketh them diligent hearers of such as are known that way to incline; this maketh them eager to take and to seek all occasions of secret conference with such; this maketh them glad to use such as counsellors and directors in all their dealings which are of weight, as contracts, testaments, and the like; this maketh them, through an unwearable desire of receiving instruction from the masters of that company, to cast off the care of those very affairs which do most concern their estate, and to think that then they are like unto Mary, commendable for making choice of the better part. Finally, this is it which maketh them willing to charge, yea, oftentimes even to overcharge themselves, for such men's sustenance and relief, lest their zeal to the cause should any way be unwitnessed. For what is it which poor beguiled souls will not do through so powerful incitements?

[13.] In which respect it is also noted, that most labour hath been bestowed to win and retain towards this cause them whose judgments are commonly weakest by reason of their sex [65]. And although

" cons in every parish, and so be governed by " such elderships as Christ's holy discipline doth " require.' " Bancroft, Survey, &c. c. 31.]

[61] [T. C. Preface to 2d Reply, fol. 1. 2.]

[62] 1 John iv. 1.

[63] 2 Thess. ii. 11.

[64] [The 22d art. of Charge against Cartwright in 1590 is, "That from time to time, since his " abode in Warwick, by his practice and dealing, " he hath nourished a faction, and heartburning of " one inhabitant there against another, severing " them in his own and his followers' speeches, by " the names of *The godly*, or *Brethren favouring* " *sincerity*, and *The profane*." Fuller, C. H. b. ix. p. 200.]

[65] [For example: a copy of the Admonition to the Parliament, in the library of Christ Church,

not "women loden with sins [66]," as the apostle Saint Paul speaketh, but (as we verily esteem of them for the most part) women propense and inclinable to holiness be otherwise edified in good things, rather than carried away as captives into any kind of sin and evil, by such as enter into their houses with purpose to plant there a zeal and a love towards this kind of discipline: yet some occasion is hereby ministered for men to think, that if the cause which is thus furthered did gain by the soundness of proof whereupon it doth build itself, it would not most busily endeavour to prevail where least ability of judgment is: and therefore, that this so eminent industry in making proselytes more of that sex than of the other groweth, for that they are deemed apter to serve as instruments and helps in the cause. Apter they are through the eagerness of their affection, that maketh them which way soever they take, diligent in drawing their husbands, children, servants, friends and allies the same way; apter through that natural inclination unto pity, which breedeth in them a greater readiness than in men to be bountiful towards their preachers who suffer want; apter through sundry opportunities, which they especially have, to procure encouragements for their brethren; finally, apter through a singular delight which they take in giving very large and particular intelligence, how all near about them stand affected as concerning the same cause.

[14.] But be they women or be they men, if once they have tasted of that cup, let any man of contrary opinion open his mouth to persuade them, they close up their ears, his reasons they weigh not, all is answered with rehearsal of the words of John, "'We "are of God; he that knoweth God hear-"eth us [67]:' as for the rest, ye are of the "world; for this world's pomp and vanity "it is that ye speak, and the world, whose "ye are, heareth you." Which cloak sitteth no less fit on the back of their cause, than of the Anabaptists, when the dignity, authority and honour of God's magistrate is upheld against them. Shew these eagerly-affected men their inability to judge of such matters: their answer is. "God hath "chosen the simple [68]." Convince them of folly, and that so plainly, that very children upbraid them with it; they have their bucklers of like defence: "Christ's own apostle "was accounted mad: the best men ever-"more by the sentence of the world have "been judged to be out of their right "minds [69]."

[15.] When instruction doth them no good, let them feel but the least degree of most mercifully-tempered severity [70], they fasten on the head of the Lord's vicegerents here on earth whatsoever they any where find uttered against the cruelty of bloodthirsty men, and to themselves they draw all the sentences which scripture hath in the favour of innocency persecuted for the truth; yea, they are of their due and deserved sufferings no less proud, than those ancient disturbers to whom Saint Augustine writeth, saying [71]: "Martyrs right-"ly so named are they not which suffer for

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Oxford, has the following lines in MS. in the blank leaf at the beginning:

To Mrs. Catesbie my very frende.
Read and peruse this lytle booke
with prayer to the Lorde
That all may yelde that therein looke
to truthe with one accorde.
Whiche thoughe our troubles it hathe wrought
it shall prevayle at laste,
And utterly confounde God's foes
with his confoundinge blaste.
As Pope hath falne, so must all popes,
and popelinges every one,
So muste his lawes whereby he rulde,
and God's worde stand alone.
Whiche is the scepter of the might
of Christe our Lorde and Kynge,
To whiche we must subject of right
ourselves, and everye thinge.
Yors in the Lorde,
Io. Feilde.

Field is mentioned by Archb. Bancroft (Survey, &c. p. 42.) as one of the first planners of the Admonition. He was imprisoned the year it came out, (1572,) according to Strype, Ann. II. i. 275,) for presenting a copy of it to the parliament. Bishop Sandys complained that when Field was in Newgate the people resorted to him "as in po-"pery they were wont to run on pilgrimage." (Strype, Parker, II. 268.) He was a leader of the secret Puritan synod in 1580: and is constantly mentioned as one of the most busy and important among them.

See also Clarendon's Hist. of the Reb. I. 177, Oxford, 1819.]

[66] 2 Tim. iii. 6.

[67] 1 John iv. 6.

[68] 1 Cor. i. 27.

[69] Acts xxvi. 24. Sap. v. 4. "We fools thought "his life madness." Merc. Tris. ad Æsculap. [lib. xv. fol. 43.] Οἱ ἐν γνώσει ὄντες οὔτε τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκουσι, οὔτε οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτοῖς· μεμηνέναι δὲ δοκοῦσι, καὶ γέλωτα ὀφλισκάνουσι. Vide Lactant. de Justit. lib. v. cap. 16.

[70] [This was written before either of the executions which took place in Queen Elizabeth's reign for disturbances on puritanical grounds. For Hooker's book was sent to Lord Burghley, March 13, 1592, (Strype, Whitg. III. 300,) Barrow and Greenwood were condemned, March 23, (ib. II. 186,) Penry in May (ib. 176.) Udall who had been convicted was pardoned, at Whitgift's intercession, June 1592, (ib. 102.)]

[71] Aug. Ep. 50. [al. 185, §. 9. t. II. 64$\frac{6}{5}$. Veri "martyres illi sunt, de quibus Dominus ait, Beati "qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam. "Non ergo qui propter iniquitatem, et propter "Christianæ unitatis impiam divisionem, sed qui "propter justitiam persecutionem patiuntur, hi "martyres veri sunt. Nam et Agar passa est "persecutionem a Sara, et illa erat sancta quæ "faciebat, illa iniqua quæ patiebatur. Et ipse "Dominus cum latronibus crucifixus est: sed quos "passio jungebat, causa separabat."]

"their disorder, and for the ungodly breach "they have made of Christian unity, but "which for righteousness' sake are persecu- "ted. For Agar also suffered persecution "at the hands of Sarah, wherein, she which "did impose was holy, and she unrighteous "which did bear the burden. In like sort, "with thieves was the Lord himself cruci- "fied; but they, who were matched in the "pain which they suffered [72], were in the "cause of their sufferings disjoined."... "If "that must needs be the true church which "doth endure persecution, and not that "which persecuteth, let them ask of the "apostle what church Sarah did represent, "when she held her maid in affliction. For "even our mother which is free, the Heav- "enly Jerusalem, that is to say, the true "Church of God, was, as he doth affirm, "prefigured in that very woman by whom "the bondmaid was so sharply handled. "Although, if all things be thoroughly "scanned, she did in truth more persecute "Sarah by proud resistance, than Sarah "her by severity of punishment."

[16.] These are the paths wherein ye have walked that are of the ordinary sort of men; these are the very steps ye have trodden, and the manifest degrees whereby ye are of your guides and directors trained up in that school; a custom of inuring your ears with reproof of faults, especially in your governors; an use to attribute those faults to the kind of spiritual regiment under which ye live; boldness in warranting the force of their discipline for the cure of all such evils; a slight of framing your conceits to imagine that Scripture every where favoureth that discipline; persuasion that the cause why ye find it in Scripture is the illumination of the Spirit, that the same Spirit is a seal unto you of your nearness unto God, that ye are by all means to nourish and witness it in yourselves, and to strengthen on every side your minds against whatsoever might be of force to withdraw you from it.

IV. Wherefore to come unto you whose judgment is a lantern of direction for all the rest, you that frame thus the people's hearts, not altogether (as I willingly persuade myself) of a politic intent or purpose, but yourselves being first overborne with the weight of greater men's judgments: on your shoulders is laid the burden of upholding the cause by argument. For which purpose sentences out of the word of God ye allege divers: but so, that when the same are discussed, thus it always in a manner falleth out, that what things by virtue thereof ye urge upon us as altogether necessary, are found to be thence collected only by poor and marvellous slight conjectures. I need not give instance in any one sentence so alleged, for that I think the instance in any alleged otherwise a thing not easy to be given. A very strange thing sure it were, that such a discipline as ye speak of should be taught by Christ and his apostles in the word of God, and no church ever have found it out, nor received it till this present time [73]; contrariwise, the government against which ye bend yourselves be observed every where throughout all generations and ages of the Christian world, no church ever perceiving the word of God to be against it. We require you to find out but one church upon the face of the whole earth, that hath been ordered by your discipline, or hath not been ordered by ours, that is to say, by episcopal regiment, sithence the time that the blessed Apostles were here conversant.

What hath caused so many of the learneder sort to approve the same discipline.

[2.] Many things out of antiquity ye bring, as if the purest times of the Church had observed the selfsame orders which you require; and as though your desire were that the churches of old should be patterns for us to follow, and even glasses, wherein we might see the practice of that which by you is gathered out of Scripture. But the truth is, ye mean nothing less. All this is done for fashion's sake only: for ye complain of it as of an injury, that men should be willed to seek for examples and patterns of government in any of those times that have been before [74]. Ye plainly hold, that from the very Apostles' time till this present age, wherein yourselves imagine ye have found out a right pattern of sound discipline, there never was any time safe to be followed. Which thing ye thus endeavour to prove. "Out of [75] Egesippus"

[72] [Ibid. §. 11. "Si Ecclesia vera ipsa est quæ "persecutionem patitur, non quæ facit; quærant "ab Apostolo, quam Ecclesiam significabat Sara, "quando persecutionem faciebat ancillæ. Libe- "ram quippe matrem nostram, cælestem Jerusa- "lem, id est veram Dei Ecclesiam, in illa mu- "liere dicit fuisse figuratam, quæ affligebat an- "cillam. Si autem melius discutiamus, magis "illa persequebatur Saram superbiendo, quam illam "Sara coercendo.]

[73] [Bancroft, Sermon at St. Paul's Cross, 9 Feb. $158\frac{8}{9}$, p. 10, 11, has the same affirmation and challenge almost in the same words. "A very strange "matter if it were true, that Christ should erect a "form of government for the ruling of his Church, "to continue from his departure out of the world "until his coming again; and that the same "should never be once thought of or put in prac- "tice for the space of 1500 years: or at the least "(to take them at their best) that the government "and kingdom of Christ should then be over- "thrown, when by all men's confessions the divi- "nity of his Person, the virtue of his Priesthood, "the power of his office as He is a Prophet, and "the honour of his kingly Authority was so godly, "so learnedly, and so mightily established."]

[74] T. C. lib. i. p. 97.

[75] [Id. ibid, and ii. 507—511.]

ye say that "Eusebius[76] writeth," how although "as long as the Apostles lived the "Church did remain a pure virgin, yet after the death of the Apostles, and after "they were once gone whom God vouchsafed to make hearers of the divine wisdom "with their own ears, the placing of wicked "error began to come into the Church. "Clement also in a certain place, to confirm that there was corruption of doctrine "immediately after the Apostles' time, alleged the proverb, 'That there are few "sons like their fathers[77].' Socrates saith "of the churches of Rome and Alexandria[78], the most famous churches in the "Apostles' times, that about the year 430, the "Roman and Alexandrian bishops, leaving the sacred function, were degenerate "to a secular rule or dominion[79]." Hereupon ye conclude, that it is not safe to fetch our government from any other than the Apostles' times.

[3.] Wherein by the way it may be noted that in proposing the Apostles' times as a pattern for the Church to follow, though the desire of you all be one, the drift and purpose of you all is not one. The chiefest thing which lay-reformers yawn for is, that the clergy may through conformity in state and condition be apostolical, poor as the Apostles of Christ were poor. In which one circumstance if they imagine so great perfection, they must think that church which hath such store of mendicant friars, a church in that respect most happy. Were it for the glory of God, and the good of his Church indeed that the clergy should be left even as bare as the Apostles when they had neither staff nor scrip; that God, which should lay upon them the condition of his Apostles, would I hope endue them with the selfsame affection which was in that holy Apostle, whose words concerning his own right virtuous contentment of heart, "as well how to want, as how to abound[80]," are a most fit episcopal emprese. The Church of Christ is a body mystical. A body cannot stand, unless the parts thereof be proportionable. Let it therefore be required on both parts, at the hands of the clergy, to be in meanness of state like the Apostles; at the hand of the laity, to be as they were who lived under the Apostles: and in this reformation there will be, though little wisdom, yet some indifferency.

[4.] But your reformation which are of the clergy (if yet it displease you not that I should say ye are of the clergy[81]) seemeth to aim at a broader mark. Ye think that he which will perfectly reform must bring the form of church-discipline unto the state which then it was at. A thing neither possible, nor certain, nor absolutely convenient.

Concerning the first, what was used in the Apostles' times, the Scripture fully declareth not; so that making their times the rule and canon of the church-polity, ye make a rule, which being not possible to be fully known, is as impossible to be kept.

Again, sith the later even of the Apostles' own times had that which in the former was not thought upon; in this general proposing of the apostolical times there is no certainty which should be followed: especially seeing that ye give us great cause to doubt how far ye allow those times[82]. For albeit "the loover of antichristian building were not," ye say, as then "set up, yet the "foundations thereof were secretly and under the ground laid in the Apostles' "times[83]:" so that all other times ye plainly reject, and the Apostles' own times ye approve with marvellous great suspicion, leaving it intricate and doubtful, wherein we are to keep ourselves unto the pattern of their times.

Thirdly, whereas it is the error of the common multitude to consider only what hath been of old, and if the same were well,

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[76] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 32. iv. 22. [Ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ ἐπιλέγει, ὡς ἄρα μέχρι τῶν τοτε χρόνων παρθένος καθαρὰ καὶ ἀδιάφθορος ἔμεινεν ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἐν ἀδήλου που σκότει φωλευόντων εἴσεσι τοτε, τῶν, εἰ καί τινες ὑπῆρχον, παραφθείρειν ἐπιχειρούντων τὸν ὑγιῆ κανονα τοῦ σωτηρίου κηρύγματος. And in b. iv. 22, he cites the very words of Hegesippus Δια τοῦτο ἐκάλουν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρθένον· οὔπω γαρ ἔφθαρτο ἀκοαῖς ματαίοις. See Dr. Routh's note, Reliquiæ, Sacræ, i. 233.]

[77] Lib. Strom. somewhat after the beginning. [Ed. Potter. t. i. 322.]

[78] Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. cap. 11.

[79] [Τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς, ὁμοίως τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων, πέρα τῆς ἱερωσύνης, ἐπὶ δυναστειαν ἤδη πάλαι προελθούσης.]

[80] Phil. iv. 12. [For the word emprese or impress see Shakespeare, Rich. II. act III. sc. 1.]

[81] [T. C. iii. 219. "Those which were baptized "in their beds were thereby made unapt to have "any place among the clergy (*as they call them.*)"]

[82] [Penry, Brief Discovery, &c. p. 20. "We "know Diotrephes to have been in the Church "even in the Apostles' times... and therefore we "cannot greatly marvel, though even in their "time there had been a divers government from "this of the Lord's appointment, which we labour for. For even in the Apostles' time the "mystery of iniquity began to work."]

[83] [T. C. i. 97. The word "loover" is also used, T. C. ii. 621. "How childishe is yt, after so long "travaile to prove a bishop over the ministers off "a diocese,.... in the ende to endeavour to prove, "that there may be superioritie? as if any man "would denie this that graunted the other: and "yt is *to set the fondacion upon the lover.*" "Louver, (from *l'ouvert*, Fr. an opening:) an openmg "for the smoke to go out at in the roof of a cottage: in the north of England, an opening at "the top of a dovecote.. 'The ancient manner of "building in Cornwall was, to set hearths in the "midst of rooms for chimneys, which vented the "smoke at a louver in the top.' Carew, Survey "of Cornwall. And see Spenser's F. Q. vi. x. 42." Todd's Johnson's Dict.]

to see whether still it continue; if not, to condemn that presently which is, and never to search upon what ground or consideration the change might grow: such rudeness cannot be in you so well borne with, whom learning and judgment hath enabled much more soundly to discern how far the times of the Church and the orders thereof may alter without offence. True it is, the ancienter [84], the better ceremonies of religion are: howbeit, not absolutely true and without exception; but true only so far forth as those different ages do agree in the state of those things, for which at the first those rites, orders, and ceremonies were instituted. In the Apostles' times that was harmless, which being now revived would be scandalous; as their *oscula sancta* [85]. Those feasts of charity [86], which being instituted by the Apostles, were retained in the Church long after, are not now thought any where needful. What man is there of understanding, unto whom it is not manifest how the way of providing for the clergy by tithes, the device of almshouses for the poor, the sorting out of the people into their several parishes, together with sundry other things which the Apostles' times could not have, (being now established,) are much more convenient and fit for the Church of Christ, than if the same should be taken away for conformity's sake with the ancientest and first times?

[5.] The orders therefore, which were observed in the Apostles' times, are not to be urged as a rule universally either sufficient or necessary. If they be, nevertheless on your part it still remaineth to be better proved, that the form of discipline, which ye entitle apostolical, was in the Apostles' times exercised. For of this very thing ye fail even touching that which ye make most account of [87], as being matter of substance in discipline, I mean the power of your lay-elders, and the difference of your doctors from the pastors in all churches. So that in some, we may be bold to conclude, that besides these last times, which for insolency, pride, and egregious contempt of all good order, are the worst, there are none wherein ye can truly affirm, that the complete form of your discipline, or the substance thereof, was practised.

[6.] The evidence therefore of antiquity failing you, ye fly to the judgments of such learned men, as seem by their writings to be of opinion, that all Christian churches should receive your discipline, and abandon ours. Wherein, as ye heap up the names of a number of men not unworthy to be had in honour; so there are a number whom when ye mention, although it serve you to purpose with the ignorant and vulgar sort, who measure by tale and not by weight, yet surely they who know what quality and value the men are of, will think ye draw very near the dregs. But were they all of as great account as the best and chiefest amongst them, with us notwithstanding neither are they, neither ought they to be of such reckoning, that their opinion or conjecture should cause the laws of the Church of England to give place. Much less when they neither do all agree in that opinion, and of them which are at agreement, the most part through a courteous inducement have followed one man as their guide, finally that one therein not unlikely to have swerved. If any one chance to say it is probable that in the Apostles' times there were lay-elders, or not to mislike the continuance of them in the Church, or to affirm that Bishops at the first were a name but not a power distinct from Presbyters, or to speak any thing in praise of those churches which are without episcopal regiment, or to reprove the fault of such as abuse that calling; all these ye

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[84] "Antiquitas ceremoniis atque fanis tantum "sanctitatis tribuere consuevit, quantum adstruxerit vetustatis." Arno. p. 746. The words are from Minutius Felix, p. 4, line 30, ed. Elmenhorst. In many former editions, and no doubt in that which Hooker used, the dialogue of Minutius is ascribed to Arnobius.]

[85] Rom. xvi. 16; 2 Cor. xiii. 12; 1 Thess. v. 26; 1 Pet. v. 14. In their meetings to serve God, their manner was, in the end to salute one another with a kiss; using these words, "Peace be with you." For which cause Tertullian doth call it, *signaculum orationis*, "the seal of prayer." Lib. de Orat. [c. 14.]

[86] Epist. Jud. 12. Concerning which feasts, Saint Chrysostom saith, "Statis diebus mensas "faciebant communes, et peracta synaxi post sacramentorum communionem inibant convivium, "divitibus quidem cibos afferentibus, pauperibus "autem et qui nihil habebant etiam vocatis." [Καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν τριςχιλίων τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πιστευσάντων, κοινῇ πάντες εἱστιῶντο καὶ κοινὰ πάντα ἐκέκτηντο, οὕτω καὶ τοτε ὁτε ταῦτα ἔγραψεν ὁ Ἀπόστολος ἐγίνετο, οὐχ οὕτω μὲν μετὰ ἀκριβείας, ὥσπερ δέ τις ἀπόῤῥοια τῆς κοινωνίας ἐκείνης ἐναπομείναπα και εἰς τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα κατέβη. Καὶ ἔπειδαν συνέβαινε τοὺς μὲν πένητας εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ πλουσίους, τὰ μὲν ἑαυτῶν οὐ κατετίθεντο πάντα εἰς μέσον, κοινὰς δὲ ἐποιοῦντο τὰς τραπέζας ἐν ἡμέραις νενομισμέναις, ὡς εἰκὸς, καὶ τῆς συνάξεως ἀπαρτισθείσης μετὰ τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων κοινωνίαν ἐπὶ κοινὴν πάντες ἦσαν εὐωχίαν, τῶν μὲν πλουτούντων φερόντων τὰ ἐδέσματα, τῶν δὲ πενομένων καὶ οὐδὲν ἐχόντων ὑπ' αὐτῶν καλουμένων καὶ κοινὴ πάντων ἑστιωμένων. iii. 416.] In 1 Cor. xi. 17, Hom. xxvii. Of the same feasts, in like sort, Tertullian. "Cœna "nostra de nomine rationem sui ostendit. Vocatur enim ἀγάπη, id quod est penes Græcos *dilectio*. Quantiscunque sumptibus constet, lucrum "est pietatis nomine facere sumptum." Apol. cap. 39.

[87] ["Tantum inter cæteros eminent Presbyteri "isti non docentes, 'quantum lenta solent inter vi"burna cupressi;' tantumque præstare videntur "reliquis, ut ipsorum nomine totus hic consessus "Presbyterium dicatur. Quum igitur tota illa "moles novæ disciplinæ.... hoc uno fundamento "nitatur.... &c." Sutcliffe de Presbyt. p. 90.]

register for men persuaded as you are, that every Christian church standeth bound by the law of God to put down bishops, and in their rooms to elect an eldership so authorized as you would have it for the government of each parish. Deceived greatly they are therefore, who think that all they whose names are cited amongst the favourers of this cause, are on any such verdict agreed [88].

[7.] Yet touching some material points of your discipline, a kind of agreement we grant there is amongst many divines of reformed churches abroad. For, first, to do as the Church of Geneva did the learned in some other churches must needs be the more willing, who having used in like manner not the slow and tedious help of proceeding by public authority, but the people's more quick endeavour for alteration, in such an exigent I see not well how they could have stayed to deliberate about any other regiment than that which already was devised to their hands, that which in like case had been taken, that which was easiest to be established without delay, that which was likeliest to content the people by reason of some kind of sway which it giveth them. When therefore the example of one church was thus at the first almost through a kind of constraint or necessity followed by many, their concurrence in persuasion about some material points belonging to the same polity is not strange. For we are not to marvel greatly, if they which have all done the same thing, do easily embrace the same opinion as concerning their own doings.

[8.] Besides, mark I beseech you that which Galen in matter of philosophy noteth [89]; for the like falleth out even in questions of higher knowledge. It fareth many times with men's opinions as with rumours and reports. "That which a credible per-"son telleth is easily thought probable by "such as are well persuaded of him. But "if two, or three, or four, agree all in the "same tale, they judge it then to be out of "controversy, and so are many times over-"taken for want of due consideration; eith-"er some common cause leading them all "into error, or one man's oversight deceiv-"ing many through their too much credu-"lity and easiness of belief." Though ten persons be brought to give testimony in any cause, yet if the knowledge they have of the thing whereunto they come as witnesses, appear to have grown from some one amongst them, and to have spread itself from hand to hand, they all are in force but as one testimony. Nor is it otherwise here where the daughter churches do speak their mother's dialect; here where so many sing one song, by reason that he is the guide of the choir, concerning whose deserved authority amongst even the gravest divines we have already spoken at large. Will ye ask what should move so many learned to be followers of one man's judgment, no necessity of argument forcing them thereunto? Your demand is answered by yourselves. Loth ye are to think that they, whom ye judge to have attained as sound knowledge in all points of doctrine as any since the Apostles' time, should mistake in discipline [90]. Such is naturally our affection, that whom in great things we mightily admire, in them we are not persuaded willingly that any thing should be amiss. The reason whereof is, "for that as dead flies "putrify the ointment of the apothecary, so "a little folly him that is in estimation for "wisdom [91]." This in every profession hath too much authorized the judgments of a few. This with Germans hath caused Luther, and with many other churches Calvin, to prevail in all things. Yet are we not able to define, whether the wisdom of that God, who setteth before us in holy Scripture so many admirable patterns of virtue, and no one of them without somewhat noted wherein they were culpable; to the end, that to Him alone it might always be acknowledged, "Thou only art holy, thou "only art just [92];" might not permit those worthy vessels of his glory to be in some things blemished with the stain of human frailty, even for this cause, lest we should esteem of any man above that which behoveth.

V. Notwithstanding, as though ye were able to say a great deal more than hitherto your books have revealed to the world, earnest challengers [93] ye are of trial by some

Their calling for trial by disputation.

[88] [Full evidence of this point may be seen in Whitgift's two works.]

[89] Galen. clas. 2, lib. de cujusque Anim. Peccat. Notitia atque Medela. t. i. p. 366. Basil. 1538. [—*μηδενὶ ψευδῶς συγκαταθέμενον ἑαυτὸν, ὥσπερ ἑκάστης ἡμέρας ὁρῶ παμπολλους τῶν φιλῶν, ἐνίους μὲν ἑνὶ τῶν εἰποντων ὑτιοῦν πιστεύσαντας· . . . . προπετῶς δὲ καὶ ὁ τρίσιν ἢ τέσσαρσιν, ἄιευ τοῦ διορίσασθαι ποτερον ἐνδέχεται πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐκ μιᾶς αἰτίας κοινῆς ἀληθεύειν ἢ ψεύδεσθαι πάντας ἐκ μίᾶς αἰτίας κοινῆς.*]

[90] Petition to the Queen's Majesty, p. 14.—["It "*may* be that they who have attained to as sound "knowledge in all points of doctrine as any since "the apostles' time should mistake in discipline "It *may* be that they whom the Spirit of truth and "wisdom hath directed in expounding the Scrip-"tures should be always forsaken of that Spirit "when they come to expound or speak of a text "concerning discipline . . . But . . . men not partial "will still make scruples in these matters."]

[91] Eccles. x. 1.

[92] [*ὁτι μονος ὁσιος.* Apoc. xv. 4. *Σὺ μονος Αγιος,—σὺ μονος Κύριος.* Morning Hymn in Apost. Constit. vii. 4. used by our Church in the Post-Communion.]

[93] ["Would to God that free conference in these "matters might be had. For howesoever learned

public disputation. Wherein if the thing ye crave be no more than only leave to dispute openly about those matters that are in question, the schools in universities (for any thing I know) are open unto you. They have their yearly acts and commencements, besides other disputations both ordinary and upon occasion, wherein the several parts of our own ecclesiastical discipline are oftentimes offered unto that kind of examination; the learnedest of you have been of late years noted seldom or never absent from thence at the time of those greater assemblies; and the favour of proposing there in convenient sort whatsoever ye can object (which thing myself have known them to grant of scholastical courtesy unto strangers) neither hath (as I think) nor ever will (I presume) be denied you.

[2.] If your suit be to have some great extraordinary confluence, in expectation whereof the laws that already are should sleep and have no power over you, till in the hearing of thousands ye all did acknowledge your error and renounce the further prosecution of your cause: haply they whose authority is required unto the satisfying of your demand do think it both dangerous to admit such concourse of divided minds, and unmeet that laws, which being once solemnly established are to exact obedience of all men and to constrain thereunto, should so far stoop as to hold themselves in suspense from taking any effect upon you till some disputer can persuade you to be obedient[94]. A law is the deed of the whole body politic, whereof if ye judge yourselves to be any part, then is the law even your deed also. And were it reason in things of this quality to give men audience, pleading for the overthrow of that which their own very deed hath ratified? Laws that have been approved may be (no man doubteth) again repealed, and to that end also disputed against, by the authors thereof themselves. But this is when the whole doth deliberate what laws each part shall observe, and not when a part refuseth the laws which the whole hath orderly agreed upon.

[3.] Notwithstanding, forasmuch as the cause we maintain is (God be thanked) such as needeth not to shun any trial, might it please them on whose approbation the matter dependeth to condescend so far unto you in this behalf, I wish heartily that proof were made even by solemn conference in orderly and quiet sort, whether you would yourselves be satisfied, or else could by satisfying others draw them to your part. Provided always, first, inasmuch as ye go about to destroy a thing which is in force, and to draw in that which hath not as yet been received; to impose on us that which we think not ourselves bound unto, and to overthrow those things whereof we are possessed; that therefore ye are not to claim in any such conference other than the plaintiff's or opponent's part, which must consist altogether in proof and confirmation of two things: the one, that our orders by you condemned we ought to abolish; the other, that yours we are bound to accept in the stead thereof: secondly, because the questions in controversy between us are many, if once we descend unto particularities; that for the easier and more orderly proceeding therein the most general be first discussed, nor any question left off, nor in each question the prosecution of any one argument given over and another taken in hand, till the issue whereunto by replies and answers both parts are come, be collected, read, and acknowledged as well on the one side as on the other to be the plain conclusion which they are grown unto: thirdly, for avoiding of the manifold inconveniences whereunto ordinary and extemporal disputes are subject; as also because, if ye should singly dispute one by one as every man's own wit did best serve, it might be conceived by the rest that haply some other would have done more; the chiefest of you do all agree in this action, that whom ye shall then choose your speaker, by him that which is publicly brought into disputation be acknowledged by all your consents not to be his allegation but yours, such as ye all are agreed upon, and have required him to deliver in all your names; the true copy whereof being taken by a notary, that a reasonable time be allowed for return of answer unto you in the like form. Fourthly, whereas a number of conferences have been had in other causes with the less effectual success, by reason of partial and untrue reports published afterwards unto the world; that to prevent this evil, there be at the first a solemn declara-

" and many they seeme to be, they should and may " in this realme finde inowe, to matche them, and " shame them too, if they hold on as they have be- " gon." Address " to the godly readers," prefixed to the first Admonition to the Parliament, p. 2. See also " A View of Popish abuses," subjoined to the 1st Admonition, p. 18; and 2d Adm. p. 36; and Petition to the Queen's Maj. p. 3. " There is " a way devised and much commended by learned " men, as a notable mean to compound controver- " sies, namely, private conferences by advised wri- " ting, not extemporal speaking, the question " agreed of. The arguments, the answers, replies, " and rejoinders set down, till both parties had ful- " ly said, all by-matters laid aside. In fine the " whole to be published, that your Majesty, the " honourable counsellors and Parliament may " judge thereof." And Pref. to Dem. of Disc. " Venture your bishopricks upon a disputation, and " we will venture our lives: take the challenge if " you dare."]

[94] [See in Strype, Ann. IV. 239, 240, a petition of Barrow for a conference, with Archbishop Whitgift's reason against it.]

tion made on both parts, of their agreement to have that very book and no other set abroad, wherein their present authorized notaries do write those things fully and only, which being written and there read, are by their own open testimony acknowledged to be their own. Other circumstances hereunto belonging, whether for the choice of time, place, and language, or for prevention of impertinent and needless speech, or to any end and purpose else—they may be thought on when occasion serveth.

In this sort to broach my private conceit for the ordering of a public action I should be loth (albeit I do it not otherwise than under correction of them whose gravity and wisdom ought in such cases to overrule,) but that so venturous boldness I see is a thing now general; and am thereby of good hope, that where all men are licensed to offend, no man will shew himself a sharp accuser.

VI. What success God may give unto any such kind of conference or disputation, we cannot tell. But of this we are right sure, that nature, Scripture [95], and experience itself, have all taught the world to seek for the ending of contentions by submitting itself unto some judicial and definitive sentence, whereunto neither part that contendeth may under any pretence or colour refuse to stand. This must needs be effectual and strong. As for other means without this, they seldom prevail. I would therefore know, whether for the ending of these irksome strifes, wherein you and your followers do stand thus formally divided against the authorized guides of this church, and the rest of the people subject unto their charge; whether I say ye be content to refer your cause to any other higher judgment than your own, or else intend to persist and proceed as ye have begun, till yourselves can be persuaded to condemn yourselves. If your determination be this, we can be but sorry that ye should deserve to be reckoned with such, of whom God himself pronounceth, "The way of "peace they have not known [96]."

No end of contention, without submission of both parts unto some definitive sentence.

[2.] Ways of peaceable conclusion there are, but these two certain: the one, a sentence of judicial decision given by authority thereto appointed within ourselves; the other, the like kind of sentence given by a more universal authority. The former of which two ways God himself in the Law prescribeth, and his Spirit it was which directed the very first Christian churches in the world to use the latter.

The ordinance of God in the Law was this. "[97] If there arise a matter too hard "for thee in judgment, between blood and "blood, between plea, &c. then shalt thou "arise, and go up into the place which the "Lord thy God shall choose; and thou shalt "come unto the priests of the Levites, and "unto the judge that shall be in those days, "and ask, and they shall shew thee the "sentence of judgment, and thou shalt do "according to that thing, which they of "that place which the Lord hath chosen "shew thee, and thou shalt observe to do ac-"cording to all that they inform thee; accord-"ing to the law which they shall teach thee, "and according to the judgment which they "shall tell thee, shalt thou do; thou shalt "not decline from the thing which they shall "shew thee to the right hand nor to the left. "And that man that will do presumptuously, "not hearkening unto the priest, (that "standeth before the Lord thy God to minis-"ter there) or unto the judge, that man shall "die, and thou shalt take away evil from "Israel."

When there grew in the Church of Christ a question, Whether the Gentiles believing might be saved, although they were not circumcised after the manner of Moses, nor did observe the rest of those legal rites and ceremonies whereunto the Jews were bound; after great dissension and disputation about it, their conclusion in the end was to have it determined by sentence at Jerusalem; which was accordingly done in a council there assembled for the same purpose [98]. Are ye able to allege any just and sufficient cause wherefore absolutely ye should not condescend in this controversy to have your judgments overruled by some such definite sentence, whether it fall out to be given with or against you; that so these tedious contentions may cease?

[3.] Ye will perhaps make answer, that being persuaded already as touching the truth of your cause, ye are not to hearken unto any sentence, no not though Angels should define otherwise, as the blessed Apostle's own example teacheth [99]: again, that men, yea councils may err; and that, unless the judgment given do satisfy your minds, unless it be such as ye can by no further argument oppugn, in a word, unless you perceive and acknowledge it yourselves consonant with God's word; to stand unto it not allowing it were to sin against your own consciences.

But consider I beseech you first as touching the Apostle, how that wherein he was so resolute and peremptory, our Lord Jesus Christ made manifest unto him even by intuitive revelation, wherein there was no possibility of error. That which you are persuaded of, ye have it no otherwise than by your own only probable collection, and there-

[95] [Hebr. vi. 16. "An oath for confirmation is "to them an end of all strife."]

[96] Rom. iii. 17.

[97] Deut. xvii. 8. [98] Acts xv. [99] Gal. i. 8.

fore such bold asseverations as in him were admirable, should in your mouths but argue rashness. God was not ignorant that the priests and judges, whose sentence in matters of controversy he ordained should stand, both might and oftentimes would be deceived in their judgment. Howbeit, better it was in the eye of His understanding, that sometime an erroneous sentence definitive should prevail, till the same authority perceiving such oversight, might afterwards correct or reverse it, than that strifes should have respite to grow, and not come speedily unto some end.

Neither wish we that men should do any thing which in their hearts they are persuaded they ought not to do, but this persuasion ought (we say) to be fully settled in their hearts; that in litigious and controversed causes of such quality, the will of God is to have them do whatsoever the sentence of judicial and final decision shall determine, yea, though it seem in their private opinion to swerve utterly from that which is right: as no doubt many times the sentence amongst the Jews did seem unto one part or other contending, and yet in this case, God did then allow them to do that which in their private judgment it seemed, yea and perhaps truly seemed, that the law did disallow. For if God be not the author of confusion but of peace, then can he not be the author of our refusal, but of our contentment, to stand unto some definitive sentence; without which almost impossible it is that either we should avoid confusion, or ever hope to attain peace. To small purpose had the council of Jerusalem been assembled, if once their determination being set down, men might afterwards have defended their former opinions. When therefore they had given their definitive sentence, all controversy was at an end. Things were disputed before they came to be determined; men afterwards were not to dispute any longer, but to obey. The sentence of judgment finished their strife, which their disputes before judgment could not do. This was ground sufficient for any reasonable man's conscience to build the duty of obedience upon, whatsoever his own opinion were as touching the matter before in question. So full of wilfulness and self-liking is our nature, that without some definitive sentence, which being given may stand, and a necessity of silence on both sides afterward imposed, small hope there is that strifes thus far prosecuted will in short time quietly end.

[4.] Now it were in vain to ask you, whether ye could be content that the sentence of any court already erected should be so far authorized, as that among the Jews established by God himself, for the determining of all controversies: "That "man which will do presumptuously, not "hearkening unto the priest that standeth "before the Lord to minister there, nor "unto the judge, let him die." Ye have given us already to understand, what your opinion is in part concerning her sacred majesty's court of high commission; the nature whereof is the same with that amongst the Jews[100], albeit the power be not so great. The other way happily may like you better, because Master Beza, in his last book save one[1] written about these matters, professeth himself to be now weary of such combats and encounters, whether by word or writing, inasmuch as he findeth that "controversies thereby are made but "brawls;" and therefore wisheth "that in "some common lawful assembly of churches "all these strifes may at once be decided."

[5.] Shall there be in the meanwhile no "doings?" Yes. There are the weightier matters of the law, judgment, and "mercy, "and fidelity[2]." These things we ought to do; and these things, while we contend about less, we leave undone. Happier are they whom the Lord when he cometh, shall find doing in these things, than disputing about "doctors, elders, and deacons." Or if there be no remedy but somewhat needs ye must do which may tend to the setting forward of your discipline; do that which wise men, who think some statute of the realm more fit to be repealed than to stand in force, are accustomed to do before they come to parliament where the place of enacting is; that is to say, spend the time in re-examining more duly your cause, and in more thoroughly considering of that which ye labour to overthrow. As for the orders which are established, sith equity and reason, the law of nature, God and man, do all favour that which is in being, till orderly judgment of decision be given against it; it is but justice to exact of you, and perverseness in you it should be to deny, thereunto your willing obedience.

[6.] Not that I judge it a thing allowable for men to observe those laws which in their hearts they are steadfastly persuaded to be against the law of God: but your persuasion in this case ye are all bound for the time to suspend; and in otherwise do-

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[100] [See George Cranmer's notes on B. vi.]

[1] Præf. Tract. de Excom. et Presbyt. ["Ab illis "peto, ... ut me jampridem istarum concerta- "tionum pertæsum, quibus in rixas evadere potius "quam mitigari, nedum extingui controversias ap- "paret, non inviti patiantur vel partes istas minus "occupatis aliis fratribus relinquere, si fuerit opus, "obeundas; vel tacitum expectare, donec aut Ec- "clesiæ suæ sic domi et foris vexatæ precibus hoc "tribuat Dominus, ut lites omnes istæ communi "aliquo legitimo ecclesiarum conventu decidan- "tur; vel nihi denique septuagesimum primum "jam annum in terris peregrinanti portus ille beatæ "et perrennis quietis, ad quem totus anhelo, per "clementissimi Servatoris mei misericordiam pa- "tefiat."

[2] Matt. xxiii. 23.

ing, ye offend against God by troubling his Church without any just or necessary cause. Be it that there are some reasons inducing you to think hardly of our laws. Are those reasons demonstrative, are they necessary, or but mere probabilities only? An argument necessary and demonstrative is such, as being proposed unto any man and understood, the mind cannot choose but inwardly assent. Any one such reason dischargeth, I grant, the conscience, and setteth it at full liberty. For the public approbation given by the body of this whole church unto those things which are established doth make it but probable that they are good. And therefore unto a necessary proof that they are not good it must give place. But if the skilfullest amongst you can shew that all the books ye have hitherto written be able to afford any one argument of this nature, let the instance be given. As for probabilities, what thing was there ever set down so agreeable with sound reason, but some probable show against it might be made? Is it meet that when publicly things are received, and have taken place, general obedience thereunto should cease to be exacted, in case this or that private person, led with some probable conceit, should make open protestation, "I "Peter or John disallow them, and pro- "nounce them nought?" In which case your answer will be, that concerning the laws of our church, they are not only condemned in the opinion of "a private man, "but of thousands," yea and even "of those "amongst which divers are in public charge "and authority[3]." As though when public consent of the whole hath established any thing, every man's judgment being thereunto compared were not private, howsoever his calling be to some kind of public charge. So that of peace and quietness there is not any way possible, unless the probable voice of every entire society or body politic overrule all private of like nature in the same body. Which thing effectually proveth, that God, being author of peace and not of confusion in the church, must needs be author of those men's peaceable resolutions, who concerning these things have determined with themselves to think and do as the church they are of decreeth, till they see necessary cause enforcing them to the contrary.

VII. Nor is mine own intent any other in these several books of discourse, than to make it appear unto you, that for the ecclesiastical laws of this land, we are led by great reason to observe them, and ye by no necessity bound to impugn them. It is no part of my secret meaning to draw you hereby into hatred, or to set upon the face of this cause any fairer glass than the naked truth doth afford; but my whole endeavour is to resolve the conscience, and to shew as near as I can what in this controversy the heart is to think, if it will follow the light of sound and sincere judgment, without either cloud of prejudice, or mist of passionate affection.

The matter contained in these eight Books.

[2.] Wherefore seeing that laws and ordinances in particular, whether such as we observe, or such as yourselves would have established;—when the mind doth sift and examine them, it must needs have often recourse to a number of doubts and questions about the nature, kinds, and qualities of laws in general; whereof unless it be thoroughly informed, there will appear no certainty to stay our persuasion upon: I have for that cause set down in the first place an introduction on both sides needful to be considered: declaring therein what law is, how different kinds of laws there are, and what force they are of according unto each kind.

[3.] This done, because ye suppose the laws for which ye strive are found in Scripture, but those not against which ye strive; and upon this surmise are drawn to hold it as the very main pillar of your whole cause, "That Scripture ought to be the only rule "of all our actions," and consequently that the church-orders which we observe being not commanded in Scripture, are offensive and displeasant unto God: I have spent the second Book in sifting of this point, which standeth with you for the first and chiefest principle whereon ye build.

[4.] Whereunto the next in degree is, That as God will have always a Church upon earth, while the world doth continue, and that Church stand in need of government: of which government it behooveth Himself to be both the Author and Teacher: so it cannot stand with duty that man should ever presume in any wise to change and alter the same; and therefore "that in "Scripture there must of necessity be "found some particular form of Polity Ec- "clesiastical, the laws whereof admit not "any kind of alteration."

[5.] The first three Books being thus ended, the fourth proceedeth from the general grounds and foundations of your cause unto your general accusations against us, as having in the orders of our church (for so you pretend) "corrupted the right form of "church-polity with manifold popish rites "and ceremonies, which certain reformed "churches have banished from amongst "them, and have thereby given us such an "example as" (you think) "we ought to "follow." This your assertion hath herein drawn us to make search, whether these be just exceptions against the customs of our church, when ye plead that they are the same which the church of Rome hath, or

[3] T. C. lib. iii. p. 181.

that they are not the same which some other reformed churches have devised.

[6.] Of those four Books which remain and are bestowed about the specialties of that cause which lieth in controversy, the first examineth the causes by you alleged, wherefore the public duties of Christian religion, as our prayers, our sacraments, and the rest, should not be ordered in such sort as with us they are; nor that power, whereby the persons of men are consecrated unto the ministry, be disposed of in such manner as the laws of this church do allow. The second and third are concerning the power of jurisdiction: the one, whether laymen, such as your governing elders are, ought in all congregations for ever to be invested with that power; the other, whether bishops may have that power over other pastors, and therewithal that honour, which with us they have? And because besides the power of order which all consecrated persons have, and the power of jurisdiction which neither they all nor they only have, there is a third power, a power of ecclesiastical dominion, communicable, as we think, unto persons not ecclesiastical, and most fit to be restrained unto the Prince or Sovereign commander over the whole body politic: the eighth Book we have alloted unto this question, and have sifted therein your objections against those preeminences royal which thereunto appertain.

[7.] Thus have I laid before you the brief of these my travails, and presented unto your view the limbs of that cause litigious between us: the whole entire body whereof being thus compact, it shall be no troublesome thing for any man to find each particular controversy's resting-place, and the coherence it hath with those things, either on which it dependeth, or which depend on it.

VIII. The case so standing therefore, my brethren, as it doth, the wisdom of governors ye must not blame, in that they further also forecasting the manifold strange and dangerous innovations which are more than likely to follow if your discipline should take place, have for that cause thought it hitherto a part of their duty to withstand your endeavours that way. The rather, for that they have seen already some small beginnings of the fruits thereof, in them who concurring with you in judgment about the necessity of that discipline, have adventured without more ado to separate themselves from the rest of the Church, and to put your speculations in execution [4]. These men's hastiness the warier sort of you doth not commend; ye wish they had held themselves longer in, and not so dangerously flown abroad before the feathers of the cause had been grown; their error with merciful terms ye reprove, naming them, in great commiseration of mind, your "poor "brethren [5]." They on the contrary side more bitterly accuse you as their "false "brethren;" and against you they plead, saying: "From your breasts it is that we "have sucked those things, which when ye "delivered unto us, ye termed that heaven-"ly, sincere, and wholesome milk of God's "word [6], howsoever ye now abhor as poi-"son that which the virtue thereof hath "wrought and brought forth in us. You "sometime our companions, guides and fa-"miliars, with whom we have had most "sweet consultations [7], are now become our "professed adversaries, because we think "the statute-congregations in England to

How just cause there is to fear the manifold dangerous events likely to ensue upon this intended reformation, if it did take place.

[4] [See Strype, Whitg. II. 191; Ann. IV. 127, 136, 187—196, 197, 202, 239, 246. Bancroft, Survey, &c. 340—349. The head of this separation was Robert Browne. See his "Treatise of Reformation without tarrying for any, and of the wickedness of those Preachers, which will not reform themselves and their charge, because they will tarry till the Magistrate command and compel them." Prefixed to "A Book which sheweth the Life and Manners of all true Christians." (Bodl. 4°. B. 8. Th. Seld.) Middleburgh, 1582. Also (Bodl. 4°. Crymes, 744.) "Greenwood's Answer to "Giffard," (who had written a short Treatise against the Donatists of England,) and in the same volume, 2. "A collection of certain slanderous Articles given out by the Bishops;" and 3. "A Collection of certain Letters and Conferences lately passed betwixt certain Preachers and two Prisoners in the Fleet," (Barrow and Greenwood,) all 1590. In this latter, p. 7, we find the following portion of a dialogue between Barrow and Sperin, a Puritan minister. "Bar. 'Trow you, are none wicked in all the land, with whom you stand one body? for all are of your church. Will you justify also all the parishes of England?' Sper. 'I will justify all those parishes that have preaching ministers.' Bar. 'And what think you of those that have unpreaching ministers?' Sper. '*I think not such to be true churches.*' (Mr. Sperin was here requested to set down this under his hand, but would not.") In "An Answer to M. Cartwright his Letter for joining with the English Churches," (which letter is subjoined in the same pamphlet, Bodl. 4°. S. 58. Th.) we read, p. 12, "Another proof is, as though it were granted him, *That where a preaching minister is, there is a church.*"]

[5] [Penry, Preface to "A Brief Discovery," (after speaking of Donatism,) "If any of our poor brethren be carried away, to think otherwise of the congregations of England, which enjoy the word truly preached and the right administration of the sacraments: we cease not to pray that the Lord would reform their judgments. But woe be unto our Bishops, which are the cause of this their stumbling, and maintainers of their error. For the poor brethren do hold nothing in this point, but that which the learned fathers, as M. Bancroft calleth them, have decreed."]

[6] 1 Pet. ii. 2.

[7] Psalm lv. 13.

"be no true Christian churches [8]; because "we have severed ourselves from them; "and because without their leave and li- "cense that are in civil authority, we have "secretly framed our own churches accord- "ing to the platform of the word of God. "For of that point between you and us "there is no controversy. Alas! what "would ye have us to do? At such time "as ye were content to accept us in the "number of your own, your teachings we "heard, we read your writings: and though "we would, yet able we are not to forget "with what zeal ye have ever professed, "that in the English congregations (for so "many of them as be ordered according "unto their own laws) the very public ser- "vice of God is fraught as touching mat- "ter with heaps of intolerable pollutions, "and as concerning form, borrowed from "the shop of Antichrist; hateful both ways "in the eyes of the Most Holy; the kind "of their government by bishops and arch- "bishops antichristian; that discipline which "Christ hath 'essentially tied,' that is to say, "so united unto his Church, that we cannot "account it really to be his Church which "hath not in it the same discipline, that "very discipline no less there despised, "than in the highest throne of Antichrist [9]; "all such parts of the word of God as do "any way concern that discipline no less "unsoundly taught and interpreted by all "authorized English pastors, than by An- "tichrist's factors themselves; at baptism "crossing, at the supper of the Lord kneel- "ing, at both, a number of other the most "notorious badges of antichristian recog- "nizance usual. Being moved with these "and the like your effectual discourses, "whereunto we gave most attentive ear, "till they entered even into our souls, and "were as fire within our bosoms; we "thought we might hereof be bold to con- "clude, that sith no such antichristian syna- "gogue may be accounted a true church of "Christ, you by accusing all congregations "ordered according to the laws of Eng- "land as antichristian, did mean to con- "demn those congregations, as not being "any of them worthy the name of a true "Christian church. Ye tell us now it is "not your meaning. But what meant your "often threatenings of them, who profess- "ing themselves the inhabitants of Mount "Sion, were too loth to depart wholly as "they should out of Babylon? Whereat "our hearts being fearfully troubled, we "durst not, we durst not continue longer so "near her confines, lest her plagues might "suddenly overtake us, before we did cease "to be partakers with her sins: for so we "could not choose but acknowledge with "grief that we were, when, they doing "evil, we by our presence in their assem- "blies seemed to like thereof, or at least- "wise not so earnestly to dislike, as became "men heartily zealous of God's glory. For "adventuring to erect the discipline of "Christ without the leave of the Christian "magistrate, haply ye may condemn us as "fools, in that we hazard thereby our es- "tates and persons further than you which "are that way more wise think necessary: "but of any offence or sin therein commit- "ted against God, with what conscience "can you accuse us, when your own posi- "tions are, that the things we observe "should every of them be dearer unto us "than ten thousand lives; that they are "the peremptory commandments of God; "that no mortal man can dispense with "them, and that the magistrate grievously "sinneth in not constraining thereunto? "Will ye blame any man for doing that of "his own accord, which all men should be "compelled to do that are not willing of "themselves? When God commandeth, "shall we answer that we will obey, if so "be Cæsar will grant us leave? Is disci- "pline an ecclesiastical matter or a civil? If "an ecclesiastical, it must of necessity be- "long to the duty of the minister. And "the minister (you say) holdeth all his au- "can have no more to do, than in times past it had "with the schismatical Donatists."]

[8] [See the opinions charged on Barrow and Greenwood before the court of high commission, Nov. 1587, in Paule's Life of Whitgift; Wordsworth, E. B. IV. 356. One of them is, "That all "the precise, which refuse the ceremonies of the "Church, and yet preach in the same Church, "strain at a gnat and swallow a camel; and are "close hypocrites, and walk in a left-handed pol- "icy: as Master Cartwright, Wiggington, &c." See the notes on Cranmer's letter to Hooker, vol. ii. book v. appendix 2.]

[9] Pref. against Dr. Bancr. [Pref. to "a Briefe "Discovery of the Untruthes and Slanders (against "the true government of the Church of Christ) "contained in a Sermon, preached the 8 Febuarie, "1588, by D. Bancroft, and since that time set "forth in print, with additions by the said Author." By Penry, 1590. The passage referred to is, "The "visible Church of God, wheresoever it be, hath "the power of binding and loosing annexed unto "it, as our Saviour Christ teacheth us, Matth. 18, "which authority is so essentially tied unto the "visible Church, that wheresoever this power is to "be found, there the Church of Christ is also visi- "ble, and wheresoever there is a visible Church, "there this authority cannot be denied to be. . . . "Now the reader cannot be ignorant, that our bish- "ops will never grant that the visible congrega- "tions in England ought to have this power of "binding and loosing. . . . The crime therefore of "schism, and Donatism, which M. Bancroft and "the prelates would fasten upon us, doth justly "cleave unto themselves. . . . . It shall be proved "in the end, that they are the schismatics and not "we. It shall appear that they are growing to "make a body of their own, wherewith the Church "of God in a while (if they hold on their course)

"thority of doing whatsoever belongeth "unto the spiritual charge of the house of "God even immediately from God himself, "without dependency upon any magistrate. "Whereupon it followeth, as we suppose, "that the hearts of the people being willing "to be under the sceptre of Christ, the "minister of God, into whose hands the "Lord himself hath put that sceptre, is "without all excuse if thereby he guide "them not. Nor do we find that hitherto "greatly ye have disliked those churches "abroad, where the people with direction "of their godly ministers have even against "the will of the magistrate brought in "either the doctrine or discipline of Jesus "Christ. For which cause we must now "think the very same thing of you, which "our Saviour did sometime utter concern-"ing falsehearted Scribes and Pharisees, "'they say, and do not[10].'" Thus the foolish Barrowist deriveth his schism by way of conclusion, as to him it seemeth, directly and plainly out of your principles. Him therefore we leave to be satisfied by you from whom he hath sprung.

[2.] And if such by your own acknowledgment be persons dangerous, although as yet the alterations which they have made are of small and tender growth; the changes likely to ensue throughout all states and vocations within this land, in case your desire should take place, must be thought upon.

First concerning the supreme power of the Highest, they are no small prerogatives, which now thereunto belonging the form of your discipline will constrain it to resign; as in the last book of this treatise we have shewed at large[11].

Again it may justly be feared whether our English nobility, when the matter came in trial, would contentedly suffer themselves to be always at the call, and to stand to the sentence of a number of mean persons assisted with the presence of their poor teacher[12], a man (as sometimes it happeneth) though better able to speak, yet little or no whit apter to judge, than the rest: from whom, be their dealings never so absurd, (unless it be by way of complaint to a synod,) no appeal may be made unto any one of higher power, inasmuch as the order of your discipline admitteth no standing inequality of courts, no spiritual judge to have any ordinary superior on earth, but as many supremacies as there are parishes and several congregations.

[3.] Neither is it altogether without cause that so many do fear the overthrow of all learning as a threatened sequel of this your intended discipline. For if "the world's "preservation" depend upon "the multitude "of the wise[12];" and of that sort the number hereafter be not likely to wax overgreat, "when" (that wherewith the son of Sirach professeth himself at the heart grieved) "men of understanding are" already so "little set by[13];" how should their minds whom the love of so precious a jewel filleth with secret jealousy even in regard of the least things which may any way hinder the flourishing estate thereof, choose but misdoubt lest this discipline, which always you match with divine doctrine as her natural and true sister, be found unto all kinds of knowledge a step-mother[14]; seeing that the greatest wordly hopes, which are proposed unto the chiefest kind of learning, ye seek utterly to extirpate as weeds, and have grounded your platform on such propositions as do after a sort undermine those most renowned habitations, where through the goodness of Almighty God all commendable arts and sciences are with exceeding great industry hitherto (and so may they for ever continue) studied, proceeded in, and professed[15]? To charge you as purposely bent

[10] Matt. xxiii. 3.

[11] [From this it would seem that the whole treatise was in a manner finished before 1594, when this preface was published.]

[12] [Sutcliffe de Presbyt. 134. "Legibus nostris antiquatis, et hominibus doctis ab Ecclesiæ clavo (quam secundum leges et divinas et humanas administrant) dimotis, presbyteri se ad rem accingent, Deus bone, quales et quanti homines! accedent primo Pastores quidam (si quales apud nos sunt scire cupiatis) adolescentuli plerique novi, rerum imperiti, cui pueros male crediderit aut unum servulum; qui seipsos vix regunt, tantum abest ut principes regere possint. Aderunt etiam (τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ φακῇ μυρὸν) Presbyteri, viri bene barbati et tetrici, quorum plurimæ sunt species: eorum enim nonnuli artifices sunt, ut fabri, qui nobis arte Vulcania disciplinam excudent: coqui etiam aderunt, ut aliquid sit in presbyterio insipido condimenti: sutores, ut pugnantes presbyterorum sententias sarciant: sine cæmentariis, arx hæc presbyteralis ædificari non potest: adjungentur præterea aliquot agricolarum et mercatorum centuriæ: pharmacopolæ vero non recte desiderabuntur, multo enim illis opus erit helleboro. Atque istis ita constitutis et consarcinatis, quis non presbyterium istiusmodi omnibus archiepiscopis, episcopis, et reliquis ecclesiæ Anglicanæ moderatoribus præferat?"]

[13] Ecclus. xxvi. 28.

[14] ["By studying in corners, many melancholy "model-makers, and church-cobblers may be "made, but not one sound divine: for scholars "profit by mutual conference, disputation, exer-"cise, mutual emulation and example, as much "as by hearing and reading: but those helps they "lose that teach in corners. There is but small "hope that they would make learned men, or "semblant that they mean any such matter, when "taking away the livings of the clergy, and hope "of reward from the learned, they turn men up "to live upon pensions, and to stand to the cour-"tesy of unlettered elders and deacons, that think "crusts too good for learned men." Sutcliffe, False Semblant, &c. 134.]

[15] [Technical words, for the three degrees aca-

to the overthrow of that, wherein so many of you have attained no small perfection, were injurious. Only therefore I wish that yourselves did well consider, how opposite certain of your positions are unto the state of collegiate societies, whereon the two universities consist. Those degrees which their statutes bind them to take are by your laws taken away[16]; yourselves who have sought them ye so excuse, as that ye would have men to think ye judge them not allowable, but tolerable only, and to be borne with, for some help which ye find in them unto the furtherance of your purposes, till the corrupt estate of the Church may be better reformed. Your laws forbidding ecclesiastical persons utterly the exercise of civil power must needs deprive the heads and masters in the same colleges of all such authority as now they exercise, either at home, by punishing the faults of those, who not as children to their parents by the law of nature, but altogether by civil authority are subject unto them; or abroad by keeping courts amongst their tenants. Your laws making permanent inequality amongst ministers a thing repugnant to the word of God, enforce those colleges, the seniors whereof are all or any part of them ministers under the government of a master in the same vocation, to choose as oft as they meet together a new president. For if so ye judge it necessary to do in synods, for the avoiding of permanent inequality amongst ministers, the same cause must needs even in these collegiate assemblies enforce the like. Except peradventure ye mean to avoid all such absurdities, by dissolving those corporations, and by bringing the universities unto the form of the school of Geneva. Which thing men the rather are inclined to look for, inasmuch as the ministry, whereinto their founders with singular providence have by the same statutes appointed them necessarily to enter at a certain time, your laws bind them much more necessarily to forbear, till some parish abroad call for them[17].

[4.] Your opinion concerning the law civil is that the knowledge thereof might be spared, as a thing which this land doth not need[18]. Professors in that kind being few, ye are the bolder to spurn at them, and not to dissemble your minds as concerning their removal: in whose studies although myself have not much been conversant, nevertheless exceeding great cause I see there is to wish that thereunto more encouragement were given; as well for the singular treasures of wisdom therein contained, as also for the great use we have thereof, both in decision of certain kinds of causes arising daily within ourselves, and especially for commerce with nations abroad, whereunto that knowledge is most requisite. The reasons wherewith ye would persuade that Scripture is the only rule to frame all our actions by, are in every respect as effectual for proof that the same is the only law whereby to determine all our civil controversies. And then what doth let, but that as those men may have their desire, who frankly broach it already that the work of reformation will never be perfect, till the law of Jesus Christ be received alone; so pleaders and counsellors may bring their books of the common law, and bestow them as the students of curious and needless arts[19] did theirs in the Apostles' time? I leave them to scan how far those words of yours may reach, wherein ye declare that, whereas now many houses lie waste through inordinate suits of law, "this one thing will "shew the excellency of discipline for the "wealth of the realm, and quiet of subjects; "that the Church is to censure such a party "who is apparently troublesome and con-"tentious, and without *reasonable cause* "upon a mere will and stomach doth vex "and molest his brother, and trouble the "country[20]." For mine own part I do not see but that it might very well agree with your principles, if your discipline were fully planted, even to send out your writs of surcease unto all courts of England besides, for the most things handled in them[21].

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demical in the several faculties: including the faculty of arts; for masters of arts are all, properly speaking, professors or readers.]

[16] [Adm. 16. "The titles of oure universitie, "doctors, and bachelors of divinitie, are not only "for vayn glory sought and graunted, but there "they are the names of course, conferred rather "by the prophane judgments of them that know "not what office of the Church they belong too."] &c.

[17] [Decl. of Disc. transl. by T. C. p. 155.]

[18] Humb. Motion to the L. L. p. 50. ["As for "the canon law, it is no way hurtful, but good "for the state of this realm, if it were abolished: "being, as hereafter will appear, not necessary but "dangerous to the state.... As for the maintain-"ing of civilians, as the law already maketh no "great necessity of them, having little other way "to set them on work, but by the canon law: if "such men's studies were converted another way "to more profit, in the Church and common-"wealth, little or no loss or inconvenience would "follow."]

[19] Acts xix. 19.

[20] Humb. Motion, p. 74.

[21] [Bp. Cooper, Adm. to the people of England, (1588,) p. 86. "The canon law must be utterly "taken away, with all offices to the same belong-"ing.... The use and study of the civil law will "be utterly overthrown. For the civilians in this "realm live not by the use of the civil law, but "by the officers of the canon law, and such things "as are within the compass thereof. And if you "take those offices and functions away, and those "matters wherewith they deal in the canon law, "you must needs take away the hope of reward, "and by that means their whole study" Sutcliffe, Remonstrance to the Demonstr. of Disc. p. 41.

[5.] A great deal further I might proceed and descend lower. But forasmuch as against all these and the like difficulties your answer is [22], that we ought to search what things are consonant to God's will, not which be most for our own ease; and therefore that your discipline being (for such is your error) the absolute command of Almighty God, it must be received although the world by receiving it should be clean turned upside down; herein lieth the greatest danger of all. For whereas the name of divine authority is used to countenance these things, which are not the commandments of God, but your own erroneous collections; on him ye must father whatsoever ye shall afterwards be led, either to do in withstanding the adversaries of your cause, or to think in maintenance of your doings. And what this may be, God doth know. In such kinds of error the mind once imagining itself to seek the execution of God's will, laboureth forthwith to remove both things and persons which any way hinder it from taking place; and in such cases if any strange or new thing seem requisite to be done, a strange and new opinion concerning the lawfulness thereof is withal received and broached under countenance of divine authority.

[6.] One example [23] herein may serve for many, to shew that false opinions, touching the will of God to have things done, are wont to bring forth mighty and violent practices against the hindrances of them; and those practices new opinions more pernicious than the first, yea, most extremely sometimes opposite to that which the first did seem to intend. Where the people took upon them the reformation of the Church by casting out popish superstitions, they having received from their pastors a general instruction "that whatsoever the heaven-"ly Father hath not planted must be root-"ed out [24]," proceeded in some foreign places so far that down went oratories and the very temples of God themselves. For as they chanced to take the compass of their commission stricter or larger, so their dealings were accordingly more or less moderate. Amongst others there sprang up presently one kind of men, with whose zeal and forwardness the rest being compared were thought to be marvellous cold and dull. These grounding themselves on rules more general; that whatsoever the law of Christ commandeth not, thereof Antichrist is the author: and that whatsoever Antichrist or his adherents did in the world, the true professors of Christ are to undo; found out many things more than others had done, the extirpation whereof was in their conceit as necessary as of any thing before removed. Hereupon they secretly made their doleful complaints every where as they went [25], that albeit the world did begin to profess some dislike of that which was evil in the kingdom of darkness, yet fruits worthy of a true repentance were not seen; and that if men did repent as they ought, they must endeavour to purge the earth of

"That which is needless, is unlawful. All courts "of record, as chancery and common-pleas, &c. "shall be found needless, if the consistory of pres-"byters and elders were set up; which is only "needful in the church or congregation of the "faithful brethren, because they may determine "all matters wherein any breach of charity may "be; as the admonitioner saith: *Ergo*, all courts "of record, as chancery, common pleas, &c. by "their reason will be found unlawful:" and see p. 178, where Udall having said, "Governors of "the Church may not meddle but in matters ec-"clesiastical only,... in deciding of controversies, "in doctrine and manners, as far as appertaineth "to the conscience," Sutcliffe remarks; "This "one limit of authority will carry all causes (though "most civil in their nature and practice) out of all "courts in the land unto their elderships. First, "the chancery, that decideth matters of contro-"versy by conscience, is clearly dammed up, and "may go pick paigles" (i. e. cowslips.) "And are "any other civil courts in better case? No verily: "for can any controversy be betwixt man and "man, but it 'appertaineth to conscience,' to give "the matter contended for unto him to whom of "right it is due?" See also "False Semblant," &c. p. 132, 133.]

[22] Counterb. p. 108. ["His" (Cosins's) "first "reasons are drawn from the inconveniences, "which he thinketh will come into the Church by "this means; as requiring rather (like a civilian "not a divine) what is safe, than what is accord-"ing to God his will."]

[23] [See Abp. Whitgift's Exhortation prefixed to the Answer to the Admonition. 1st ed. p. 13—16.

[24] Matt. xv. 13. [See Brandt. Hist. of the Reform. in the Low Countries: B. ii. and vii.]

[25] Guy de Brés contre l'Erreur des Anabaptists, p. 3. ["La racine, source, et fondement des An-"abaptistes ou Rebaptisez de nostre tems: avec "tres ample refutation des arguments principaux, "par lesquels ils ont accoustumé de troubler l'Eglise "de nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ, et seduire les "simples. Le tout reduit en trois livres, par Guy "de Brés. Chez Pierre de S. Andre, MDXCV," small 4to. pp. 903, no place of publication mentioned. The author was a pastor at Lille and Valenciennes, and with Saravia and three or four others was a principal author of "A Confession of Faith "of the Reformed Churches of the Low Countries, "1561 or 1562," adopted by the States of Holland in 1622. "The said Saravia says in a certain let-"ter, which I myself have seen, that 'Guido de "Brés communicated this Confession to such min-"isters as he could find, desiring them to correct "what they thought amiss in it; so that it was not "to be considered as one man's work; but that "none who were concerned in it ever designed it "for a rule of faith to others, but only for a scrip-"tural proof of what they themselves believed.'" Brandt's Hist. of the Reform. in the Low Countries, Eng. Transl. I. 142. De Brés was hanged at Valenciennes by the government of Phillip II, in 1567. Ibid. p. 250. Anabaptism began by his account in Lower Saxony, about 1521.]

all manner evil, to the end there might follow a new world afterward, wherein righteousness only should dwell. Private repentance they said must appear by every man's fashioning his own life contrary unto the customs and orders of this present world, both in greater things and in less. To this purpose they had always in their mouths those greater things, charity, faith, the true fear of God, the cross, the mortification of the flesh[26]. All their exhortations were to set light of the things in this world, to count riches and honours vanity, and in token thereof not only to seek neither, but if men were possessors of both, even to cast away the one and resign the other, that all men might see their unfeigned conversion unto Christ[27]. They were solicitors of men to fasts[28], to often meditations of heavenly things, and as it were conferences in secret with God by prayers, not framed according to the frozen manner of the world, but expressing such fervent desires, as might even force God to hearken unto them. Where they found men in diet, attire, furniture of house, or any other way, observers of civility and decent order, such they reproved as being carnally and earthly minded. Every word otherwise than severely and sadly uttered seemed to pierce like a sword through them[29]. If any man were pleasant, their manner was presently with deep sighs to repeat those words of our Savior Christ, "Woe be to you which "now laugh, for ye shall lament[30]." So great was their delight to be always in trouble, that such as did quietly lead their lives, they judged of all other men to be in most dangerous case. They so much affected to cross the ordinary custom in every thing, that when other men's use was to put on better attire, they would be sure to shew themselves openly abroad in worse: the ordinary names of the days in the week they thought it a kind of profaneness to use, and therefore accustomed themselves to make no other distinction than by numbers, the First, Second, Third day[31].

[7.] From this they proceeded unto public reformation, first ecclesiastical, and then civil. Touching the former, they boldly avouched that themselves only had the truth, which thing upon peril of their lives they would at all times defend; and that since the Apostles lived, the same was never before in all points sincerely taught[32]. Wherefore that things might again be brought to that ancient integrity which Jesus Christ by his word requireth, they began to control the ministers of the gospel for attributing so much force and virtue unto the scriptures of God read, whereas the truth was, that when the word is said to engender faith in the heart, and to convert the soul of man, or to work any such spiritual divine effect, these speeches are not thereunto appliable as it is read or preached, but as it is ingrafted in us by the power of the Holy Ghost opening the eyes of our understanding, and so revealing the mysteries of God, according to that which Jeremy promised before should be, saying, "I will put my law in their inward "parts, and I will write it in their hearts[33]." The Book of God they notwithstanding for the most part so admired, that other disputation against their opinions than only by allegation of Scripture they would not hear; besides it they thought no other writings in the world should be studied; insomuch as one of their great prophets exhorting them to cast away all respects unto human writings, so far to his motion they condescended, that as many as had any books save the Holy Bible in their custody, they brought and set them publicly on fire[34]. When they and their Bibles were alone together, what strange fantastical opinion soever at any time entered into their heads, their use was to think the Spirit taught it them. Their phrensies concerning our Saviour's incarnation, the state of souls departed, and such-like[35], are things needless to be rehearsed. And forasmuch as they were of the same suite with those of whom the Apostle speaketh, saying, "They are still learning, but never "attain to the knowledge of truth[36]," it was no marvel to see them every day broach some new thing, not heard of before. Which restless levity they did interpret to be their growing to spiritual perfection, and a proceeding from faith to faith[37]. The differences amongst them grew by this mean in a manner infinite, so that scarcely was there found any one of them, the forge of whose brain was not possessed with some special mystery. Whereupon, although their mutual contentions[38] were most fiercely prosecuted amongst themselves, yet when they came to defend the cause common to them all against the adversaries of their faction, they had ways to lick one another whole; the sounder in his own persuasion excusing *the dear brethren*[39], which were not so far enlightened, and professing a charitable hope of the mercy of God towards them notwithstanding their swerving from him in some things. Their own ministers they highly magnified as men whose vocation was from God[40]; the rest their manner

[26] p. 4.
[27] p. 16.
[28] p. 118, 119.
[29] p. 116, 120.
[30] Luke vi. 25.
[31] p. 117.
[32] p. 40.
[33] Jer. xxxi. 33. [De Brés, p. 81, 92.]
[34] p. 27. [and 702.]
[35] [De Brés, I. ii. and iii.]
[36] 2. Tim. iii. 7, p. 65.
[37] p. 66.
[38] p. 135.
[39] p. 25.
[40] p. 71.

was to term disdainfully Scribes and Pharisees [41], to account their calling a human creature, and to detain the people as much as might be from hearing them. As touching Sacraments [42], Baptism administered in the Church of Rome they judged to be but an execrable mockery and no baptism; both because the ministers thereof in the Papacy are wicked idolaters, lewd persons, thieves and murderers, cursed creatures, ignorant beasts; and also for that to baptize is a proper action belonging unto none but the Church of Christ, whereas Rome is Antichrist's synagogue. The custom of using godfathers and godmothers at christenings they scorned [43]. Baptizing of infants, although confessed by themselves to have been continued ever sithence the very Apostles' own times, yet they altogether condemned; partly because sundry errors are of no less antiquity [44]; and partly for that there is no commandment in the gospel of Christ which saith, "Baptize infants [45];" but he contrariwise in saying, "Go preach and baptize," doth appoint that the minister of baptism shall in that action first administer doctrine, and then baptism; as also in saying, "Whosoever doth believe and is baptized," he appointeth that the party to whom baptism is administered shall first believe and then be baptized; to the end that believing may go before this sacrament in the receiver, no otherwise than preaching in the giver; sith equally in both [46], the law of Christ declareth not only what things are required, but also in what order they are required. The Eucharist they received (pretending our Lord and Saviour's example) after supper; and for avoiding all those impieties which have been grounded upon the mystical words of Christ, "This is my body, this is my blood," they thought it not safe to mention either body or blood in that sacrament, but rather to abrogate both, and to use no words but these, "Take, eat, declare the death of our "Lord: Drink, shew forth our Lord's "death [47]." In rites and ceremonies their profession was hatred of all conformity with the Church of Rome: for which cause they would rather endure any torment than observe the solemn festivals which others did, inasmuch as Antichrist (they said) was the first inventor of them [48].

[8.] The pretended end of their civil reformation was that Christ might have dominion over all; that all crowns and sceptres might be thrown down at his feet; that no other might reign over Christian men but he, no regiment keep them in awe but his discipline, amongst them no sword at all be carried besides his, the sword of spiritual excommunication. For this cause they laboured with all their might in overturning the seats of magistracy [49], because Christ hath said, "Kings of nations [50];" in abolishing the execution of justice [51], because Christ hath said, "Resist not evil;" in forbidding oaths, the necessary means of judicial trial [52], because Christ hath said, "Swear "not at all:" finally, in bringing in community of goods [53], because Christ by his Apostles hath given the world such example, to the end that men might excel one another not in wealth the pillar of secular authority, but in virtue.

[9.] These men at the first were only pitied in their error, and not much withstood by any; the great humility, zeal, and devotion, which appeared to be in them, was in all men's opinion a pledge of their harmless meaning. The hardest that men of sound understanding conceived of them was but this, "O quam honesta voluntate miseri errant! "With how good a meaning these poor souls do evil [54]!" Luther made request unto Frederick duke of Saxony [55], that within his dominion they might be favourably dealt with and spared, for that (their error exempted) they seemed otherwise right good men. By means of which merciful toleration they gathered strength, much more than was safe for the state of the commonwealth wherein they lived. They had their secret corner-meetings and assemblies in the night, the people flocked unto them by thousands [56].

[10.] The means whereby they both allured and retained so great multitudes were most effectual: first, a wonderful show of zeal towards God, wherewith they seemed to be even rapt in every thing they spake: secondly, a hatred of sin, and a singular love of integrity, which men did think to be much more than ordinary in them, by reason of the custom which they had to fill the ears of the people with invectives against their authorized guides, as well spiritual as civil: thirdly, the bountiful relief wherewith they eased the broken estate of such needy creatures, as were in that respect the more apt to be drawn away [57]: fourthly, a tender compassion which they were thought to take upon the miseries of the common sort, over whose heads their manner was even to pour down showers of tears, in complaining that no respect was had unto them, that their goods were devoured by wicked cormorants, their persons had in contempt, all liberty both temporal and spiritual taken from them [58], that it was high time for God now

[41] p. 124.
[42] p. 764.
[43] p. 748.
[44] p. 514.
[45] p. 722, 726, 688.
[46] p. 518.
[47] p. 38.
[48] p. 122.
[49] p. 841.
[50] [Luke xxii. 25.)
[51] p. 833.
[52] p. 849.
[53] p. 40.
[54] Lactant. de Justit. lib. v. c. 19. [p. 480, ed. Oxon. 1684.]
[55] p. 6.
[56] p. 4, 20, 41, 42.
[57] p. 55.
[58] p. 6, 7.

to hear their groans, and to send them deliverance: lastly, a cunning sleight which they had to stroke and smooth up the minds of their followers, as well by appropriating unto them all the favourable titles, the good words, and the gracious promises in Scripture; as also by casting the contrary always on the heads of such as were severed from that retinue. Whereupon the people's common acclamation unto such deceivers was, "These are verily the men of God, these "are his true and sincere prophets [59]." If any such prophet or man of God did suffer by order of law condign and deserved punishment, were it for felony, rebellion, murder, or what else, the people, (so strangely were their hearts enchanted,) as though blessed Saint Stephen had been again martyred, did lament that God took away his most dear servants from them [60].

[11.] In all these things being fully persuaded, that what they did, it was obedience to the will of God, and that all men should do the like; there remained, after speculation, practice, whereby the whole world thereunto (if it were possible) might be framed. This they saw could not be done but with mighty opposition and resistance; against which to strengthen themselves, they secretly entered into league of association [61]. And peradventure considering, that although they were many, yet long wars would in time waste them out; they began to think whether it might not be that God would have them do, for their speedy and mighty increase, the same which sometime God's own chosen people, the people of Israel, did. Glad and fain they were to have it so; which very desire was itself apt to breed both an opinion of possibility, and a willingness to gather arguments of likelihood, that so God himself would have it. Nothing more clear unto their seeming, than that a new Jerusalem being often spoken of in Scripture, they undoubtedly were themselves that new Jerusalem, and the old did by way of a certain figurative resemblance signify what they should both be and do. Here they drew in a sea of matter, by applying all things unto their own company, which are any where spoken concerning divine favours and benefits bestowed upon the old commonwealth of Israel; concluding that as Israel was delivered out of Egypt, so they spiritually out of the Egypt of this world's servile thraldrom unto sin and superstition; as Israel was to root out the idolatrous nations and to plant instead of them a people which feared God; so the same Lord's good will and pleasure was now, that these new Israelites should, under the conduct of other Joshuas, Samsons, and Gideons, perform a work no less miraculous in casting out violently the wicked from the earth, and establishing the kingdom of Christ with perfect liberty: and therefore, as the cause why the children of Israel took unto one man many wives, might be lest the casualities of war should any way hinder the promise of God concerning their multitude from taking effect in them; so it was not unlike that for the necessary propagation of Christ's kingdom under the Gospel the Lord was content to allow as much.

[12.] Now whatsoever they did in such sort collect out of Scripture, when they came to justify or persuade it unto others, all was the heavenly Father's appointment, his commandment, his will and charge. Which thing is the very point, in regard whereof I have gathered this declaration. For my purpose herein is to shew, that when the minds of men are once erroneously persuaded that it is the will of God to have those things done which they fancy, their opinions are as thorns in their sides, never suffering them to take rest till they have brought their speculations into practice. The lets and impediments of which practice their restless desire and study to remove leadeth them every day forth by the hand into other more dangerous opinions, sometimes quite and clean contrary to their first pretended meanings: so as what will grow out of such errors as go masked under the cloak of divine authority, impossible it is that ever the wit of man should imagine, till time have brought forth the fruits of them: for which cause it behoveth wisdom to fear the sequels thereof, even beyond all apparent cause of fear. These men, in whose mouths at the first sounded nothing but only mortification of the flesh, were come at the length to think they might lawfully have their six or seven wives apiece; they which at the first thought judgment and justice itself to be merciless cruelty, accounted at the length their own hands sanctified with being embrued in Christian blood; they who at the first were wont to beat down all dominion, and to urge against poor constables, "Kings "of nations;" had at the length both consuls and kings of their own erection amongst themselves: finally, they which could not brook at the first that any man should seek, no not by law, the recovery of goods injuriously taken or withheld from him, were grown at the last to think they could not offer unto God more acceptable sacrifice, than by turning their adversaries clean out of house and home, and by enriching themselves with all kind of spoil and pillage; which thing being laid to their charge, they had in readiness their answer [62], that now the time was come, when according to our Saviour's promise, "the meek ones must "inherit the earth [63];" and that their title

[59] p. 7. [60] p. 27. [61] p. 6. [62] p. 41. [63] Matt. v. 5.

hereunto was the same which the righteous Israelites had unto the goods of the wicked Egyptians [64].

[13.] Wherefore sith the world hath had in these men so fresh experience, how dangerous such active errors are, it must not offend you though touching the sequel of your present mispersuasions much more be doubted, than your own intents and purposes do haply aim at. And yet your words already are somewhat, when ye affirm, that your Pastors, Doctors, Elders, and Deacons, ought to be in this Church of England, "whether her Majesty and our "state will or no [65];" when for the animating of your confederates ye publish the musters which ye have made of your own bands, and proclaim them to amount I know not to how many thousands [66]; when ye threaten, that sith neither your suits to the parliament, nor supplications to our convocation-house, neither your defences by writing, nor challenges by disputation in behalf of that cause are able to prevail, we must blame ourselves, if to bring in discipline some such means hereafter be used as shall cause all our hearts to ache [67]. "That "things doubtful are to be construed in the "better part," is a principle not safe to be followed in matters concerning the public state of a commonweal. But howsoever these and the like speeches be accounted as arrows idly shot at random, without either eye had to any mark, or regard to their lighting-place; hath not your longing desire for the practice of your discipline brought the matter already unto this demurrer amongst you, whether the people and their godly pastors that way affected ought not to make separation from the rest, and to begin the exercise of discipline without the license of civil powers, which license they have sought for, and are not heard? Upon which question as ye have now divided yourselves, the warier sort of you taking the one part, and the forwarder in zeal the other; so in case these earnest ones should prevail, what other sequel can any wise man imagine but this, that having first resolved that attempts for discipline without superiors are lawful, it will follow in the next place to be disputed what may be attempted against superiors which will not have the sceptre of that discipline to rule over them? Yea even by you which have stayed yourselves from running headlong with the other sort, somewhat notwithstanding there hath been done without the leave or liking of your lawful superiors, for the exercise of a part of your discipline amongst the clergy thereunto addicted [68].

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[64] Exod. xi. 2.

[65] Mart. in his third Libel.

[66] [Second Adm. p. 59, (misprint for 65,) ed. 1617. "We beseech you to pity this case, and to "provide for it; it is the case already of many a "thousand in this land; yea, it is the case of as "many as seek the Lord aright, and desire to have "his own orders restored. Great troubles will "come of it, if it be not provided for; even the "same God that hath stirred me, a man unknown, "to speak, though those poor men which are lock-"ed up in Newgate, neither do, nor can be suffer-"ed to speak, will daily stir up more."

Str. Whitg. II. 18. (from a MS.) "One of our "late libellers" [marg. Martyn] "braggeth of "100,000 hands: and wisheth the parliament to "bring in this reformation though it be by with-"standing the Queen's Majesty."

Ibid. 191. In 1592, the Barrowists "were reck-"oned to amount to 20,000 by Sir W. Raleigh, in "a speech of his in the last Parliament."

"You are too broad with Martin's brood, for he "hath 100,000 that will set their hands to his ar-"ticles, and shew the Queen." Pap with an Hatchet. (Of this pamphlet see before, in a note to the Life of Hooker.)

"Let the magistrate once consider what pesti-"lent and dangerous beasts these wretches" (the Bishops) "are unto the civil state. For either by "their own confession they are the bishops of the "Devil, (and so by that means will be the undo-"ing of the state, if they be continued therein,) or "else their places ought to be in this common-"wealth *whether her Majesty and our State will* "*or no, because they are not* (as they say) *the Bish-*"*ops of man.* Are they then the Bishops of God? "that is, have they such a calling as the Apostles, "Evangelists, &c. had? that is, such a calling as "ought lawfully to be in a Christian common-"wealth (unless the magistrate would injury the "Church, yea, maim, deform, and make a mon-"ster of the Church) whether the magistrate will "or no." Ha' ye any Work for a Cooper? p. 28.

And in the Epitome, against Dr. Bridges, having quoted a passage from Bp. Aylmer's "Harbo-"rough for faithful Subjects," in which the Bishop had commended "those that in King Henry VIII. "days would not grant him that his proclamations "should have the force of a statute," Penry proceeds, "I assure you, brother John, you have spo-"ken many things worthy the noting, and I would "our parliament men would mark this action done "in K. Hen. VIII. days, and follow it in bringing "in reformation, and putting down Lord Bishops, "with all other points of superstition. They may "in your judgment not only do any thing against "their King's or Queen's mind (that is behovefull "to the honour of God and the good of the com-"monwealth) but even withstand the proceedings "of their sovereign."

[67] Demonstr. in the Pref. ["We have sought to "advance the cause of God, by humble suit to the "parliament, by supplication to your convocation "house, by writing in defence of it, and by chal-"lenging to dispute for it: seeing none of these "means used by us have prevailed, if it come in by "that means, which will make all your hearts to "ache, blame yourselves: for it must prevail, mau-"gre the malice of all that stand against it; or such "a judgment must overtake this land, as shall "cause the ears that hear thereof to tingle, and "make us be a by word to all that pass by us."]

[68] [In 1567, some of the ministers who had been silenced by the bishops for nonconformity began to set up separate assemblies, using the Geneva Prayer

And lest examination of principal parties therein should bring those things to light, which might hinder and let your proceedings; behold, for a bar against that impediment, one opinion ye have newly added unto the rest even upon this occasion, an opinion to exempt you from taking oaths which may turn to the molestation of your brethren in that cause [69]. The next neighbour opinion whereunto when occasion requireth may follow, for dispensation with oaths already taken, if they afterwards be found to import a necessity of detecting aught which may bring such good men into trouble or damage, whatsoever the cause be [70]. O merciful God, what man's wit is there able to sound the depth of those dangerous and fearful evils, whereinto our weak and impotent nature is inclinable to sink itself, rather than to shew an acknowledgment of error in that which once we have unadvisedly taken upon us to defend, against the stream as it were of a contrary public resolution!

[14.] Wherefore if we any thing respect their error, who being persuaded even as you are have gone further upon that persuasion than you allow; if we regard the present state of the highest governor placed over us, if the quality and disposition of our nobles, if the orders and laws of our famous universities, if the profession of the civil or the practice of the common law amongst us, if the mischiefs whereinto even before our eyes so many others have fallen headlong from no less plausible and fair beginnings than yours are: there is in every of these considerations most just cause to fear lest our hastiness to embrace a thing of so perilous consequence should cause posterity to feel those evils, which as yet are more easy for us to prevent than they would be for them to remedy.

IX. The best and safest way for you therefore, my dear brethren, is, to call your deeds past to a new reckoning, to reexamine the cause ye have taken in hand, and to try it even point by point, argument by argument, with all the diligent exactness ye can; to lay aside the gall of that bitterness wherein your minds have hitherto overbounded, and with meekness to search the truth. Think ye are men, deem it not possible for you to err; sift unpartially your own hearts, whether it be force of reason or vehemency of affection, which hath bred and still doth feed these opinions in you. If truth do any where manifest itself, seek not to smother it with glossing delusions, acknowledge the greatness thereof, and think it your best victory when the same doth prevail over you. The conclusion of all.

[2.] That ye have been earnest in speaking or writing again and again the contrary way, shall be no blemish or discredit at all unto you. Amongst so many so huge volumes as the infinite pains of St. Augustine have brought forth, what one hath got ten him greater love, commendation and honour, than the book [71] wherein he carefully collecteth his own oversights, and sincerely condemneth them? Many speeches there are of Job's whereby his wisdom and other virtues may appear; but the glory of an ingenuous mind he hath purchased by these words only, "[72] Behold I will lay mine "hand on my mouth; I have spoken once, "yet will I not therefore maintain argu- "ment; yea twice, howbeit for that cause "further I will not proceed."

[3.] Far more comfort it were for us (so small is the joy we take in these strifes) to labour under the same yoke, as men that look for the same eternal reward of their labours, to be joined with you in bands of indissoluble love and amity, to live as if our persons being many our souls were but one, rather than in such dismembered sort to spend our few and wretched days in a tedious prosecuting of wearisome contentions: the end whereof, if they have not some speedy end, will be heavy even on both sides. Brought already we are even to that estate which Gregory Nazianzen mournfully describeth, saying [73], "My mind

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Book. Strype, Parker, I. 478—483. In 1577, the same party, by their "use or rather abuse" (Bishop Cox to Burghley, in Str. Ann. II. ii. 611.) of prophesyings, caused the inhibition of those exercises, (Queen's letter to the Bishop of Lincoln, ibid. 612.) and the suspension of Archbishop Grindal. (Grind. 342.) In 1585, they are charged with having established synods and classes in various counties, with reordination, unauthorised fast-days, and other schismatical acts. (Articles against Cartwright, in Fuller, C. H. IX. 200, 201, 202.) comp. in Strype's Whitg. III. 244—256, the bill exhibited against them in the Star Chamber.]

[69] [This seems to have been first started, in a formal and public way, by Cartwright and others, when cited before the ecclesiastical commission in 1590. Strype, Whitg. II. 19, 26, 28—32.]

[70] [The 31st article tendered to Cartwright (Fuller, ubi sup.) contains this clause, "That they "should all teach .... that it is not lawful to take "any oath, whereby a man may be driven to dis- "cover any thing penal to himself or to his broth- "er; especially if he be persuaded the matter to be "lawful, for which the punishment is like to be in- "flicted: or having taken it in this case, need not "discover the very truth."]

[71] [viz. "Retractationum."]

[72] Job. xl. 4, 5.

[73] Greg. Naz. in Apol. [p. 33, sq. ed. Par. 1609. ἀγαπητὸν, ὁρῶντα τοὺς ἄλλους ἄνω καὶ κάτω φερομένους τε καὶ ταρασσομένους, φύγοντα φυγῆ ἐκ του μέσου, ὑπὸ σκέπην ἀναχωρήσαντα, λαθεῖν του Πονήρου τὴν ζάλην καὶ τὴν σκοτόμιναν· ἤνικα πολεμεῖ μὲν ἀλλήλοις τὰ μέλη, οἴχεται δὲ τῆς ἀγάπης εἴ τι καὶ ἦν λείψανον..... Πάντες δὲ ἐσμὲν εὐσεβεῖς, ἐξ ἑνὸς μόνου, του καταγινώσκειν ἀλλων ἀσέβειαν ... θηρουμεν δὲ τὰς ἀλλήλων ἁμαρτίας, οὐκ ἵνα θρηνήσωμεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ὀνειδίσωμεν....

"leadeth me" (sith there is no other remedy) "to fly and to convey myself into some "corner out of sight, where I may scape "from this cloudy tempest of maliciousness, "whereby all parts are entered into a deadly war amongst themselves, and that little remnant of love which was, is now "consumed to nothing. The only godliness "we glory in, is to find out somewhat "whereby we may judge others to be ungodly. Each other's faults we observe as "matter of exprobation and not of grief. "By these means we are grown hateful in "the eyes of the heathens themselves, and "(which woundeth us the more deeply) able "we are not to deny but that we have deserved their hatred. With the better sort "of our own our fame and credit is clean "lost. The less we are to marvel if they "judge vilely of us, who although we did "well would hardly allow thereof. On our "backs they also build that are lewd, and "what we object one against another, the "same they use to the utter scorn and disgrace of us all. This we have gained by "our mutual home-dissensions. This we "are worthily rewarded with, which are "more forward to strive than becometh men "of virtuous and mild disposition."

[4.] But our trust in the Almighty is, that with us contentions are now at their highest float, and that the day will come (for what cause of despair is there?) when the passions of former enmity being allayed, we shall with ten times redoubled tokens of our unfeignedly reconciled love, shew ourselves each towards the other the same which Joseph and the brethren of Joseph were at the time of their interview in Egypt. Our comfortable expectation and most thirsty desire whereof what man soever amongst you shall any way help to satisfy, (as we truly hope there is no one amongst you but some way or other will,) the blessings of the God of peace, both in this world and in the world to come, be upon him more than the stars of the firmament in number.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτων, ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς μισούμεθα μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι· καὶ, ὁ τούτου χαλεπώτερον, οὐδὲ εἰπεῖν ἔχομεν, ὡς οὐ δικαίως· διαβεβλήμεθα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων τοῖς ἐπιεικεστέροις· οὐδὲν γὰρ θαυμαστὸν, εἰ τοῖς πλείοσιν, οἱ μόλις ἂν τι καὶ τῶν καλῶν ἀποδέχοιντο· τεκταίνουσι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν νώτων ἡμῶν οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ, καὶ ἃ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐπινοοῦμεν, κατὰ πάντων ἔχουσι· καὶ γεγόναμεν θέατρον καινὸν ..... Ταῦτα ἡμῖν ὁ πρὸς ἀλλήλους πόλεμος· ταῦτα οἱ λίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πραοῦ μαχόμενοι. Hooker appears to have translated from Musculus' Latin, p. 18. 19.]

What Things are handled in the Books following.

Book the First, concerning Laws in general.

The Second, of the use of Divine Law contained in Scripture; whether that be the only Law which ought to serve for our direction in all things without exception.

The Third, of Laws concerning Ecclesiastical Polity; whether the form thereof be in Scripture so set down, that no addition or change is lawful.

The Fourth, of general exceptions taken against the Laws of our Polity, as being popish, and banished out of certain reformed churches.

The Fifth, of our Laws that concern the public religious duties of the Church, and the manner of bestowing that Power of Order, which enableth men in sundry degrees and callings to execute the same.

The Sixth, of the Power of Jurisdiction, which the reformed platform claimeth unto lay-elders, with others.

The Seventh, of the Power of Jurisdiction, and the honour which is annexed thereunto in Bishops.

The Eighth, of the Power of Ecclesiastical Dominion or Supreme Authority, which with us the highest governor or Prince hath, as well in regard of domestical Jurisdictions, as of that other foreignly claimed by the Bishop of Rome.

OF THE

LAWS

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY[1]

THE FIRST BOOK.

CONCERNING LAWS AND THEIR SEVERAL KINDS IN GENERAL.

THE MATTER CONTAINED IN THIS FIRST BOOK.

I. The cause of writing this general Discourse concerning Laws.
II. Of that Law which God from before the beginning hath set for himself to do all things by.
III. The Law which natural agents observe, and their necessary manner of keeping it.
IV. The Law which the Angels of God obey.
V. The Law whereby Man is in his actions directed to the imitation of God.
VI. Men's first beginning to understand that Law.
VII. Of Man's Will, which is the first thing that Laws of action are made to guide.
VIII. Of the natural finding out of Laws by the light of Reason, to guide the Will unto that which is good.
IX. Of the benefit of keeping that Law which reason teacheth.
X. How Reason doth lead men unto the making of human Laws, whereby politic Societies are governed, and to agreement about Laws whereby the fellowship or communion of independent societies standeth.
XI. Wherefore God hath by Scripture further made known such supernatural Laws as do serve for men's direction.
XII. The cause why so many natural or rational Laws are set down in Holy Scripture.
XIII. The benefit of having divine Laws written.
XIV. The sufficiency of Scripture unto the end for which it was instituted.
XV. Of Laws positive contained in Scripture, the mutability of certain of them, and the general use of Scripture.
XVI. A Conclusion, shewing how all this belongeth to the cause in question.

I. He that goeth about to persuade a multitude that they are not so well governed as they ought to be, shall never want attentive and favourable hearers; because they know the manifold defects whereunto every kind of regiment is subject, but the secret lets and difficulties, which in public proceedings are innumerable and inevitable, they have not ordinarily the judgment to consider. And because such as openly reprove supposed disorders of state are taken for principal friends to the common benefit of all, and for men that carry singular freedom of mind; under this fair and plausible colour whatsoever they utter passeth for good and current. That which wanteth in the weight of their speech, is supplied by the aptness of men's minds to accept and believe it. Whereas on the other side, if we maintain things that are established, we have not only to strive with a number of heavy prejudices deeply rooted in the hearts of men, who think that herein we serve the time, and speak in favour of the present state, because thereby we either hold or seek preferment; but also to bear such exceptions as minds so averted beforehand usually take against that which they are loth should be poured into them.

The cause of writing this general Discourse.

[2.] Albeit therefore much of that we are

[1] [Of this title it may be not improper to remark, that it by no means conveys the same idea with the phrase commonly substituted for it, Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity. It does not profess to deliver a complete scheme or system, but only to contain a methodized course of observations on those portions of Church government, which seemed at the time most to require discussion.]

to speak in this present cause may seem to a number perhaps tedious, perhaps obscure, dark, and intricate; (for many talk of the truth, which never sounded the depth from whence it springeth; and therefore when they are led thereunto they are soon weary, as men drawn from those beaten paths wherewith they have been inured;) yet this may not so far prevail as to cut off that which the matter itself requireth, howsoever the nice humour of some be therewith pleased or no. They unto whom we shall seem tedious are in no wise injured by us, because it is in their own hands to spare that labour which they are not willing to endure. And if any complain of obscurity, they must consider, that in these matters it cometh no otherwise to pass than in sundry the works both of art and also of nature, where that which hath the greatest force in the very things we see is notwithstanding itself oftentimes not seen. The stateliness of houses, the goodliness of trees, when we behold them delighteth the eye; but that foundation which beareth up the one, that root which ministereth unto the other nourishment and life, is in the bosom of the earth concealed; and if there be at any time occasion to search into it, such labour is then more necessary than pleasant, both to them which undertake it and for the lookers-on. In like manner, the use and benefit of good laws all that live under them may enjoy with delight and comfort, albeit the grounds and first original causes from whence they have sprung be unknown, as to the greatest part of men they are. But when they who withdraw their obedience pretend that the laws which they should obey are corrupt and vicious; for better examination of their quality, it behoveth the very foundation and root, the highest well-spring and fountain of them to be discovered. Which because we are not oftentimes accustomed to do, when we do it the pains we take are more needful a great deal than acceptable, and the matters which we handle seem by reason of newness (till the mind grow better acquainted with them) dark, intricate, and unfamiliar. For as much help whereof as may be in this case, I have endeavoured throughout the body of this whole discourse, that every former part might give strength unto all that follow, and every later bring some light unto all before. So that if the judgments of men do but hold themselves in suspense as touching these first more general meditations, till in order they have perused the rest that ensue; what may seem dark at the first will afterwards be found more plain, even as the later particular decisions will appear I doubt not more strong, when the other have been read before.

[3.] The Laws of the Church, whereby for so many ages together we have been guided in the exercise of Christian religion and the service of the true God, our rites, customs, and orders of ecclesiastical government, are called in question: we are accused as men that will not have Jesus Christ to rule over them, but have wilfully cast his statutes behind their backs, hating to be reformed and made subject unto the sceptre of his discipline. Behold therefore we offer the laws whereby we live unto the general trial and judgment of the whole world; heartily beseeching Almighty God, whom we desire to serve according to his own will, that both we and others (all kinds of partial affection being clean laid aside) may have eyes to see and hearts to embrace the things that in his sight are most acceptable.

And because the point about which we strive is the quality of our laws, our first entrance hereinto cannot better be made, than with consideration of the nature of law in general, and of that law which giveth life unto all the rest, which are commendable, just, and good: namely, the law whereby the Eternal himself doth work. Proceeding from hence to the law, first of Nature, then of Scripture, we shall have the easier access unto those things which come after to be debated, concerning the particular cause and question which we have in hand.

II. All things that are, have some operation not violent or casual. Neither doth any thing ever begin to exercise the same, without some fore-conceived end for which it worketh. And the end which it worketh for is not obtained, unless the work be also fit to obtain it by. For unto every end every operation will not serve. That which doth assign unto each thing the kind, that which doth moderate the force and power, that which doth appoint the form and measure, of working, the same we term a Law. So that no certain end could ever be attained, unless the actions whereby it is attained were regular; that is to say, made suitable, fit and correspondent unto their end, by some canon, rule or law. Which thing doth first take place in the works even of God himself.

Of that law which God, from before the beginning hath set for himself to do all things by.

[2.] All things therefore do work after a sort according to law: all other things according to a law, whereof some superior, unto whom they are subject, is author; only the works and operations of God have Him both for their worker, and for the law whereby they are wrought. The being of God is a kind of law to his working: for that perfection which God is, giveth perfection to that he doth. Those natural, necessary, and internal operations of God, the Generation of the Son, the Proceeding of the Spirit, are without the compass

of my present intent: which is to touch only such operations as have their beginning and being by a voluntary purpose, wherewith God hath eternally decreed when and how they should be. Which eternal decree is that we term an eternal law.

Dangerous it were for the feeble brain of man to wade far into the doings of the Most High; whom although to know be life, and joy to make mention of his name; yet our soundest knowledge is to know that we know him not as indeed he is, neither can know him: and our safest eloquence concerning him is our silence, when we confess without confession that his glory is inexplicable, his greatness above our capacity and reach[2]. He is above, and we upon earth; therefore it behoveth our words to be wary and few[3].

Our God is one, or rather very Oneness and mere unity, having nothing but itself in itself, and not consisting (as all things do besides God) of many things. In which essential Unity of God a Trinity personal nevertheless subsisteth, after a manner far exceeding the possibility of man's conceit. The works which outwardly are of God, they are in such sort of Him being one, that each Person hath in them somewhat peculiar and proper. For being Three, and they all subsisting in the essence of one Deity; from the Father, by the Son, through the Spirit all things are. That which the Son doth hear of the Father, and which the Spirit doth receive of the Father and the Son, the same we have at the hands of the Spirit as being the last, and therefore the nearest unto us in order, although in power the same with the second and the first[4].

[3.] The wise and learned among the very heathens themselves have all acknowledged some First Cause, whereupon originally the being of all things dependeth. Neither have they otherwise spoken of that cause than as an Agent, which knowing what and why it worketh, observeth in working a most exact order or law. Thus much is signified by that which Homer menioneth, Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή[5]. Thus much acknowledged by Mercurius Trismegistus, Τὸν πάντα κοσμον ἐποίησεν ὁ δημιουργὸς οὐ χερσὶν ἀλλὰ λογῳ[6]. Thus much confest by Anaxagoras and Plato, terming the Maker of the world an *intellectual* Worker[7]. Finally the Stoics, although imagining the first cause of all things to be fire, held nevertheless, that the same fire having art, did ὁδῳ βαδίζειν ἐπὶ γενέσει κοσμου[8]. They all confess therefore in the working of that first cause, that Counsel is used, Reason followed, a Way observed; that is to say, constant Order and Law is kept; whereof itself must needs be author unto itself. Otherwise it should have some worthier and higher to direct it, and so could not itself be the first. Being the first, it can have no other than itself to be the author of that law which it willingly worketh by.

God therefore is a law both to himself, and to all other things besides. To himself he is a law in all those things, whereof our Saviour speaketh, saying, "My Father "worketh as yet, so I[9]." God worketh nothing without cause. All those things which are done by him have some end for which they are done; and the end for which they are done is a reason of his will to do them. His will had not inclined to create woman, but that he saw it could not be well if she were not created. *Non est bonum*, "It is not good man should be "alone; therefore let us make a helper for "him[10]." That and nothing else is done by God, which to leave undone were not so good.

If therefore it be demanded, why God having power and ability infinite, the effects notwithstanding of that power are all so limited as we see they are: the reason hereof is the end which he hath proposed, and the law whereby his wisdom hath stinted the effects of his power in such sort, that it doth not work infinitely, but correspondently unto that end for which he worketh, even "all "things χρηστῶς[11], in most decent and comely sort," all things in Measure, Number, "and Weight."

[4.] The general end of God's external working is the exercise of his most glorious and most abundant virtue. Which abundance doth shew itself in variety, and for that cause this variety is oftentimes in

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[2] ["De quo nihil dici et exprimi mortalium potis "est significatione verborum: qui, ut intelligaris, "tacendum est; atque, ut per umbram te possit "errans investigare suspicio, nihil est omnino muti-"endum." Arnob. adv. Gentes, I. 31. See Davison on Prophecy, p. 672, first edit.]

[3] [Eccles. v. 2.]

[4] John xvi. 13—15. [ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ἐκεῖνος, τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, ὁδηγήσει ὑμᾶς εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν· οὐ γὰρ λαλήσει ἀφ ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἂν ἀκούσῃ λαλήσει, ... Ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ δοξάσει, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμου λήψεται, καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν. Πάντα, ὅσα ἔχει ὁ Πατὴρ, ἐμά ἐστι· διὰ τοῦτο εἶπον, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήψεται, καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν. And c. xiv. 15. πάντα, ἃ ἤκουσα παρὰ του Πατρός μοῦ, ἐγνώρισα ὑμῖν.]

[5] Jupiter's *counsel* was accomplished. [Il. A. 5.]

[6] [C. 7. § 1.] The Creator made the whole world not with hands, but by *reason*.

[7] Stob. in Eclog. Phys. [This seems to refer to the following: 'Αναξαγόρας, νοῦν κοσμον ποιὸν [κοσμοποιὸν] τὸν Θεόν. Stob. ed. Canter. p. 2. Πλάτων ..."νοὺς ὁ Θέος..." τούτου δὲ πατρὸς καὶ ποιητου, τὰ "ἄλλα θεῖα ἔγγονα." ... Ibid. p. 5.]

[8] Proceed by a certain and a set *Way* in the making of the world. [οἱ στοικοὶ νοερὸν θεὸν ἀποφαίνονται, πυρ τεχνικὸν, ὁδῳ βάδιζον ἐπὶ γενέσει κοσμου. Ibid. 5.]

[9] John v. 17.

[10] Gen. ii. 18.

[11] Sap. viii. 1; xi. 20.

Scripture exprest by the name of *riches* [12]. "The Lord hath made all things for his "own sake [13]." Not that any thing is made to be beneficial unto him, but all things for him to shew beneficence and grace in them.

The particular drift of every act proceeding externally from God we are not able to discern, and therefore cannot always give the proper and certain reason of his works. Howbeit undoubtedly a proper and certain reason there is of every finite work of God, inasmuch as there is a law imposed upon it; which if there were not, it should be infinite, even as the worker himself is.

[5.] They err therefore who think that of the will of God to do this or that there is no reason besides his will. Many times no reason known to us; but that there is no reason thereof I judge it most unreasonable to imagine, inasmuch as he worketh all things κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ, not only according to his own will, but "the "Counsel of his own will [14]." And whatsoever is done with counsel or wise resolution hath of necessity some reason why it should be done, albeit that reason be to us in some things so secret, that it forceth the wit of man to stand, as the blessed Apostle himself doth, amazed thereat [15]: "O the "depth of the riches both of the wisdom "and knowledge of God! how unsearcha- "able are his judgments," &c. That law eternal which God himself hath made to himself, and thereby worketh all things whereof he is the cause and author; that law in the admirable frame whereof shineth with most perfect beauty the countenance of that wisdom which hath testified concerning herself [16], "The Lord possessed me in the "beginning of his way, even before his "works of old I was set up;" that law, which hath been the pattern to make, and is the card to guide the world by; that law which hath been of God and with God everlastingly; that law, the author and observer whereof is one only God to be blessed for ever: how should either men or angels be able perfectly to behold? The book of this law we are neither able nor worthy to open and look into. That little thereof which we darkly apprehend we admire, the rest with religious ignorance we humbly and meekly adore.

[6.] Seeing therefore that according to this law He worketh, "of whom, through "whom, and for whom, are all things [17];" although there seem unto us confusion and disorder in the affairs of this present world; "Tamen quoniam bonus mundum rector "temperat, recte fieri cuncta ne dubites [18];" "let no man doubt but that every thing is "well done, because the world is ruled by "so good a guide," as transgresseth not His own law: than which nothing can be more absolute, pefect and just.

The law whereby he worketh is eternal, and therefore can have no show or colour of mutability: for which cause, a part of that law being opened in the promises which God hath made (because his promises are nothing else but declarations what God will do for the good of men) touching those promises the Apostle hath witnessed, that God may as possibly "deny himself [19]" and not be God, as fail to perform them. And concerning the council of God, he termeth it likewise a thing "unchangea- "ble [20];" the counsel of God and that law of God whereof now we speak, being one. Neither is the freedom of the will of God any thing abated, let, or hindered, by means of this law; because the imposition of this law upon himself is his own free and voluntary act.

This law therefore we may name eternal, being "that order which God before all "ages hath set down with himself for him- "self to do all things by."

III. I am not ignorant that by "law eter- "nal" the learned for the most part do understand the order, not which God hath eternally purposed himself in all his works to observe, but rather that which with himself he hath set down as expedient to be kept by all his creatures, according to the several conditions wherewith he hath endued them. They who thus are accustomed to speak apply the name of Law unto that rule only of working which superior authority imposeth; whereas we somewhat more enlarging the sense thereof term any kind of rule or canon, whereby actions are framed, a law. Now that law which, as it is laid up in the bosom of God, they call Eternal, receiveth according unto the different kinds of things which are subject unto it different and sundry kinds of names. That part of it which ordereth natural agents we call usually Nature's law; that which Angels do clearly behold and without any swerving observe is a law Celestial and heavenly; the law of Reason, that which bindeth creatures reasonable in this world, and with which by reason they may most plainly perceive themselves bound; that which bindeth them, and is not known but by special revelation from God, Divine law; Human

The law which natural agents have given them to observe, and their necessary manner of keeping it.

12 Ephs. i. 7; Phil. iv. 19; Col. ii. 3.
13 Prov. xvi. 4.
14 Ephes. i. 11.
15 Rom. xi. 33.
16 Prov. viii. 22.
17 Rom. xi. 36

18 Boet. lib. iv. de Consol. Philos. [p. 105, ed. Lugd. Bat. 1656.] pros. 5.
19 2 Tim. ii. 13.
20 Heb. vi. 17.

law, that which out of the law either of reason or of God men probably gathering to be expedient, they make it a law. All things therefore, which are as they ought to be, are conformed unto *this second law eternal;* and even those things which to this eternal law are not conformable are notwithstanding in some sort ordered by the *first eternal law.* For what good or evil is there under the sun, what action correspondent or repugnant unto the law which God hath imposed upon his creatures, but in or upon it God doth work according to the law which himself hath eternally purposed to keep; that is to say, the *first law eternal*? So that a twofold law eternal being thus made, it is not hard to conceive how they both take place in all things [21].

[2.] Wherefore to come to the law of nature: albeit thereby we sometimes mean that manner of working which God hath set for each created thing to keep; yet forasmuch as those things are termed most properly natural agents, which keep the law of their kind unwittingly, as the heavens and elements of the world, which can do no otherwise than they do; and forasmuch as we give unto intellectual natures the name of Voluntary agents, that so we may distinguish them from the other; expedient it will be, that we sever the law of nature observed by the one from that which the other is tied unto. Touching the former, their strict keeping of one tenure, statute, and law, is spoken of by all, but hath in it more than men have as yet attained to know, or perhaps ever shall attain, seeing the travail of wading herein is given of God to the sons of men [22], that perceiving how much the least thing in the world hath in it more than the wisest are able to reach unto, they may by this means learn humility. Moses, in describing the work of creation, attributeth speech unto God: "God said, Let there be light: let "there be a firmament: let the waters un- "der the heaven be gathered together into "one place; let the earth bring forth: let "there be lights in the firmament of heav- "en." Was this only the intent of Moses, to signify the infinite greatness of God's power by the easiness of his accomplishing such effects, without travail, pain, or labour? Surely it seemeth that Moses had herein besides this a further purpose, namely, first to teach that God did not work as a necessary but a voluntary agent, intending beforehand and decreeing with himself that which did outwardly proceed from him: secondly, to shew that God did then institute a law natural to be observed by creatures, and therefore according to the manner of laws, the institution thereof is described, as being established by solemn injunction. His commanding those things to be which are, and to be in such sort as they are, to keep that tenure and course which they do, importeth the establishment of nature's law. This world's first creation, and the preservation since of things created, what is it but only so far forth a manifestation by execution, what the eternal law of God is concerning things natural? And as it cometh to pass in a kingdom rightly ordered, that after a law is once published, it presently takes effect far and wide, all states framing themselves thereunto; even so let us think it fareth in the natural course of the world: since the time that God did first proclaim the edicts of his law upon it, heaven and earth have hearkened unto his voice, and their labour hath been to do his will: He "made a law for "the rain [23];" He gave his "decree unto "the sea, that the water should not pass "his commandment [24]." Now if nature should intermit her course, and leave altogether though it were but for a while the observation of her own laws; if those principal and mother elements of the world,

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[21] 'Id omne, quod in rebus creatis fit, est materia legis æternæ.' Th. I. 1, 2. q. 93, art. 4, 5, 6. [Thom. Aquin. Opp. xi. 202.] 'Nullo modo aliquid legibus summi Creatoris ordinationique subtrahitur, a quo pax universitatis administratur.' August. de Civit. Dei, lib. xix. cap. 12. [t. VII. 556.] Immo et peccatum, quatenus a Deo juste permittitur, cadit in legem æternam. Etiam legi æternæ subjicitur peccatum, quatenus voluntaria legis transgressio pœnale quoddam incommodum animæ inserit, juxta illud Augustini, 'Jussisti Domine, et sic est, ut pœna sua sibi sit omnis animus inordinatus.' Confes. lib. i. cap. 12. [t. I. 77.] Nec male scholastici, 'Quemadmodum,' inquiunt, 'videmus res naturales contingentes, hoc ipso quod a fine particulari suo atque adeo a lege æterna exorbitant, in eandem legem æternam incidere, quatenus consequuntur alium finem a lege etiam æterna ipsis in casu particulari constitutum; sic verisimile est homines, etiam cum peccant et desciscunt a lege æterna ut præcipiente, reincidere in ordinem æternæ legis ut punientis.'

[22] [Eccles. III. 9, 10. "I have seen the tra- "vail which God hath given to the sons of men "to be exercised in it. He hath made every thing "beautiful in his time: also he hath set the world "in their heart, so that no man can find out the "work that God maketh from the beginning to "the end."

Compare the use which Lord Bacon has made of the same text, Advancement of Learning, b. ii. "Knowledges are as pyramids, whereof history is "the basis. So of natural philosophy, the basis is "natural history; the stage next the basis is "physic; the stage next the vertical point is met- "aphysic. As for the vertical point, *Opus, quod "operatur Deus a principio usque ad finem*, the "summary law of nature, we know not whether "man's inquiry can attain unto it." Works, I. p. 104, 8vo. London, 1803.]

[23] [Job xxviii. 26.]

[24] [Jer. v. 22.]

whereof all things in this lower world are made, should lose the qualities which now they have; if the frame of that heavenly arch erected over our heads should loosen and dissolve itself; if celestial spheres should forget their wonted motions, and by irregular volubility turn themselves any way as it might happen; if the prince of the lights of heaven, which now as a giant doth run his unwearied course [25], should as it were through a languishing faintness begin to stand and to rest himself; if the moon should wander from her beaten way, the times and seasons of the year blend themselves by disordered and confused mixture, the winds breathe out their last gasp, the clouds yield no rain, the earth be defeated of heavenly influence, the fruits of the earth pine away as children at the withered breasts of their mother no longer able to yield them relief [26]: what would become of man himself, whom these things now do all serve? See we not plainly that obedience of creatures unto the law of nature is the stay of the whole world?

[3.] Notwithstanding with nature it cometh sometimes to pass as with art. Let Phidias have rude and obstinate stuff to carve, though his art do that it should, his work will lack that beauty which otherwise in fitter matter it might have had. He that striketh an instrument with skill may cause notwithstanding a very unpleasant sound, if the string whereon he striketh chance to be uncapable of harmony. In the matter whereof things natural consist, that of Theophrastus taketh place, Πολὺ τὸ οὐχ ὑπακοῦον οὐδὲ δεχόμενον τὸ εὖ [27]. "Much of it "is oftentimes such as will by no means "yield to receive that impression which "were best and most perfect." Which defect in the matter of things natural, they who gave themselves unto the contemplation of nature amongst the heathen observed often: but the true original cause thereof, divine malediction, laid for the sin of man upon these creatures which God had made for the use of man, this being an article of that saving truth which God hath revealed unto his Church, was above the reach of their merely natural capacity and understanding. But howsoever these swervings are now and then incident into the course of nature, nevertheless so constantly the laws of nature are by natural agents observed, that no man denieth but those things which nature worketh are wrought, either always or for the most part, after one and the same manner [28].

[4.] If here it be demanded what that is which keepeth nature in obedience to her own law, we must have recourse to that higher law whereof we have already spoken, and because all other laws do thereon depend, from thence we must borrow so much as shall need for brief resolution in this point. Although we are not of opinion, therefore, as some are, that nature in working hath before her certain exemplary draughts or patterns, which subsisting in the bosom of the Highest, and being thence discovered, she fixeth her eye upon them, as travellers by sea upon the pole-star of the world, and that according thereunto she guideth her hand to work by imitation: although we rather embrace the oracle of Hippocrates [29], that "each thing both in "small and in great fulfilleth the task which "destiny hath set down:" and concerning the manner of executing and fulfilling the same, "what they do they know not, yet is "it in show and appearance as though they "did know what they do; and the truth "is they do not discern the things which they "look on:" nevertheless, forasmuch as the works of nature are no less exact, than if she did both behold and study how to express some absolute shape or mirror always present before her; yea, such her dexterity and skill appeareth, that no intellectual crea-

[25] Psalm xix. 5.

[26] [Hooker seems to have had in his mind the following passage:

"Postquam esse nomen in terris Christianæ re-
"ligionis occœpit, quidnam inusitatum, quid incog-
"nitum, quid contra leges principaliter institutas
"aut sensit aut passa est rerum ipsa quæ dicitur
"appellaturque Natura? Nunquid in contrarias
"qualitates prima illa elementa mutata sunt, ex
"quibus res omnes consensum est esse concretas?
"Nunquid machinæ hujus, et molis, qua universi
"tegimur et continemur inclusi, parte est in aliqua
"relaxata aut dissoluta constructio? Nunquid
"vertigo hæc mundi, primogenii motus modera-
"men excedens, aut tardius repere, aut præcipiti
"cœpit volubilitate raptari? Nunquid ab occi-
"duis partibus attollere se astra, atque in ortus
"fieri signorum cœpta est inclinatio? Nunquid
"ipse syderum sol princeps, cujus omnia luce ves-
"tiuntur atque animantur, calore exarsit, intepuit,
"atque in contrarios habitus moderaminis soliti
"temperamenta corrupit? Nunquid luna desivit
"redintegrare seipsam, atque in veteres formas,
"novellarum semper restitutione, traducere? Nun-
"quid frigora, nunquid calores, nunquid tepores
"medii, inæqualium temporum confusionibus oc-
"ciderunt? Nunquid longos habere dies bruma,
"et revocare tardissimas luces nox cœpit æstatis?
"Nunquid suas animas expiraverunt venti? emor-
"tuisque flaminibus neque cœlum coarctatur in
"nubila, nec madidari ex imbribus arva suescunt?
"Commendata semina tellus recusat accipere?
"aut frondescere arbores nolunt?" Arnob. adv. Gent. I. 2.

[27] Theophrast. in Metaph. [p. 271, I. 10, ed. Basil, 1541.]

[28] Arist. Rhet. i. cap. 39. [ἢ γὰρ αἰεὶ, ἢ ὡς ἐπι-τοπολὺ ὡσαύτως ἀποβαίνει.]

[29] Τὴν πεπρωμένην μοίρην ἕκαστον ἐκπληροῖ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖον ... ὁ πρησσουσιν οὐκ οἴδασιν, ὁ δὲ πρήσσουσι δοκέουσιν εἰδέναι, καί θ' ἃ μὲν ὁρῶσι οὐ γινώσκουσι. [p. 342, 48. ed. Genev. 1657. It need hardly be observed that the beginning of the sentence alludes to Plato's doctrine.]

ture in the world were able by capacity to do that which nature doth without capacity and knowledge; it cannot be but nature hath some director of infinite knowledge to guide her in all her ways. Who the guide of nature, but only the God of nature? "In him we live, move, and are [30]." Those things which nature is said to do, are by divine art performed, using nature as an instrument; nor is there any such art or knowledge divine in nature herself working, but in the Guide of nature's work.

Whereas therefore things natural which are not in the number of voluntary agents, (for of such only we now speak, and of no other,) do so necessarily observe their certain laws, that as long as they keep those forms [31] which give them their being, they cannot possibly be apt or inclinable to do otherwise than they do; seeing the kinds of their operations are both constantly and exactly framed according to the several ends for which they serve, they themselves in the meanwhile, though doing that which is fit, yet knowing neither what they do, nor why: it followeth that all which they do in this sort proceedeth originally from some such agent, as knoweth, appointeth, holdeth up, and even actually frameth the same.

The manner of this divine efficiency, being far above us, we are no more able to conceive by our reason, than creatures unreasonable by their sense are able to apprehend after what manner we dispose and order the course of our affairs. Only thus much is discerned, that the natural generation and process of all things receiveth order of proceeding from the settled stability of divine understanding. This appointeth unto them their kinds of working; the disposition whereof in the purity of God's own knowledge and will is rightly termed by the name of Providence. The same being referred unto the things themselves here disposed by it, was wont by the ancient to be called natural Destiny. That law, the performance thereof we behold in things natural, is as it were an authentical or an original draught written in the bosom of God himself; whose Spirit being to execute the same useth every particular nature, every mere natural agent, only as an instrument created at the beginning, and ever since the beginning used, to work his own will and pleasure withal. Nature therefore is nothing else but God's instrument [32]: in the course whereof Dionysius perceiving some sudden disturbance is said to have cried out, "Aut Deus naturæ patitur, aut "mundi machina dissolvetur [33]:" "either God "doth suffer impediment, and is by a great- "er than himself hindered; or if that be "impossible, then hath he determined to "make a present dissolution of the world; "the execution of that law beginning now "to stand still, without which the world can- "not stand."

This workman, whose servitor nature is, being in truth but only one, the heathens imagining to be more, gave him in the sky the name of Jupiter, in the air the name of Juno, in the water the name of Neptune, in the earth the name of Vesta and sometimes of Ceres, the name of Apollo in the sun, in the moon the name of Diana, the name of Æolus and divers others in the winds; and to conclude, even so many guides of nature they dreamed of, as they saw there were kinds of things natural in the world. These they honoured, as having power to work or cease accordingly as men deserved of them. But unto us there is one only [34] Guide of all agents natural, and he both the Creator and the Worker of all in all, alone to be blessed, adored and honoured by all for ever.

[5.] That which hitherto hath been spoken concerneth natural agents considered in themselves. But we must further remember also, (which thing to touch in a word shall suffice,) that as in this respect they have their law, which law directeth them in the means whereby they tend to their own perfection: so likewise another law there is, which toucheth them as they are sociable parts united into one body; a law which bindeth them each to serve unto other's good, and all to prefer the good of the whole before whatsoever their own particular: as we plainly see they do, when things natural in that regard forget their ordinary natural wont; that which is heavy mounting sometime upwards of its own accord, and forsaking the centre of the earth which to itself is most natural, even as if it did hear itself commanded to let go the good it privately wisheth, and to relieve the present distress of nature in common.

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[30] Acts xvii. 28.

[31] Form in other creatures is a thing proportionable unto the soul in living creatures. Sensible it is not, nor otherwise discernible than only by effects. According to the diversity of inward forms, things of the world are distinguished into their kinds.

[32] Vide Thom. in Compend. Theol. cap. 3. 'Omne quod movetur ab aliquo est quasi instrumentum quoddam primi moventis. Ridiculum est autem, etiam apud indoctos, ponere, instrumentum moveri non ab aliquo principali agente.' [t. xvii. fol. 10.]

[33] [Vid. Breviar. Roman. 9 Oct. "Dionysius.. "unus ex Areopagatis... cum adhuc in Gentilita- "tis errore versaretur, eo die quo Christus Domi- "nus cruci affixus est, solem præter naturam de- "fecisse animadvertens, exclamasse traditur: 'aut "Deus, &c." Suidas (in Dionysio) makes him say, Η τὸ Θεῖον πάσχει, ἢ τῷ πάσχοντι σύμπασχει. Michael Syngelus in Encomio; 'Ο ἄγνωστος, ἔφη, σαρκὶ πάσχει Θεός. Apud Opp. S. Dionys. II. 213. See also, p. 91, 253—259.]

[34] [Suggested by 1 Cor. viii. 6. ἡμῖν εἷς Θεὸς, ὁ Πατήρ.]

IV. But now that we may lift up our eyes (as it were) from the footstool to the throne of God, and leaving these natural, consider a little the state of heavenly and divine creatures: touching Angels, which are spirits[35] immaterial and intellectual, the glorious inhabitants of those sacred palaces, where nothing but light and blessed immortality, no shadow of matter for tears, discontentments, griefs, and uncomfortable passions to work upon, but all joy, tranquillity, and peace, even for ever and ever doth dwell: as in number and order they are huge, mighty, and royal armies[36], so likewise in perfection of obedience unto that law, which the Highest, whom they adore, love, and imitate, hath imposed upon them, such observants they are thereof, that our Savior himself being to set down the perfect idea of that which we are to pray and wish for on earth, did not teach to pray or wish for more than only that here it might be with us, as with them it is in heaven[37]. God which moveth mere natural agents as an efficient only, doth otherwise move intellectual creatures, and especially his holy angels: for beholding the face of God[38], in admiration of so great excellency they all adore him; and being rapt with the love of his beauty, they cleave inseparably for ever unto him. Desire to resemble him in goodness maketh them unwearіable and even unsatiable in their longing to do by all means all manner good unto all the creatures of God[39], but especially unto the children of men[40]: in the countenance of whose nature, looking downward, they behold themselves beneath themselves; even as upward, in God, beneath whom themselves are, they see that character which is no where but in themselves and us resembled. Thus far even the paynims have approached; thus far they have seen into the doings of the angels of God; Orpheus confessing, that "the fiery throne of God is attended on "by those most industrious angels, careful "how all things are performed amongst "men[41];" and the Mirror of human wisdom plainly teaching, that God moveth angels, even as that thing doth stir man's heart, which is thereunto presented amiable[42]. Angelical actions may therefore be reduced unto these three general kinds: first, most delectable love arising from the visible apprehension of the purity, glory, and beauty of God, invisible saving only unto spirits that are pure[43]: secondly, adoration grounded upon the evidence of the greatness of God, on whom they see how all things depend[44]; thirdly, imitation[45], bred by the presence of his exemplary goodness, who ceaseth not before them daily to fill heaven and earth with the rich treasures of most free and undeserved grace.

The law which Angels do work by.

[2.] Of angels, we are not to consider only what they are and do in regard of their own being, but that also which concerneth them as they are linked into a kind of corporation amongst themselves, and of society or fellowship with men. Consider angels each of them severally in himself, and their law is that which the prophet David mentioneth, "All ye his angels praise "him[46]." Consider the angels of God associated, and their law is that which disposeth them as an army, one in order and degree above another[47]. Consider finally the angels as having with us that communion which the apostle to the Hebrews noteth, and in regard whereof angels have not disdained to profess themselves our "fellow-servants;" from hence there springeth up a third law, which bindeth them to works of ministerial employment[48]. Every of which their several functions are by them performed with joy.

[3.] A part of the Angels of God notwithstanding (we know) have fallen[49], and that their fall hath been through the voluntary breach of that law, which did require at their hands continuance in the exercise of their high and admirable virtue. Impossible it was that ever their will should change or incline to remit any part of their duty, without some object having force to avert their conceit from God, and to draw it another way; and that before they attained that high perfection of bliss, wherein

[35] Psalm civ. 4; Heb. i. 7; Ephes. iii. 10.

[36] Dan. vii. 10; Matt. xxvi. 53; Heb. xii. 22; Luke ii. 13.

[37] Matt. vi. 10.

[38] Matt. xviii. 10.

[39] ["How oft do they their silver bowers leave,
"To come to succour us, that succour want!
"How oft do they with golden pinions cleave
"The flitting skies, like flying pursuivant,
"Against foul fiends to aid us militant!
"They for us fight, they watch and duly ward,
"And their bright squadrons round about us plant,
"And all for love, and nothing for reward—
"O why should heavenly God to men have such regard?"
Fairy Queen, II. viii. 2.
The three first books of the Fairy Queen were published 1590. Spenser died 1598.]

[40] Psalm xci. 11, 12; Luke xv. 7; Heb. i. 14; Acts x. 3; Dan. ix. 23; Matt. xviii. 10; Dan. iv. 13.

[41] Σῷ δὲ θρόνῳ πυροεντι παρεστᾶσιν πολυμοχθοι
Ἄγγελοι, οἷσι μέμηλε βροτοις ὡς πάντα τελεῖται.
[Fragm. iii. ex Clem. Alex. Strom. V. p. 824, 8.]

[42] Arist. Metaph. l. xii. c. 7. ["Movet ut amatum: moto vero, alia moventur." Ap. Thom. Aquin. t. IV. fol. 159, ed. Venet. 1593.]

[43] Job xxxviii. 7; Matt. xviii. 10.

[44] Psalm cxlviii. 2; Heb. i. 6; Isa. vi. 3.

[45] This is intimated wheresoever we find them termed "the sons of God," as Job. i. 6, and xxxviii. 7.

[46] Ps. cxlviii. 2.

[47] Luke ii. 13. Matt. xxvi. 53.

[48] Heb. xii. 22; Apoc. xxii. 9.

[49] 2 Pet. ii. 4; Jude 6.

now the elect angels[50] are without possibility of falling. Of any thing more than of God they could not by any means like, as long as whatsoever they knew besides God they apprehended it not in itself without dependency upon God; because so long God must needs seem infinitely better than any thing which they so could apprehend. Things beneath them could not in such sort be presented unto their eyes, but that therein they must needs see always how those things did depend on God. It seemeth therefore that there was no other way for angels to sin, but by reflex of their understanding upon themselves; when being held with admiration of their own sublimity and honour, the memory of their subordination unto God and their dependency on him was drowned in this conceit; whereupon their adoration, love, and imitation of God could not choose but be also interrupted. The fall of angels therefore was pride[51]. Since their fall, their practices have been the clean contrary unto those before mentioned[52]. For being dispersed, some in the air, some on the earth, some in the water, some among the minerals, dens, and caves, that are under the earth; they have by all means laboured to effect a universal rebellion against the laws, and as far as in them lieth utter destruction of the works of God. These wicked spirits the heathens honoured instead of gods, both generally under the name of *dii inferi*, "gods infernal;" and particularly, some in oracles, some in idols, some as household gods, some as nymphs: in a word, no foul and wicked spirit which was not one way or other honoured of men as God, till such time as light appeared in the world and dissolved the works of the Devil. Thus much therefore may suffice for angels, the next unto whom in degree are men.

V. God alone excepted, who actually and everlastingly is whatsoever he may be, and which cannot hereafter be that which now he is not[53]; all other things besides are somewhat in possibility, which as yet they are not in act. And for this cause there is in all things an appetite or desire, whereby they incline to something which they may be; and when they are it, they shall be perfecter than now they are. All which perfections are contained under the general name of Goodness. And because there is not in the world anything whereby another may not some way be made the perfecter, therefore all things that are, are good.

The law whereby man is in his actions directed to the imitation of God.

[2.] Again, sith there can be no goodness desired which proceedeth not from God himself, as from the supreme cause of all things; and every effect doth after a sort contain, at leastwise resemble, the cause from which it proceedeth: all things in the world are said in some sort to seek the highest, and to covet more or less the participation of God himself[54]. Yet this doth no where so much appear as it doth in man, because there are so many kinds of perfections which man seeketh. The first degree of goodness is that general perfection which all things do seek, in desiring the continuance of their being. All things therefore coveting as much as may be to be like unto God in being ever, that which cannot hereunto attain personally doth seek to continue itself another way, that is by offspring and propagation. The next degree of goodness is that which each thing coveteth by affecting resemblance with God in the constancy and excellency of those operations which belong unto their kind. The immutability of God they strive unto, by working either always or for the most part after one and the same manner; his absolute exactness they imitate, by tending unto that which is most exquisite in every particular. Hence have arisen a number of axioms in philosophy[55], shewing how "the works of nature do always aim "at that which cannot be bettered."

[3.] These two kinds of goodness rehearsed are so nearly united to the things themselves which desire them, that we scarcely perceive the appetite to stir in reaching forth her hand towards them. But the desire of those perfections which grow externally is more apparent; especially of such as are not expressly desired unless they be first known, or such as are not for any other cause than for knowledge itself desired. Concerning perfections in this kind; that by proceeding in the knowledge of truth, and by growing in the exercise of virtue, man amongst the creatures of this inferior world aspireth to the greatest conformity with God; this is not only known unto us, whom he himself hath so

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[50] [1. Tim. v. 21.]

[51] ["But pride, impatient of long resting peace,
"Did puff them up with greedy bold ambition,
"That they gan cast their state how to increase
"Above the fortune of their first condition,
"And sit in God's own seat without commission:
"The brightest angel, even the child of light,
"Drew millions more against their God to fight."
Spenser's Hymn on Heavenly Love, published 1596.]

[52] John viii. 44; 1 Peter v. 8; Apoc. ix. 11; Gen. iii. 15; 1 Chron. xxi. 1; Job i. 7. and ii. 2; John xiii. 27; Acts v. 3; Apoc. xx. 8.

[53] ["Let him know, that I have considered, "*that God only is what he would be;* and that I "am by his grace become now so like him, as to "be pleased with what pleaseth him." Walton's Life of Herbert, p. 321, ed. 1675.]

[54] Πάντα γὰρ ἐκείνου ὀρέγεται. Arist. de An. lib. ii. cap. 4. [Opp. I. 390. ed. Lugd. 1590.]

[55] Ἐν τοῖς φύσει δεῖ τὸ βέλτιον, ἐὰν ἐνδέχηται ὑπάρχειν, μᾶλλον· ἡ φύσις ἀεὶ ποιεῖ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων τὸ βέλτιστον. Arist. 2. de cœl. cap. 5. [t. i. p. 283.]

instructed[56], but even they do acknowledge, who amongst men are not judged the nearest unto him. With Plato what one thing more usual, than to excite men unto love of wisdom, by shewing how much wise men are thereby exalted above men; how knowledge doth raise them up into heaven; how it maketh them, though not gods, yet as gods, high, admirable, and divine? And Mercurius Trismegistus speaking of the virtues of a righteous soul[57], "Such spi-"rits" (saith he) "are never cloyed with "praising and speaking well of all men, "with doing good unto every one by word "and deed, because they study to frame "themselves according to *the pattern* of the "Father of Spirits."

VI. In the matter of knowledge, there is between the angels of God and the children of men this difference: angels already have full and complete knowledge in the highest degree that can be imparted unto them; men, if we view them in their spring, are at the first without understanding or knowledge at all[58]. Nevertheless from this utter vacuity they grow by degrees, till they come at length to be even as the angels themselves are. That which agreeth to the one now, the other shall attain unto in the end; they are not so far disjoined and severed, but that they come at length to meet. The soul of man being therefore at the first as a book, wherein nothing is and yet all things may be imprinted; we are to search by what steps and degrees it riseth unto perfection of knowledge.

Men's first beginning to grow to the knowledge of that law which they are to observe.

[2.] Unto that which hath been already set down concerning natural agents this we must add, that albeit therein we have comprised as well creatures living as void of life, if they be in degree of nature beneath men; nevertheless a difference we must observe between those natural agents that work altogether unwittingly, and those which have though weak yet some understanding what they do, as fishes, fowls, and beasts have. Beasts are in sensible capacity as ripe even as men themselves, perhaps more ripe. For as stones, though in dignity of nature inferior unto plants, yet exceed them in firmness of strength or durability of being: and plants, though beneath the excellency of creatures endued with sense, yet exceed them in the faculty of vegetation and of fertility: so beasts, though otherwise behind men, may notwithstanding in actions of sense and fancy go beyond them; because the endeavours of nature, when it hath a higher perfection to seek, are in lower the more remiss, not esteeming thereof so much as those things do, which have no better proposed unto them.

[3.] The soul of man therefore being capable of a more divine perfection, hath (besides the faculties of growing unto sensible knowledge which is common unto us with beasts) a further ability, whereof in them there is no show at all, the ability of reaching higher than unto sensible things[59]. Till we grow to some ripeness of years, the soul of man doth only store itself with conceits of things of inferior and more open quality, which afterwards do serve as instruments unto that which is greater; in the meanwhile above the reach of meaner creatures it ascendeth not. When once it comprehendeth any thing above this, as the differences of time, affirmations, negations, and contradictions in speech, we then count it to have some use of natural reason. Whereunto if afterwards there might be added the right helps of true art and learning (which helps, I must plainly confess, this age of the world, carrying the name of a learned age, doth neither much know nor greatly regard,) there would undoubtedly be almost as great difference in maturity of judgment between men therewith inured, and that which now men are, as between men that are now and innocents. Which speech if any condemn, as being over hyperbolical, let them consider but this one thing: no art is at the first finding out so perfect as industry may after make it; yet the very first man that to any purpose knew the way we speak of[60] and followed it, hath alone thereby performed more very near in all parts of natural knowledge, that sithence in any one part thereof the whole world besides hath done.

[4.] In the poverty of that other new devised aid[61] two things there are notwith-

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[56] Matt. v. 48; Sap. vii. 27.

[57] Ἡ δὲ τοιαύτη ψυχὴ κόρον οὐδέποτε ἔχει ὑμνοῦσα εὐφημοῦσά τε πάντας ἀνθρώπους, καὶ λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις πάντας [πάντως] εὐποιοῦσα, μιμουμένη αὐτῆς τὸν πατέρα. [c. 10. § 21.] lib. iv. f. 12.

[58] Vide Isa. vii. 16.

[59] Ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβαίνει, καὶ μετρεῖ αὐτὸν, καὶ οἷός ποῖα μὲν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ [*leg.* αὐτοῦ] ὑψηλὰ, ποῖα δὲ ταπεινὰ, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἀκριβῶς μανθάνει. Καὶ τὸ πάντων μεῖζον, οὐδὲ τὴν γῆν καταλιπὼν ἄνω γίνεται. Merc. Tris. [c. 10. fin.] lib. iv. f. 12.

[60] Aristotelical Demonstration.

[61] Ramistry. [Peter Ramus was born in Picardy, 1515. He was a kind of self-taught person, who rose to eminence in the university of Paris. In 1543, he published "Institutiones Dialecticæ," and about the same time "Animadversiones Aris-"totelicæ." He was silenced after disputation, but allowed the next year to lecture in Rhetoric, and in 1552 was made Professer of Eloquence and Philosophy, probably through the Cardinal of Lorraine's influence. In 1562 he was ejected, and continued more or less unsettled till 1572, when he lost his life in the massacre of St. Bartholomew. (Brucker, Hist. Phil. v. 548—585. Lips. 1766.) Strype, Ann. III. i. 500, says, "About this time "(1585)and somewhat before, another great con-"test arose in both universities, concerning the

standing singular. Of marvellous quick dispatch it is, and doth shew them that have it as much almost in three days, as if it dwell threescore years with them. Again, because the curiosity of man's wit doth many times with peril wade farther in the search of things than were convenient; the same is thereby restrained unto such generalities as every where offering themselves are apparent unto men of the weakest conceit that need be. So as following the rules and precepts thereof, we may define it to be an Art which teacheth the way of speedy discourse, and restraineth the mind of man that it may not wax over-wise.

[5.] Education and instruction are the means, the one by use, the other by precept, to make our natural faculty of reason both the better and the sooner able to judge rightly between truth and error, good and evil. But at what time a man may be said to have attained so far forth the use of reason, as sufficeth to make him capable of those Laws, whereby he is then bound to guide his actions; this is a great deal more easy for common sense to discern, than for any man by skill and learning to determine; even as it is not in philosophers, who best know the nature both of fire and of gold, to teach what degree of the one will serve to purify the other, so well as the artisan who doth this by fire discerneth by sense when the fire hath that degree of heat which sufficeth for his purpose.

VII. By reason man attaineth unto the knowledge of things that are and are not sensible. It resteth therefore that we search how man attaineth unto the knowledge of such things unsensible as are to be known that they may be done. Seeing then that nothing can move unless there be some end, the desire whereof provoketh unto motion; how should that divine power of the soul, that "spirit of our "mind[62]," as the Apostle termeth it, ever stir itself unto action, unless it have also the like spur? The end for which we are moved to work, is sometimes the goodness which we conceive of the very working itself, without any further respect at all; and the cause that procureth action is the mere desire of action, no other good besides being thereby intended. Of certain turbulent wits it is said, "Illis quieta movere magna mer-"ces videbatur[63]:" they thought the very disturbance of things established an hire sufficient to set them on work. Sometimes that which we do is refered to a further end, without the desire whereof we would leave the same undone; as in their actions that gave alms to purchase thereby the praise of men[64].

Of Man's Will, which is the thing that Laws of action are made to guide.

[2.] Man in perfection of nature being made according to the likeness of his Maker resembleth him also in the manner of working; so that whatsoever we work as men, the same we do wittingly work and freely; neither are we according to the manner of natural agents any way so tied, but that it is in our power to leave the things we do undone. The good which either is gotten by doing, or which consisteth in the very doing itself, causeth not action, unless apprehending it as good we so like and desire it: that we do unto any such end, the same we choose and prefer before the leaving of it undone. Choice there is not, unless the thing which we take be so in our power that we might have refused and left it. If fire consume the stubble, it chooseth not so to do, because the nature thereof is such that it can do no other. To choose is to will one thing before another. And to will is to bend our souls to the having or doing of that which they see to be good. Goodness is seen with the eye of the understanding. And the light of that eye, is reason. So that two principal fountains there are of human action, Knowledge and Will; which Will, in things tending towards any end, is termed Choice[65]. Concerning Knowledge, "Behold, (saith Moses[66],) I have set before "you this day good and evil, life and death." Concerning Will, he addeth immediately, "Choose life;" that is to say, the things that tend unto life, them choose.

"two philosophers, Aristotle and Ramus, then "chiefly read, and which of them was rather to be "studied." See also Ann. II. ii. 405. (1580.) "Ev-"erard Digby had writ somewhat dialogue-wise "against Ramus's *Unica Methodus*, which in those "times prevailed much; and perhaps brought into "that college (St. John's, Cambridge) to be read; "the rather, Ramus being a protestant as well as a "learned man." His institutes of Logic, expanded and illustrated, may be seen in Milton's Prose Works, by Symmons, VI. 195–353. He seems to have fallen into the common error of confounding rhetorical arrangement with logic. Of the value of his theory the following was Bacon's opinion: "De Unica Methodo, et dichotomiis perpetuis ni-"hil attinet dicere: fuit enim nubecula quædam "doctrinæ, quæ cito transiit; res simul et levis et "scientiis damnosissima. Etenim hujusmodi ho-"mines, cum methodi suæ legibus res torquent, "et quæcumque in dichotomias illas non apte ca-"dunt, aut omittant, aut præter naturam inflectant, "hoc efficiunt, ut quasi nuclei et grana scientia-"rum exsiliant, ipsi aridas tantum et desertas sili-"quas stringant." Further on in the same chapter he specifies Ramus as the patron of the method alluded to. De Augm. Scient. VI. 2. In his Impetus Philosophici, c. 2, he says, "Nullum mihi "commercium cum hoc ignorantiæ latibulo, perni-"ciosissima literarum tinea, compendiorum patre,' &c. Works, IX. 304. 8°. Lond. 1803. Andrew Melvin was a pupil of Ramus. Zouch's Walton, II. 134.]

[62] Eph. iv. 23.
[63] Sallust. [Cat. 21.]
[64] Matt. vi. 2.
[65] [See Arist. Eth. III. 2, 3. VI. 2.]
[66] Deut. xxx. 19.

[3.] But of one thing we must have special care, as being a matter of no small moment; and that is, how the Will, properly and strictly taken, as it is of things which are referred unto the end that man desireth, differeth greatly from that inferior natural desire which we call Appetite. The object of Appetite is whatsoever sensible good may be wished for; the object of Will is that good which Reason doth lead us to seek. Affections, as joy, and grief, and fear, and anger, with such like, being as it were the sundry fashions and forms of Appetite, can neither rise at the conceit of a thing indifferent, nor yet choose but rise at the sight of some things. Wherefore it is not altogether in our power, whether we will be stirred with affections or no: whereas actions which issue from the disposition of the Will are in the power thereof to be performed or stayed. Finally, Appetite is the Will's solicitor, and the Will is Appetite's controller; what we covet according to the one by the other we often reject; neither is any other desire termed properly Will, but that where Reason or Understanding, or the show of Reason, prescribeth the thing desired.

It may be therefore a question, whether those operations of men are to be counted voluntary, wherein that good which is sensible provoketh Appetite, and Appetite causeth action, Reason being never called to counsel; as when we eat or drink, and betake ourselves unto rest, and such like. The truth is, that such actions in men having attained to the use of Reason are voluntary. For as the authority of higher powers hath force even in those things, which are done without their privity, and are of so mean reckoning that to acquaint them therewith it needeth not; in like sort, voluntarily we are said to do that also, which the Will if it listed might hinder from being done, although about the doing thereof we do not expressly use our reason or understanding, and so immediately apply our wills thereunto. In cases therefore of such facility, the Will doth yield her assent as it were with a kind of silence, by not dissenting; in which respect her force is not so apparent as in express mandates or prohibitions, especially upon advice and consultation going before.

[4.] Where understanding therefore needeth, in those things Reason is the director of man's Will by discovering in action what is good. For the Laws of well-doing are the dictates of right Reason. Children, which are not as yet come unto those years whereat they may have; again, innocents, which are excluded by natural defect from ever having; thirdly, madmen, which for the present cannot possibly have the use of right Reason to guide themselves, have for their guide the Reason that guideth other men, which are tutors over them to seek and to procure their good for them. In the rest there is that light of Reason, whereby good may be known from evil, and which discovering the same rightly is termed right.

[5.] The Will notwithstanding doth not incline to have or do that which Reason teacheth to be good, unless the same do also teach it to be possible. For albeit the Appetite, being more general, may wish any thing which seemeth good, be it never so impossible [67]; yet for such things the reasonable Will of man doth never seek. Let Reason teach impossibility in any thing, and the Will of man doth let it go; a thing impossible it doth not affect, the impossibility thereof being manifest.

[6.] There is in the Will of man naturally that freedom, whereby it is apt to take or refuse any particular object whatsoever being presented unto it [68]. Whereupon it

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[67] O mihi præteritos referat si Jupiter annos! [Virg. Æn. viii. 560.]

[68] [Chr. Letter p. II. "Heere we pray your "helpe to teach us, how will is *apt* (as you say) "freelie to take or refuse anie particular object "whatsoever, and that reason by diligence is able "to find out any good concerning us: if it be true "that the Church of England professeth, that with- "out the preventing and helping grace of God, we "can will and doe nothing pleasing to God."

Hooker, MS. note. "There are certaine wordes, "as Nature, Reason, Will, and such like, which "wheresoever you find named, you suspect them "presently as bugs wordes*, because what they "mean you do not indeed as you ought appre- "hend. You have heard that man's Nature is "corrupt, his Reason blind, his Will perverse. "Whereupon under colour of condemning corrupt "Nature, you condemn Nature, and so in the "rest."

"Vide Hilarium, p. 31." (Ed. Basil, 1570; p. 822. ed Bened.) "Vide et Philon. p. 33." (Ed. Paris, 1552.) "et Dionys. p. 338." (Par. 1562.)

"Voluntas hominis natura sua non ligatur, sed "vi vitiositatis quæ naturæ accessit.

"Apt', originaliter apta, *able*. Ratio divinis in- "structa auxiliis potest omne bonum necessarium "invenire, destituta nullum. Habet tamen omne "bonum satis quidem in se quo probare se possit "homini sedulo diligenterque attendenti. Sed nos- "tra nos alio segnities avertit, donec studium vir- "tutis Spiritus Sanctus excitat. Vide Cyprianum "de sua conversione." (Ad Donatum, Opp. p. 3. ed. Fell.) "Item ea quæ Sapientia de se profitetur "in libro Proverbiorum atque alibi. Est itaque "segnis humana ratio propter summam bonarum "rerum investigandarum difficultatem. Eam dif- "ficultatem tollit lumen divinæ gratiæ. Hinc ala- "cres efficimur, alioqui a labore ad libidinem "proclives. Habet virtus vitio et plura et fortiora "quæ hominem alliciant. Sed ea latent maxi- "mam partem hominum. Quid ita? Quia Ratio, "quæ est oculus mentis, alto in nobis somno se- "pulta jacet otiose. At excitata et illuminata

[* "These are bugs words." Beaum. and Fletch. Tamer tamed, Act. I. Sc. 3.]

followeth, that there is no particular object so good, but it may have the show of some difficulty or unpleasant quality annexed to it, in respect whereof the Will may shrink and decline it; contrariwise (for so things are blended) there is no particular evil which hath not some appearance of goodness whereby to insinuate itself. For evil as evil cannot be desired [69]: if that be desired which is evil, the cause is the goodness which is or seemeth to be joined with it. Goodness doth not move by being, but by being apparent; and therefore many things are neglected which are most precious, only because the value of them lieth hid. Sensible Goodness is most apparent, near, and present; which causeth the Appetite to be therewith strongly provoked. Now pursuit and refusal in the Will do follow, the one the affirmation the other the negation of goodness, which the understanding apprehendeth [70], grounding itself upon sense, unless some higher Reason do chance to teach the contrary. And if Reason have taught it rightly to be good, yet not so apparently that the mind receiveth it with utter impossibility of being otherwise, still there is place left for the Will to take or leave. Whereas therefore amongst so many things as are to be done, there are so few, the goodness whereof Reason in such sort doth or easily can discover, we are not to marvel at the choice of evil even then when the contrary is probably known. Hereby it cometh to pass that custom inuring the mind by long practice, and so leaving there a sensible impression, prevaileth more than reasonable persuasion what way soever. Reason therefore may rightly discern the thing which is good, and yet the Will of man not incline itself thereunto, as oft as the prejudice of sensible experience doth oversway.

[7.] Nor let any man think that this doth make any thing for the just excuse of iniquity. For there was never sin committed wherein a less good was not preferred before a greater, and that willfully; which cannot be done without the singular disgrace of Nature, and the utter disturbance of that divine order, whereby the preeminence of chiefest acceptation is by the best things worthily challenged. There is not that good which concerneth us, but it hath evidence enough for itself, if Reason were diligent to search it out. Through neglect thereof, abused we are with the show of that which is not; sometimes the subtilty of Satan inveigling us as it did Eve [71], sometimes the hastiness of our Wills preventing the more considerate advice of sound Reason, as in the Apostles [72], when they no sooner saw what they liked not, but they forthwith were desirous of fire from heaven; sometimes the very custom of evil making the heart obdurate against whatsoever instructions to the contrary, as in them over whom our Saviour spake weeping [73], "O Jerusalem, how often, and thou wouldest not!" Still therefore that wherewith we stand blameable, and can no way excuse it, is, In doing evil, we prefer a less good before a greater, the greatness whereof is by reason investigable and may be known. The search of knowledge is a thing painful; and the painfulness of knowledge is that which maketh the Will so hardly inclinable thereunto. The root hereof, divine malediction; whereby the instruments [74] being weakened wherewithal the soul (especially in reasoning) doth work, it preferreth rest in ignorance before wearisome labour to know. For a spur of diligence therefore we have a natural thirst after knowledge ingrafted in us. But by reason of that original weakness in the instruments, without which the understanding part is not able in this world by discourse to work, the very conceit of painfulness is as a bridle to stay us. For which cause the Apostle, who knew right well that the weariness of the flesh is an heavy clog to the Will, striketh mightily upon this key, "Awake thou that sleepest; Cast off all "which presseth down; Watch; Labour; "Strive to go forward, and to grow in "knowledge [75]."

Of the natural way of finding out Laws by Reason to guide the Will unto that which is good.

VIII. Wherefore to return to our former intent of discovering the natural way, whereby rules have been found out concerning that goodness wherewith the Will of man ought to be moved in human actions; as every thing naturally and necessarily doth desire the utmost good and greatest perfection whereof Nature hath made it capable, even so man. Our felicity therefore being the object and accomplishment of our desire, we cannot choose but wish and covet it. All particular things which are subject unto action,

"Sancti Spiritus virtute omnia dijudicat, et quæ "prius ignota fastidio fuerunt, ea nunc perspecta "modis omnibus amplectenda decernit."]

[69] Εἰ δέ τις ἐπὶ κακίαν ὁρμᾷ, πρῶτον μὲν οὐχ ὡς ἐπὶ κακίαν αὐτὴν ὁρμήσει, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθον. Paulo post: Ἀδύνατον γὰρ ὁρμαν ἐπὶ κακὰ βουλομενον ἔχειν αὐτὰ, οὔτε ἐλπίδι ἀγαθου οὔτε φοβῳ μείζονος κακου. Alcin. de Dog. Plat. [c. 38. ed. Oxon. 1667.]

[70] [Arist. Eth. Nic. VI. 2. Ὅπερ ἐν διανοίᾳ κατάφασις καὶ ἀποφασις, τουτο ἐν ὀρέξει δίωξις καὶ φυγή.]

[71] 2 Cor. xi. 3.

[72] Luke ix. 54.

[73] Matt. xxiii. 37.

[74] "A corruptible body is heavy unto the soul, "and the earthly mansion keepeth down the mind "that is full of cares. And hardly can we discern "the things that are upon earth, and with great "labour find we out the things which are before "us. Who can then seek out the things that are "in heaven?" Sap. ix. 15, 16.

[75] Eph. v. 14; Heb. xii. 1, 12; 1 Cor. xvi. 13; Prov. ii. 4; Luke xiii. 24.

the Will doth so far forth incline unto, as Reason judgeth them the better for us, and consequently the more available to our bliss. If Reason err, we fall into evil, and are so far forth deprived of the general perfection we seek. Seeing therefore that for the framing of men's actions the knowledge of good from evil is necessary, it only resteth that we search how this may be had. Neither must we suppose that there needeth one rule to know the good and another the evil by [76]. For he that knoweth what is straight doth even thereby discern what is crooked, because the absence of straightness in bodies capable thereof is crookedness. Goodness in actions is like unto straightness; wherefore that which is done well we term *right*. For as the straight way is most acceptable to him that travelleth, because by it he cometh soonest to his journey's end; so in action, that which doth lie the evenest between us and the end we desire must needs be the fittest for our use. Besides which fitness for use, there is also in rectitude, beauty; as contrariwise in obliquity, deformity. And that which is good in the actions of men, doth not only delight as profitable, but as amiable also. In which consideration the Grecians most divinely have given to the active perfection of men a name expressing both beauty and goodness [77], because goodness in ordinary speech is for the most part applied only to that which is beneficial. But we in the name of goodness do here imply both.

[2.] And of discerning goodness there are but these two ways; the one the knowledge of the causes whereby it is made such; the other the observation of those signs and tokens, which being annexed always unto goodness, argue that where they are found, there also goodness is, although we know not the cause by force whereof it is there. The former of these is the most sure and infallible way, but so hard that all shun it, and had rather walk as men do in the dark by haphazard, than tread so long and intricate mazes for knowledge's sake. As therefore physicians are many times forced to leave such methods of curing as themselves know to be the fittest, and being overruled by their patients' impatiency are fain to try the best they can, in taking that way of cure which the cured will yield unto; in like sort, considering how the case doth stand with this present age full of tongue and weak of brain, behold we yield to the stream thereof; into the causes of goodness we will not make any curious or deep inquiry; to touch them now and then it shall be sufficient, when they are so near at hand that easily they may be conceived without any far-removed discourse: that way we are contented to prove, which being the worse in itself, is notwithstanding now by reason of common imbecility the fitter and likelier to be brooked [78].

[3.] Signs and tokens to know good by are of sundry kinds; some more certain and some less. The most certain token of evident goodness is, if the general persuasion of all men do so account it. And therefore a common received error is never utterly overthrown, till such time as we go from signs unto causes, and shew some manifest root or fountain thereof common unto all, whereby it may clearly appear how it hath come to pass that so many have been overseen. In which case surmises and slight probabilities will not serve, because the universal consent of men is the perfectest and strongest in this kind, which comprehendeth only the signs and tokens of goodness. Things casual do vary, and that which a man doth but chance to think well of cannot still have the like hap. Wherefore although we know not the cause, yet thus much we may know; that some necessary cause there is, whensoever the judgments of all men generally or for the most part run one and the same way, especially in matters of natural discourse. For of things necessarily and naturally done there is no more affirmed but this, "They keep either "always or for the most part one tenure [79]." The general and perpetual voice of men is as the sentence of God himself. For that which all men have at all times learned, Nature herself must needs have taught [80]; and God being the author

[76] Τῳ εὐθεῖ καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ καμπύλον γινώσκομεν· κριτὴς γὰρ ἀμφοῖν ὁ κανών. Arist. de An. lib. i. [cap. 3. t. 85.]

[77] Καλοκαγαθία.

[78] Arist. Eth. Nic. I. 4, 5. ed. Cardwell: ἴσως οὖν ἡμῖν γε ἀρκτέον ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμῖν γνωρίμων.]

[79] Ἡ αἰεὶ ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ὡσαύτως ἀποβαίνει. Arist. Rhet. l. i. [c. 10.]

[80] "Non potest error contingere ubi omnes idem "[ita] opinantur." Monticat. in I. Polit. [p. 3,] "Quicquid in omnibus individuis unius speciei "communitur inest, id causam communem habeat "oportet, quæ est eorum individuorum species et "natura." Idem. "Quod a tota aliqua specie "fit, universalis particularisque naturæ fit in"stinctu." ["Meminisse debemus vaticinium "illud, Quod a tota aliqua animalium specie fit, "quia universalis particularisque fit instinctu, ve"rum existere."] Ficin. de Christ. Rel. [cap. 1.] "Si proficere cupis, primo firme id verum puta, "quod sana mens omnium hominum attestatur." Cusa in Compend. cap. I. [D. Nicolai de Cusa Cardinalis, utriusque juris Doctoris, omnique philosophia incomparabilis viri Opera. Basil. 1565. Compendium; Directio Veritatis, p. 239. See Cave Hist. Lit. t. I. App. 130.] "Non licet natu"rale universaleque hominum judicium falsum va"numque existimare." Teles. [Bernardi Telesii, Consentini, de Rerum Natura juxta propria principia Libri ix, Neapoli 1586. On this writer's method of philosophising see a dissertation in Bacon's

of Nature, her voice is but his instrument. By her from Him we receive whatsoever in such sort we learn. Infinite duties there are, the goodness whereof is by this rule sufficiently manifested, although we had no other warrant besides to approve them. The Apostle St. Paul having speech concerning the heathen saith of them, [81] "They "are a law unto themselves." His meaning is, that by force of the light of Reason, wherewith God illuminateth every one which cometh into the world, men being enabled to know truth from falsehood, and good from evil, do thereby learn in many things what the will of God is; which will himself not revealing by any extraordinary means unto them, but they by natural discourse attaining the knowledge thereof, seem the makers of those Laws which indeed are his, and they but only the finders of them out.

[4.] A law therefore generally taken, is a directive rule unto goodness of operation. The rule of divine operations outward, is the definitive appointment of God's own wisdom set down within himself. The rule of natural agents that work by simple necessity, is the determination of the wisdom of God, known to God himself the principal Director of them, but not unto them that are directed to execute the same. The rule of natural agents which work after a sort of their own accord, as the beasts do, is the judgment of common sense or fancy concerning the sensible goodness of those objects wherewith they are moved. The rule of ghostly or immaterial natures, as spirits and angels, is their intuitive intellectual judgment concerning the amiable beauty and high goodness of that object, which with unspeakable joy and delight doth set them on work. The rule of voluntary agents on earth is the sentence that Reason giveth concerning the goodness of those things which they are to do. And the sentences which Reason giveth are some more some less general, before it come to define in particular actions what is good.

[5.] The main principles of Reason are in themselves apparent. For to make nothing evident of itself unto man's understanding were to take away all possibility of knowing any thing. And herein that of Theophrastus is true, "They that seek a "reason of all things do utterly overthrow "Reason [82]." In every kind of knowledge some such grounds there are, as that being proposed the mind doth presently embrace them as free from all possibility of error, clear and manifest without proof. In which kind axioms or principles more general are such as this, "that the greater good is to "be chosen before the less." If therefore it should be demanded what reason there is, why the Will of Man, which doth necessarily shun harm and covet whatsoever is pleasant and sweet, should be commanded to count the pleasures of sin gall, and notwithstanding the bitter accidents wherewith virtuous actions are compassed, yet still to rejoice and delight in them: surely this could never stand with Reason, but that wisdom thus prescribing groundeth her laws upon an infallible rule of comparison; which is, 'That small difficulties when ex-'ceeding great good is sure to ensue, and 'on the other side momentary benefits when 'the hurt which they draw after them is 'unspeakable, are not at all to be respected.' This rule is the ground whereupon the wisdom of the Apostle buildeth a law, enjoining patience unto himself [83]; "The pre-"sent lightness of our affliction worketh "unto us even with abundance upon abun-"dance an eternal weight of glory; while "we look not on the things which are seen, "but on the things which are not seen; for "the things which are seen are temporal, "but the things which are not seen are "eternal;" therefore Christianity to be embraced, whatsoever calamities in those times it was accompanied withal. Upon the same ground our Savior proveth the law most reasonable, that doth forbid those crimes which men for gain's sake fall into. "For a man to win the world if it be with "the loss of his soul, what benefit or good "is it [84]?" Axioms less general, yet so manifest that they need no further proof, are such as these, 'God to be worshipped;' 'parents to be honoured;' 'others to be 'used by us as we ourselves would be by 'them.' Such things, as soon as they are alleged, all men acknowledge to be good; they require no proof or further discourse to be assured of their goodness.

Notwithstanding whatsoever such principle there is, it was at the first found out by discourse, and drawn from out of the very bowels of heaven and earth. For we are to note, that things in the world are to us discernible, not only so far forth as serveth for our vital preservation, but further also in a twofold higher respect. For first if all other uses were utterly taken away, yet the mind of man being by nature speculative and delighted with contemplation in itself, they were to be known even for mere knowledge and understanding's sake. Yea further besides this, the knowledge of every the least thing in the whole world hath in it a second peculiar benefit unto us, inasmuch as it serveth to minister rules, canons,

works, ix. 332.] "Ο γὰρ πᾶσι δοκεῖ, τοῦτο εἶναι φάμεν. "Ο δὲ ἀναιρῶν ταύτην τὴν πίστιν οὐ πάνυ πιστότερα ἐρεῖ. Arist. Eth. lib. x. cap. 2.

[81] Rom. ii. 14.

[82] Ἁπάντων ζητοῦντες λόγον, ἀναιρουσι λογον. Theoph. in Metaph. [p. 270. 23.]

[83] 2. Cor. iv. 17.

[84] Matt. xvi. 26.

and laws, for men to direct those actions by which we properly term human. This did the very heathens themselves obscurely insinuate, by making *Themis*, which we call *Jus*, or Right, to be the daughter of heaven and earth [84].

[6.] We know things either as they are in themselves, or as they are in mutual relation one to another. The knowledge of that which man is in reference unto himself, and other things in relation unto man, I may justly term the mother of all those principles, which are as it were edicts, statutes, and decrees, in the Law of Nature, whereby human actions are framed. First therefore having observed that the best things, where they are not hindered, do still produce the best operations (for which cause, where many things are to concur unto one effect, the best is in all congruity of reason to guide the residue, that it prevailing most, the work principally done by it may have greatest perfection:) when hereupon we come to observe in ourselves, of what excellency our souls are in comparison of our bodies, and the diviner part in relation unto the baser of our souls; seeing that all these concur in producing human actions, it cannot be well unless the chiefest do command and direct the rest [85]. The soul then ought to conduct the body, and the spirit of our minds [86] the soul. This is therefore the first Law, whereby the highest power of the mind requireth general obedience at the hands of all the rest concurring with it unto action.

[7.] Touching the several grand mandates, which being imposed by the understanding faculty of the mind must be obeyed by the will of Man, they are by the same method found out, whether they import our duty towards God or towards man.

Touching the one, I may not here stand to open, by what degrees of discourse the minds even of mere natural men have attained to know, not only that there is a God, but also what power, force, wisdom, and other properties that God hath, and how all things depend on him. This being therefore presupposed, from that known relation which God hath unto us as unto children [87], and unto all good things as unto effects whereof himself is the principal cause [88], these axioms and laws natural concerning our duty have arisen, 'that in all things 'we go about his aid is by prayer to be 'craved [89];' that he cannot have sufficient 'honour done unto him, but the utmost of 'that we can do to honour him we must [90];' which is in effect the same that we read [91], "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with "all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with "all thy mind:" which Law our Saviour doth term [92] "The first and great commandment."

Touching the next, which as our Saviour addeth is "like unto this," (he meaneth in amplitude and largeness, inasmuch as it is the root out of which all Laws of duty to menward have grown, as out of the former all offices of religion towards God,) the like natural inducement hath brought men to know that it is their duty no less to love others than themselves. For seeing those things which are equal must needs all have one measure; if I cannot but wish to receive all good, even as much at every man's hand as any man can wish unto his own soul, how should I look to have any part of my desire herein satisfied, unless myself be careful to satisfy the like desire which is undoubtedly in other men, we all being of one and the same nature? To have any thing offered them repugnant to this desire must needs in all respects grieve them as much as me: so that if I do harm I must look to suffer; there being no reason that others should shew greater measure of love to me than they have by me shewed unto them. My desire therefore to be loved of my equals in nature as much as possible may be, imposeth upon me a natural duty of bearing to them-ward fully the like affection. From which relation of equality between ourselves and them that are as ourselves, what several rules and canons natural Reason hath drawn for direction of life no man is ignorant; as namely, "That because we "would take no harm, we must therefore "do none;" "That sith we would not be in "any thing extremely dealt with, we must "ourselves avoid all extremity in our deal-"ings;" "that from all violence and wrong "we are utterly to abstain [93];" with such like; which further to wade in would be tedious, and to our present purpose not altogether so necessary, seeing that on these two general heads already mentioned all other specialties are dependent [94].

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84 [Hesiod. Theog. 126, 133, 135.]

85 Arist. Pol. i. cap. 5.

86 [Eph. iv. 23.]

87 Οὐδεὶς Θεὸς δύσνους ἀνθρώποις. Plat. in Theæt. [t. i. 151. ed. Serrani.]

88 Ὅ τε γὰρ Θεὸς δοκεῖ τὸ αἴτιον πᾶσιν εἶναι καὶ ἀρχή τις. Arist. Metaph. lib. i. cap. 2. [t. ii. 485.]

89 Ἀλλ', ὦ Σώκρατες, τοῦτό γε δὴ πάντες, ὅσοι καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ σωφροσύνης μετέχουσιν, ἐπὶ πασῃ ὁρμῃ καὶ σμικροῦ καὶ μεγάλου πράγματος Θεὸν ἀεί που καλοῦσι. Plat. in Tim. [t. iii. 27.]

90 Arist. Ethic. lib. iii. cap. ult.

91 Deut. vi. 5. 92 Matt. xxii. 38.

93 "Quod quis in se approbat, in alio reprobare "non posse." L. *in arenam*, C. de inof. test. [Cod. Just. p. 254. ed. Lugd. 1553.] "Quod quisque "juris in alium statuerit, ipsum quoque eodem uti "debere." L. *quod quisque*. [Digest. lib. ii. tit. 2. tom. 1. p. 60. Ludg. 1552.] "Ab omni penitus "injuria atque vi abstinendum." L. i. sect. 1. *Quod vi, aut clam.* [Ibid. lib. xliii. tit. 23. tom. 3. p. 335.

94 "On these two commandments hangeth the whole Law." Matt. xxii. 40.

[8.] Wherefore the natural measure whereby to judge our doings, is the sentence of Reason, determining and setting down what is good to be done. Which sentence is either mandatory, shewing what must be done; or else permissive declaring only what may be done; or thirdly admonitory, opening what is the most convenient for us to do. The first taketh place, where the comparison doth stand altogether between doing and not doing of one thing which in itself is absolutely good or evil; as it had been for Joseph [95] to yield or not to yield to the impotent desire of his lewd mistress, the one evil the other good simply. The second is, when of divers things evil, all being not evitable, we are permitted to take one: which one saving only in case of so great urgency were not otherwise to be taken; as in the matter of divorce among the Jews [96]. The last, when of divers things good, one is principal and most eminent; as in their act who sold their possessions and laid the price at the Apostles' feet [97]; which possessions they may have retained unto themselves without sin: again, in the Apostle St. Paul's own choice [98] to maintain himself by his own labour; whereas in living by the Church's maintenance, as others did, there had been no offence committed [99]. In Goodness therefore there is a latitude or extent, whereby it cometh to pass that even of good actions some are better than other some; whereas otherwise one man could not excel another, but all should be either absolutely good, as hitting jump that indivisible point or centre wherein goodness consisteth; or else missing it they should be excluded out of the number of well-doers. Degrees of well doing there could be none, except perhaps in the seldomness and oftenness of doing well. But the nature of Goodness being thus ample, a Law is properly that which Reason in such sort defineth to be good that it must be done. And the Law of Reason or human Nature is that which men by discourse of natural Reason have rightly found out themselves to be all forever bound unto in their actions.

[9.] Laws of Reason have these marks to be known by. Such as keep them resemble most lively in their voluntary actions that very manner of working which Nature herself doth necessarily observe in the course of the whole world. The works of nature are all behoveful, beautiful, without superfluity or defect; even so theirs, if they be framed according to that which the Law of Reason teacheth. Secondly, those Laws are investigable by Reason, without the help of Revelation supernatural and divine. Finally in such sort they are investigable, that the knowledge of them is general, the world hath always been acquainted with them; according to that which one in Sophocles observeth concerning a branch of this Law, "It is no "child of to-day's or yesterday's birth, but "hath been no man knoweth how long "sithence [100]." It is not agreed upon by one or two, or few, but by all. Which we may not so understand, as if every particular man in the whole world did know and confess whatsoever the Law of Reason doth contain; but this Law is such that being proposed no man can reject it as unreasonable and unjust. Again, there is nothing in it but any man (having natural perfection of wit and ripeness of judgment) may by labour and travail find out. And to conclude, the general principles thereof are such, as it is not easy to find men ignorant of them. Law rational therefore, which men commonly use to call the Law of Nature, meaning thereby the Law which human Nature knoweth itself in reason universally bound unto, which also for that cause may be termed most fitly the Law of Reason; this Law, I say, comprehendeth all those things which men by the light of their natural understanding evidently know, or at leastwise may know, to be beseeming or unbeseeming, virtuous or vicious, good or evil for them to do.

[10.] Now although it be true, which some have said [1], that "whatsoever is done "amiss, the Law of Nature and Reason "thereby is transgressed," because even those offences which are by their special qualities breaches of supernatural laws, do also, for that they are generally evil, violate in general that principle of Reason, which willeth universally to fly from evil: yet do we not therefore so far extend the Law of Reason, as to contain in it all manner laws whereunto reasonable creatures are bound, but (as hath been shewed) we restrain it to those only duties, which all men by force of natural wit either do or might understand to be such duties as concern all men. "Certain half-waking men there are" (as St. Augustine noteth [2],) "who neither alto-

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95 Gen. xxxix. 9.
96 Mark x. 4.
97 Acts iv. 37; v. 4.
98 2 Thess. iii. 8.
99 [See note, b. ii. c. 8. §. 5.]

100 Οὐ γάρ τι νυν γε καχθὲς, ἀλλ' ἀεί ποτε
Ζῃ τουτο, κουδεὶς οἶδεν ἐξ ὁτου φάνη.
Soph. Antig. [v. 456.]

1 Th. 1. 2. q. 94. art. 3. [tom. xi. 204.] "Omnia "peccata sunt in universum contra rationem et "naturæ legem." Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. xii. cap. 1. "Omne vitium naturæ nocet, ac per hoc contra "naturam est." [tom. vii. 301.]

2 De Doctr. Christ. l. iii. c. 14. [tom. iii. 51. "Quidam dormitantes, ut ita dicam, qui neque "alto somno stultitiæ sopiebantur, nec in sapientiæ "lucem poterant evigilare, putaverunt nullam "esse justitiam per se ipsam, sed unicuique genti "consuetudinem suam justam videri; quæ cum

" gether asleep in folly, nor yet thoroughly " awake in the light of true understanding, " have thought that there is not at all any " thing just and righteous in itself; but look " wherewith nations are inured, the same " they take to be right and just. Where- " upon their conclusion is, that seeing each " sort of people hath a different kind of right " from other, and that which is right of its " own nature must be everywhere one and " the same, therefore in itself there is no- " thing right. These good folk," saith he, " (that I may not trouble their wits with " rehearsal of too many things,) have not " looked so far into the world as to perceive " that, 'Do as thou wouldst be done unto,' " is a sentence which all nations under " heaven are agreed upon. Refer this sen- " tence to the love of God, and it extinguish- " eth all heinous crimes; refer it to the " love of thy neighbour, and all grievous " wrongs it banisheth out of the world." Wherefore as touching the Law of Reason, this was (it seemeth) St. Augustine's judgment: namely, that there are in it some things which stand as principles universally agreed upon; and that out of those principles, which are in themselves evident, the greatest moral duties we owe towards God or man may without any great difficulty be concluded.

[11.] If then it be here demanded, by what means it should come to pass (the greatest part of the Law moral being so easy for all men to know) that so many thousands of men notwithstanding have been ignorant even of principal moral duties, not imagining the breach of them to be sin: I deny not but lewd and wicked custom, beginning perhaps at the first amongst few, afterwards spreading into greater multitudes, and so continuing from time to time, may be of force even in plain things to smother the light of natural understanding; because men will not bend their wits to examine whether things wherewith they have been accustomed be good or evil. For example's sake, that grosser kind of heathenish idolatry, whereby they worshipped the very works of their own hands, was an absurdity to reason so palpable, that the Prophet David comparing idols and idolaters together maketh almost no odds between them, but the one in a manner as much without wit and sense as the other; "They that make them are like unto them, " and so are all that trust in them [3]." That wherein an idolater doth seem so absurd and foolish is by the Wise Man thus expressed [4], "He is not ashamed to speak unto " that which hath no life, he calleth on him " that is weak for health, he prayeth for life " unto him which is dead, of him which hath " no experience he requireth help, for his " journey he sueth to him which is not able " to go, for gain and work and success in " his affairs he seeketh furtherance of him " that hath no manner of power." The cause of which senseless stupidity is afterwards imputed to custom [5]. "When a " father mourned grievously for his son that " was taken away suddenly, he made an " image for him that was once dead, whom " now he worshippeth as a God, ordaining " to his servants ceremonies and sacrifices. " Thus by process of time this wicked cus- " tom prevailed, and was kept as a law;" the authority of rulers, the ambition of craftsmen, and such like means thrusting forward the ignorant, and increasing their superstition.

Unto this which the Wise Man hath spoken somewhat besides may be added. For whatsoever we have hitherto taught, or shall hereafter concerning the force of man's natural understanding, this we always desire withal to be understood; that there is no kind of faculty or power in man or any other creature, which can rightly perform the functions allotted to it, without perpetual aid and concurrence of that Supreme Cause of all things. The benefit whereof as oft as we cause God in his justice to withdraw, there can no other thing follow than that which the Apostle noteth, even men endued with the light of reason to walk notwithstanding [6] "in the vanity of " their mind, having their cogitations dark- " ened, and being strangers from the life of " God through the ignorance which is in " them, because of the hardness of their " hearts." And this cause is mentioned by the prophet Esay [7], speaking of the ignorance of idolaters, who see not how the manifest Law of Reason condemneth their gross iniquity and sin. "They have not in them," saith he, "so much wit as to think, 'Shall I " bow to the stock of a tree?' All knowledge " and understanding is taken from them; " for God hath shut their eyes that they can- " not see."

That which we say in this case of idolatry serveth for all other things, wherein the like kind of general blindness hath prevailed against the manifest Laws of Reason. Within the compass of which laws we do not only comprehend whatsoever may be easily known to belong to the duty of all men, but

" sit diversa omnibus gentibus, debeat autem in- " commutabilis manere justitia, fieri manifestum, " nullam usquam esse justitiam. Non intellexe- " runt, (ne multa commemorem,) 'Quod tibi fieri " non vis, alii ne feceris,' nullo modo posse ulla " eorum gentili diversitate variari. " Quæ senten- " tia cum refertur ad dilectionem Dei, omnia fla- " gitia moriuntur; cum ad proximi, omnia faci- " nora."]

[3] Psal. cxxxv. 18.
[4] Wisd. xiii. 17.
[5] Wisd. xiv. 15, 16.
[6] Ephes. iv. 17, 18
[7] Isa. xliv. 18, 19.

even whatsoever may possibly be known to be of that quality, so that the same be by *necessary* consequence deduced out of clear and manifest principles. For if once we descend unto probable collections what is convenient for men, we are then in the territory where free and arbitrary determinations, the territory where Human Laws take place; which laws are after to be considered.

The benefit of keeping that Law which Reason teacheth.

IX. Now the due observation of this Law which Reason teacheth us cannot but be effectual unto their great good that observe the same. For we see the whole world and each part thereof so compacted, that as long as each thing performeth only that work which is natural unto it, it thereby preserveth both other things and also itself. Contrariwise, let any principal thing, as the sun, the moon, any one of the heavens or elements, but once cease or fail, or swerve, and who doth not easily conceive that the sequel thereof would be ruin both to itself and whatsoever dependeth on it? And is it possible, that Man being not only the noblest creature in the world, but even a very world in himself, his transgressing the Law of his Nature should draw no manner of harm after it? Yes [8], "tribulation and anguish unto every soul that doeth evil." Good doth follow unto all things by observing the course of their nature, and on the contrary side evil by not observing it; but not unto natural agents that good which we call Reward, not that evil which we properly term Punishment. The reason whereof is, because amongst creatures in this world, only Man's observation of the Law of his Nature is Righteousness, only Man's transgression Sin. And the reason of this is the difference in his manner of observing or transgressing the Law of his Nature. He doth not otherwise than voluntarily the one or the other. What we do against our wills, or constrainedly, we are not properly said to do it, because the motive cause of doing it is not in ourselves, but carrieth us, as if the wind should drive a feather in the air, we no whit furthering that whereby we are driven. In such cases therefore the evil which is done moveth compassion; men are pitied for it, as being rather miserable in such respect than culpable. Some things are likewise done by man, though not through outward force and impulsion, though not against yet without their wills; as in alienation of mind, or any the like inevitable utter absence of wit and judgment. For which cause, no man did ever think the hurtful actions of furious men and innocents to be punishable. Again, some things we do neither against nor without, and yet not simply and merely with our wills, but with our wills in such sort moved, that albeit there be no impossibility but that we might, nevertheless we are not so easily able to do otherwise. In this consideration one evil deed is made more pardonable than another. Finally, that which we do being evil, is notwithstanding by so much more pardonable, by how much the exigence of so doing or the difficulty of doing otherwise is greater; unless this necessity or difficulty have originally risen from ourselves. It is no excuse therefore unto him, who being drunk committeth incest, and allegeth that his wits were not his own; inasmuch as himself might have chosen whether his wits should by that mean have been taken from him. Now rewards and punishments do always presuppose something willingly done well or ill; without which respect though we may sometimes receive good or harm, yet then the one is only a benefit and not a reward, the other simply an hurt not a punishment. From the sundry dispositions of man's Will, which is the root of all his actions, there groweth variety in the sequel of rewards and punishments, which are by these and the like rules measured: 'Take 'away the will, and all acts are equal: 'That which we do not, and would do, is 'commonly accepted as done [9].' By these and the like rules men's actions are determined of and judged, whether they be in their own nature rewardable or punishable.

[2.] Rewards and punishments are not received, but at the hands of such as being above us have power to examine and judge our deeds. How men come to have this authority one over another in external actions, we shall more diligently examine in that which followeth. But for this present, so much all do acknowledge, that sith every man's heart and conscience doth in good or evil, even secretly committed and known to none but itself, either like or disallow itself, and accordingly either rejoice, very nature exulting (as it were) in certain hope of reward, or else grieve (as it were) in a sense of future punishment; neither of which can in this case be looked for from any other, saving only from Him who discerneth and judgeth the very secrets of all hearts: therefore He is the only rewarder and revenger of all such actions; although not of such actions only, but of all whereby the Law of Nature is broken whereof Himself is author. For which cause, the Roman laws, called the Laws of the Twelve Tables, requiring offices of inward affection which the eye of man cannot reach

[8] Rom. ii. 9.

[9] "Voluntate sublata, omnem actum parem "esse." L. *fœdissimam*, c. *de adult.* [Cod. Justin. 968.] "Bonam voluntatem plerumque pro "facto reputari." L. *si quis in testament.* [Ibid. 732.]

unto, threaten the neglecters of them with none but divine punishment [10].

X. That which hitherto we have set down is (I hope) sufficient to shew their brutishness, which imagine that religion and virtue are only as men will account of them; that we might make as much account, if we would, of the contrary, without any harm unto ourselves, and that in nature they are as indifferent one as the other. We see then how nature itself teacheth laws and statutes to live by. The laws which have been hitherto mentioned do bind men absolutely even as they are men, although they have never any settled fellowship, never any solemn agreement amongst themselves what to do or not to do [11]. But forasmuch as we are not by ourselves sufficient to furnish ourselves with competent store of things needful for such a life as our nature doth desire, a life fit for the dignity of man; therefore to supply those defects and imperfections which are in us living single and solely by ourselves, we are naturally induced to seek communion and fellowship with others. This was the cause of men's uniting themselves at the first in politic Societies, which societies could not be without Government, nor Government without a distinct kind of Law from that which hath been already declared. Two foundations there are which bear up public societies; the one, a natural inclination, whereby all men desire sociable life and fellowship; the other, an order expressly or secretly agreed upon touching the manner of their union in living together. The latter is that which we call the Law of a Commonweal, the very soul of a politic body, the parts whereof are by law animated, held together, and set on work in such actions, as the common good requireth. Laws politic, ordained for external order and regiment amongst men, are never framed as they should be, unless presuming the will of man to be inwardly obstinate, rebellious, and averse from all obedience unto the sacred laws of his nature; in a word, unless presuming man to be in regard of his depraved mind little better than a wild beast, they do accordingly provide notwithstanding so to frame his outward actions, that they be no hinderance unto the common good for which societies are instituted: unless they do this, they are not perfect. It resteth therefore that we consider how nature findeth out such laws of government as serve to direct even nature depraved to a right end.

How Reason doth lead men unto the making of human laws whereby politic Societies are governed; and to agreement about laws whereby the fellowship or communion of independent societies standeth.

[2.] All men desire to lead in this world a happy life. That life is led most happily, wherein all virtue is exercised without impediment or let. The Apostle [12], in exhorting men to contentment although they have in this world no more than very bare food and raiment, giveth us thereby to understand that those are even the lowest of things necessary; that if we should be stripped of all those things without which we might possibly be, yet these must be left; that destitution in these is such an impediment, as till it be removed suffereth not the mind of man to admit any other care. For this cause, first God assigned Adam maintenance of life, and then appointed him a law to observe [13]. For this cause, after men began to grow to a number, the first thing we read they gave themselves unto was the tilling of the earth and the feeding of cattle. Having by this mean whereon to live, the principal actions of their life afterward are noted by the exercise of their religion [14]. True it is, that the kingdom of God must be the first thing in our purposes and desires [15]. But inasmuch as righteous life presupposeth life; inasmuch as to live virtuously it is impossible except we live; therefore the first impediment, which naturally we endeavour to remove, is penury and want of things without which we cannot live. Unto life many implements are necessary; more, if we seek (as all men naturally do) such a life as hath in it joy, comfort, delight, and pleasure. To this end we see how quickly sundry arts mechanical were found out, in the very prime of the world [16]. As things of greatest necessity are always first provided for, so things of greatest dignity are most accounted of by all such as judge rightly. Although therefore riches be a thing which every man wisheth, yet no man of judgment can esteem it better to be rich, than wise, virtuous, and religious. If we be both or either of these, it is not because we are so born. For into the world we come as empty of the one as of the other, as naked in mind as we are in body. Both which necessities of man had at the first no other helps and supplies than only domestical; such as that which the Prophet implieth, saying, "Can "a mother forget her child [17]?" such as that which the Apostle mentioneth, saying, "He "that careth not for his own is worse than "an infidel [18];" such as that concerneth Abraham, "Abraham will command his

[10] "Divos caste adeunto, pietatem adhibento: "qui secus faxit, Deus ipse vindex erit." [Cic. de Leg. II. 8.]

[11] Ἔστι γὰρ, ὁ μαντεύονταί τι πάντες φύσει κοινον δίκαιον καὶ ἄδικον, κἂν μηδεμία κοινωνία πρὸς ἀλλήλους ᾖ μηδὲ συνθήκη. Arist. Rhet. i. [c. 13.]

[12] 1 Tim vi. 8.
[13] Gen. i. 29; ii. 17.
[14] Gen. iv. 2, 26.
[15] Matt. vi. 33.
[16] Gen. iv. 20, 21, 22.
[17] Isa. xlix. 15.
[18] 1 Tim. v. 8.

"sons and his household after him, that "they keep the way of the Lord[19]."

[3.] But neither that which we learn of ourselves nor that which others teach us can prevail, where wickedness and malice have taken deep root. If therefore when there was but as yet one only family in the world, no means of instruction human or divine could prevent effusion of blood[20]; how could it be chosen but that when families were multiplied and increased upon earth, after separation each providing for itself, envy, strife, contention and violence must grow amongst them? For hath not Nature furnished man with wit and valour, as it were with armour, which may be used as well unto extreme evil as good? Yea, were they not used by the rest of the world unto evil; unto the contrary only by Seth, Enoch, and those few the rest in that line[21]? We all make complaint of the iniquity of our times: not unjustly; for the days are evil. But compare them with those times wherein there were no civil societies, with those times wherein there was as yet no manner of public regiment established, with those times wherein there were not above eight persons righteous living upon the face of the earth[22]; and we have surely good cause to think that God hath blessed us exceedingly, and hath made us behold many happy days.

[4.] To take away all such mutual grievances, injuries, and wrongs, there was no way but only by growing unto composition and agreement amongst themselves, by ordaining some kind of government public, and by yielding themselves subject thereunto; that unto whom they granted authority to rule and govern, by them the peace, tranquility, and happy estate of the rest might be procured. Men always knew that when force and injury was offered they might be defenders of themselves; they knew that howsoever men may seek their own commodity, yet if this were done with injury unto others it was not to be suffered, but by all men and by all good means to be withstood; finally they knew that no man might in reason take upon him to determine his own right, and according to his own determination proceed in maintenance thereof, inasmuch as every man is towards himself and them whom he greatly affecteth partial; and therefore that strifes and troubles would be endless, except they gave their common consent all to be ordered by some whom they should agree upon: without which consent there were no reason that one man should take upon him to be lord or judge over another; because, although there be according to the opinion of some very great and judicious men a kind of natural right in the noble, wise, and virtuous, to govern them which are of servile disposition[23]; nevertheless for manifestation of this their right, and men's more peaceable contentment on both sides, the assent of them who are to be governed seemeth necessary.

To fathers within their private families Nature hath given a supreme power; for which cause we see throughout the world even from the foundation thereof, all men have ever been taken as lords and lawful kings in their own houses. Howbeit over a whole grand multitude having no such dependency upon any one, and consisting of so many families as every politic society in the world doth, impossible it is that any should have complete lawful power, but by consent of men, or immediate appointment of God; because not having the natural superiority of fathers, their power must needs be either usurped, and then unlawful; or, if lawful, then either granted or consented unto by them over whom they exercise the same, or else given extraordinarily from God, unto whom all the world is subject. It is no improbable opinion therefore which the arch-philosopher was of, that as the chiefest person in every household was always as it were a king, so when numbers of households joined themselves in civil society together, kings were the first kind of governors amongst them[24]. Which is also (as it seemeth) the reason why the name of Father continued still in them, who of fathers were made rulers; as also the ancient custom of governors to do as Melchisedec, and being kings to exercise the office of priests, which fathers did at the first, grew perhaps by the same occasion.

Howbeit not this the only kind of regiment that hath been received in the world. The inconveniences of one kind have caused sundry other to be devised. So that in a word all public regiment of what kind soever seemeth evidently to have risen from deliberate advice, consultation, and composition between men, judging it convenient and behoveful; there being no impossibility in nature considered by itself, but that men might have lived without any public regiment. Howbeit, the corruption of our nature being presupposed, we may not deny but that the Law of Nature doth now require of necessity some kind of regiment; so that to bring things unto the first course they were in, and utterly to take away all kinds of public government in the world, were apparently to overturn the whole world.

[5.] The case of man's nature standing therefore as it doth, some kind of regiment

[19] Gen. xviii. 19.
[20] Gen. iv. 8.
[21] Gen. vi. 5; Gen. v.
[22] 2 Pet. ii. v.
[23] Arist. Polit. lib. iii. et iv.
[24] Ibid. lib. i. cap. 2. Vide et Platonem in 3 de Legibus. [t. ii. 680.]

the Law of Nature doth require; yet the kinds thereof being many, Nature tieth not to any one, but leaveth the choice as a thing arbitrary. At the first when some certain kind of regiment was once approved, it may be that nothing was then further thought upon for the manner of governing, but all permitted unto their wisdom and discretion which were to rule [25]; till by experience they found this for all parts very inconvenient, so as the thing which they had devised for a remedy did indeed but increase the sore which it should have cured. They saw that to live by one man's will became the cause of all men's misery. This constrained them to come unto laws, wherein all men might see their duties beforehand, and know the penalties of transgressing them. If things be simply good or evil, and withal universally so acknowledged, there needs no new law to be made for such things [26]. The first kind therefore of things appointed by laws human containeth whatsoever being in itself naturally good or evil, is notwithstanding more secret than that it can be discerned by every man's present conceit, without some deeper discourse and judgment. In which discourse because there is difficulty and possibility many ways to err, unless such things were set down by laws, many would be ignorant of their duties which now are not, and many that know what they should do would nevertheless dissemble it, and to excuse themselves pretend ignorance and simplicity, which now they cannot [27].

[6.] And because the greatest part of men are such as prefer their own private good before all things, even that good which is sensual before whatsoever is most divine; and for that the labour of doing good, together with the pleasure arising from the contrary, doth make men for the most part slower to the one and proner to the other, than that duty prescribed them by law can prevail sufficiently with them: therefore unto laws that men do make for the benefit of men it hath seemed always needful to add rewards which may more allure unto good than any hardness deterreth from it, and punishments, which may more deter from evil than any sweetness thereto allureth. Wherein as the generality is natural, *virtue rewardable and vice punishable;* so the particular determination of the reward or punishment belongeth unto them by whom laws are made. Theft is naturally punishable, but the kind of punishment is positive, and such lawful as men shall think with discretion convenient by law to appoint.

[7.] In laws, that which is natural bindeth universally, that which is positive not so. To let go those kind of positive laws which men impose upon themselves, as by vow unto God, contract with men, or such like; somewhat it will make unto our purpose, a little more fully to consider what things are incident unto the making of the positive laws for the government of them that live united in public society. Laws do not only teach what is good, but they enjoin it, they have in them a certain constraining force. And to constrain men unto any thing inconvenient doth seem unreasonable. Most requisite therefore it is that to devise laws which all men shall be forced to obey none but wise men be admitted. Laws are matters of principal consequence; men of common capacity and but ordinary judgment are not able (for how should they?) to discern what things are fittest for each kind and state of regiment. We cannot be ignorant how much our obedience unto laws dependeth upon this point. Let a man though never so justly oppose himself unto them that are disordered in their ways, and what one amongst them commonly doth not stomach at such contradiction, storm at reproof, and hate such as would reform them? Notwithstanding even they which brook it worst that men should tell them of their duties, when they are told the same by a law, think very well and reasonably of it. For why? They presume that the law doth speak with all indifferency; that the law hath no side-respect to their persons; that the law is as it were an oracle proceeded from wisdom and understanding [28].

[8.] Howbeit laws do not take their constraining force from the quality of such as devise them, but from that power which doth give them the strength of laws. That which we spake before concerning the power of government must here be applied unto the power of making laws whereby to govern; which power God hath over all: and by the natural law, whereunto he hath made all subject, the lawful power of making laws to command whole politic societies of men belongeth so properly unto the same entire societies, that for any prince or potentate of what kind soever upon earth to exercise the same of himself, and not either by ex-

[25] "Cum premeretur initio multitudo ab iis qui "majores opes habebant, ad unum aliquem confu- "giebant virtute præstantem, qui cum prohiberet "injuria tenuiores, æquitate constituenda summos "cum infimis pari jure retinebat. Cum id minus "contingeret, leges sunt inventæ." Cic. Offic. lib. ii. [c. 12.]

[26] Τὸ γονέας τιμαν καὶ φίλους εὐποιεῖν καὶ τοῖς εὐεργέταις χάριν ἀποδιδόναι, ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὁμοια οὐ πρστάττουσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οἳ γεγραμμένοι νόμοι ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀγραφῳ καὶ κοινῳ νομῳ νομίζεται. Arist. Rhet. ad Alex. [c. 2.]

[27] "Tanta est enim vis voluptatum, ut et igno- "rantiam protelet in occasionem, et conscientiam "corrumpat in dissimulationem." Tertull. lib. de Spectacul. [c. 1.]

[28] [Arist. Eth. Nic. x. c. ix. 12.]

press commission immediately and personally received from God, or else by authority derived at the first from their consent upon whose persons they impose laws, it is no better than mere tyranny.

Laws they are not therefore which public approbation hath not made so. But approbation not only they give who personally declare their assent by voice, sign or act, but also when others do it in their names by right originally at the least derived from them. As in parliaments, councils, and the like assemblies, although we be not personally ourselves present, notwithstanding our assent is by reason of other agents there in our behalf. And what we do by others, no reason but that it should stand as our deed, no less effectually to bind us than if ourselves had done it in person. In many things assent is given, they that give it not imagining they do so, because the manner of their assenting is not apparent. As for example, when an absolute monarch commandeth his subjects that which seemeth good in his own discretion, hath not his edict the force of a law whether they approve or dislike it? Again, that which hath been received long sithence and is by custom now established, we keep as a law which we may not transgress; yet what consent was ever thereunto sought or required at our hands?

Of this point therefore we are to note, that sith men naturally have no full and perfect power to command whole politic multitudes of men, therefore utterly without our consent we could in such sort be at no man's commandment living. And to be commanded we do consent, when that society whereof we are part hath at any time before consented, without revoking the same after by the like universal agreement. Wherefore as any man's deed past is good as long as himself continueth; so the act of a public society of men done five hundred years sithence standeth as theirs who presently are of the same societies, because corporations are immortal; we were then alive in our predecessors, and they in their successors do live still. Laws therefore human, of what kind soever, are available by consent.

[9.] If here it be demanded how it cometh to pass that this being common unto all laws which are made, there should be found even in good laws so great variety as there is; we must note the reason hereof to be the sundry particular ends, whereunto the different disposition of that subject or matter, for which laws are provided, causeth them to have a special respect in making laws. A law there is mentioned amongst the Grecians whereof Pittacus is reported to have been author; and by that law it was agreed, that he which being overcome with drink did then strike any man, should suffer punishment double as much as if he had done the same being sober [29]. No man could ever have thought this reasonable, that had intended thereby only to punish the injury committed according to the gravity of the fact: for who knoweth not that harm advisedly done is naturally less pardonable, and therefore worthy of the sharper punishment? But forasmuch as none did so usually this way offend as men in that case, which they wittingly fell into, even because they would be so much the more freely outrageous; it was for their public good where such disorder was grown to frame a positive law for remedy thereof accordingly. To this appertain those known laws of making laws; as that law-makers must have an eye to the place where, and to the men amongst whom; that one kind of laws cannot serve for all kinds of regiment; that where the multitude beareth sway, laws that shall tend unto preservation of that state must make common smaller offices to go by lot, for fear of strife and division likely to arise; by reason that ordinary qualities sufficing for discharge of such offices, they could not but by many be desired, and so with danger contended for, and not missed without grudge and discontentment, whereas at an uncertain lot none can find themselves grieved, on whomsoever it lighteth; contrariwise the greatest, whereof but few are capable, to pass by popular election, that neither the people may envy such as have those honours, inasmuch as themselves bestow them, and that the chiefest may be kindled with desire to exercise all parts of rare and beneficial virtue, knowing they shall not lose their labour by growing in fame and estimation amongst the people: if the helm of chief government be in the hands of a few of the wealthiest, that then laws providing for continuance thereof must make the punishment of contumely and wrong offered unto any of the common sort sharp and grievous, that so the evil may be prevented whereby the rich are most likely to bring themselves into hatred with the people, who are not wont to take so great offence when they are excluded from honours and offices, as when their persons are contumeliously trodden upon. In other kinds of regiment the like is observed concerning the difference of positive laws, which to be every where the same is impossible and against their nature.

[10.] Now as the learned in the laws [30]

[29] Arist. Polit. lib. ii. cap. ult.

[30] Staundf. Preface to the Pleas of the Crown. ["Citavi non pauca e Bractono et Britono, vetus-"tis legum scriptoribus, hoc nimirum consilio: ut "cum leges coronæ magna ex parte jure statuta-"rio constant, ponatur ante legentis oculos com-"mune jus, quod fuit ante ea statuta condita. Nam "ea res maxime conducit recte interpretandis "statutis. Id enim intelligenti statim occurrunt

of this land observe, that our statutes sometimes are only the affirmation or ratification of that which by common law was held before; so here it is not to be omitted that generally all laws human, which are made for the ordering of politic societies, be either such as establish some duty whereunto all men by the law of reason did before stand bound; or else such as make that a duty now which before was none. The one sort we may for distinction's sake call "mixedly," and the other "merely" human. That which plain or necessary reason bindeth men unto may be in sundry considerations expedient to be ratified by human law. For example, if confusion of blood in marriage, the liberty of having many wives at once, or any other the like corrupt and unreasonable custom doth happen to have prevailed far, and to have gotten the upper hand of right reason with the greatest part; so that no way is left to rectify such foul disorder without prescribing by law the same things which reason necessarily *doth* enforce but is not *perceived* that so it doth; or if many be grown unto that which the Apostle did lament in some, concerning whom he writeth, saying, that "even what "things they naturally know, in those "very things, as beasts void of reason they "corrupted themselves [31];" or if there be no such special accident, yet forasmuch as the common sort are led by the sway of their sensual desires, and therefore do more shun sin for the sensible evils which follow it amongst men, than for any kind of sentence which reason doth pronounce against it [32]: this very thing is cause sufficient why duties belonging unto each kind of virtue, albeit the Law of Reason teach them, should notwithstanding be prescribed even by human law. Which law in this case we term *mixed*, because the matter whereunto it bindeth is the same which reason necessarily doth require at our hands, and from the Law of Reason it differeth in the manner of binding only. For whereas men before stood bound in conscience to do as the Law of Reason teacheth, they are now by virtue of human law become constrainable, and if they outwardly transgress, punishable. As for laws which are *merely* human, the matter of them is any thing which reason doth but probably teach to be fit and convenient; so that till such time as law hath passed amongst men about it, of itself it bindeth no man. One example whereof may be this. Lands are by human law in some places after the owner's decease divided unto all his children, in some all descendeth to the eldest son. If the Law of Reason did necessarily require but the one of these two to be done, they which by law have received the other should be subject to that heavy sentence, which denounceth against all that decree wicked, unjust, and unreasonable things, *woe* [33]. Whereas now whichsoever be received there is no Law of Reason transgressed; because there is probable reason why either of them may be expedient, and for either of them more than probable reason there is not to be found.

[11.] Laws whether mixedly or merely human are made by politic societies: some, only as those societies are civilly united; some, as they are spiritually joined and make such a body as we call the Church. Of laws human in this latter kind we are to speak in the third book following. Let it therefore suffice thus far to have touched the force wherewith Almighty God hath graciously endued our nature, and thereby enabled the same to find out both those laws which all men generally are for ever bound to observe, and also such as are most fit for their behoof, who lead their lives in any ordered state of government.

[12.] Now besides that law which simply concerneth men as men, and that which belongeth unto them as they are men linked with others in some form of politic society, there is a third kind of law which toucheth all such several bodies politic, so far forth as one of them hath public commerce with another. And this third is the Law of Nations. Between men and beasts there is no possibility of sociable communion, because the well-spring of that communion is a natural delight which man hath to transfuse from himself into others, and to receive from others into himself especially those things wherein the excellency of his kind doth most consist. The chiefest instrument of human communion therefore is speech, because thereby we impart mutually one to another the conceits of our reasonable understanding [34]. And for that cause seeing beasts are not hereof capable, forasmuch as with them we can use no such conference, they being in degree, although above other creatures on earth to whom nature hath denied sense, yet lower than to be sociable companions of man to whom nature hath given reason; it is of Adam said that amongst the beasts "he found not "for himself any meet companion [35]." Civil society doth more content the nature of man than any private kind of solitary living, because in society this good of mutual participation is so much larger than other-

"mala quæ commune jus contraxit. Pervidet au-"tem ille quotæ illorum malorum parti medetur, "et quotæ non; et sitne hujusmodi statutum no-"vatum jus per se, an nihil aliud quam communis "juris affirmatio." Ed. 1574.

[31] Jude 10.

[32] [Arist. Eth. Nic. X. 10. Οἱ πολλοὶ ἀνάγκῃ μᾶλλον ἢ λογῳ πειθαρχοῦσι, καὶ ζημίαις ἢ τῳ καλῳ.]

[33] Isaiah x. 1.

[34] Arist. Polit. i. cap. 2.

[35] Gen. ii. 20.

wise. Herewith notwithstanding we are not satisfied, but we covet (if it might be) to have a kind of society and fellowship even with all mankind. Which thing Socrates intending to signify professed himself a citizen, not of this or that commonwealth, but of the world [36]. And an effect of that very natural desire in us (a manifest token that we wish after a sort an universal fellowship with all men) appeareth by the wonderful delight men have, some to visit foreign countries, some to discover nations not heard of in former ages, we all to know the affairs and dealings of other people, yea to be in league of amity with them: and this not only for traffick's sake, or to the end that when many are confederated each may make the other the more strong, but for such cause also as moved the Queen of Saba to visit Solomon [37]; and in a word, because nature doth presume that how many men there are in the world, so many gods as it were there are, or at leastwise such they should be towards men.

[13.] Touching laws which are to serve men in this behalf; even as those Laws of Reason, which (man retaining his original integrity) had been sufficient to direct each particular person in all his affairs and duties, are not sufficient but require the access of other laws, now that man and his offspring are grown thus corrupt and sinful; again, as those laws of polity and regiment, which would have served men living in public society together with that harmless disposition which then they should have had, are not able now to serve, when men's iniquity is so hardly restrained within any tolerable bounds: in like manner, the national laws of natural commerce between societies of that former and better quality might have been other than now, when nations are so prone to offer violence, injury, and wrong. Hereupon hath grown in every of these three kinds that distinction between Primary and Secondary laws; the one grounded upon sincere, the other built upon depraved nature. Primary laws of nations are such as concern embassage, such as belong to the courteous entertainment of foreigners and strangers, such as serve for commodious traffick, and the like. Secondary laws in the same kind are such as this present unquiet world is most familiarly acquainted with; I mean laws of arms, which yet are much better known than kept. But what matter the Law of Nations doth contain I omit to search.

The strength and virtue of that law is such that no particular nation can lawfully prejudice the same by any their several laws and ordinances, more than a man by his private resolutions the law of the whole commonwealth or state wherein he liveth. For as civil law, being the act of the whole body politic, doth therefore overrule each several part of the same body; so there is no reason that any one commonwealth of itself should to the prejudice of another annihilate that whereupon the whole world hath agreed. For which cause, the Lacedæmonians forbidding all access of strangers into their coasts, are in that respect both by Josephus and Theodoret deservedly blamed [38], as being enemies to the hospitality which for common humanity's sake all the nations on earth should embrace.

[14.] Now as there is great cause of communion, and consequently of laws for the maintenance of communion, amongst nations; so amongst nations Christian the like in regard even of Christianity hath been always judged needful.

And in this kind of correspondence amongst nations the force of general councils doth stand. For as one and the same law divine, whereof in the next place we are to speak, is unto all Christian churches a rule for the chiefest things; by means whereof they all in that respect make one church, as having all but "one Lord, one "faith, and one baptism [39]:" so the urgent necessity of mutual communion for preservation of our unity in these things, as also for order in some other things convenient to be every where uniformly kept, maketh it requisite that the Church of God here on earth have her laws of spiritual commerce between Christian nations; laws by virtue whereof all churches may enjoy freely the use of those reverend, religious, and sacred consultations, which are termed Councils General. A thing whereof God's own blessed Spirit was the author [40]; a thing practised by the holy Apostles themselves; a thing always afterward kept and observed throughout the world; a thing never otherwise than most highly esteemed of, till pride, ambition, and tyranny began by factious and vile endeavours to abuse that divine invention unto the furtherance of wicked purposes. But as the just authority of civil courts and parliaments is not therefore to be abolished, because sometime there is cunning used to frame them according to the private intents of men over potent in the commonwealth; so the grievous abuse which hath been of councils should rather cause men to study how so gracious a thing may again be reduced to that first perfection, than in regard of stains and blemishes sithence growing be held for ever in extreme disgrace.

To speak of this matter as the cause re-

[36] Cic. Tusc. v. [c. 37.] et i. de Legib. [c. 12.]

[37] 1 Kings x. 1; 2 Chron. ix. 1: Matt. xii. 42; Luke xi. 31.

[38] Joseph. lib. ii. contra Apion. [c. 36.] Theod. lib. ix. de sanand. Græc. Aff. [p. 611, t. iv. ed. Par. 1642.]

[39] Ephes. iv. 5.

[40] Acts xv. 28.

quireth would require very long discourse. All I will presently say is this: whether it be for the finding out of any thing whereunto divine law bindeth us, but yet in such sort that men are not thereof on all sides resolved; or for the setting down of some uniform judgment to stand touching such things, as being neither way matters of necessity, are notwithstanding offensive and scandalous when there is open opposition about them; be it for the ending of strifes touching matters of Christian belief, wherein the one part may seem to have probable cause of dissenting from the other; or be it concerning matters of polity, order, and regiment in the church; I nothing doubt but that Christian men should much better frame themselves to those heavenly precepts, which our Lord and Savior with so great instancy gave [41] as concerning peace and unity, if we did all concur in desire to have the use of ancient councils again renewed, rather than these proceedings continued, which either make all contentions endless, or bring them to one only determination, and that of all other the worst, which is by sword.

[15.] It followeth therefore that a new foundation being laid, we now adjoin hereunto that which cometh in the next place to be spoken of; namely, wherefore God hath himself by Scripture made known such laws as serve for direction of men.

XI. All things, (God only excepted,) besides the nature which they have in themselves, receive externally some perfection from other things, as hath been shewed. Insomuch as there is in the whole world no one thing great or small, but either in respect of knowledge or of use it may unto our perfection add somewhat. And whatsoever such perfection there is which our nature may acquire, the same we properly term our Good; our Sovereign Good or Blessedness, that wherein the highest degree of all our perfection consisteth, that which being once attained unto there can rest nothing further to be desired; and therefore with it our souls are fully content and satisfied, in that they have they rejoice, and thirst for no more. Wherefore of good things desired some are such that for themselves we covet them not, but only because they serve as instruments unto that for which we are to seek: of this sort are riches. Another kind there is, which although we desire for itself, as health, and virtue, and knowledge, nevertheless they are not the last mark whereat we aim, but have their further end whereunto they are referred, so as in them we are not satisfied as having attained the utmost we may, but our desires do still proceed. These things are linked and as it were chained one to another; we labour to eat, and we eat to live, and we live to do good, and the good which we do is as seed sown with reference to a future harvest [42]. But we must come at length to some pause. For, if every thing were to be desired for some other without any stint, there could be no certain end proposed unto our actions, we should go on we know not whither; yea, whatsoever we do were in vain, or rather nothing at all were possible to be done. For as to take away the first efficient of our being were to annihilate utterly our persons, so we cannot remove the last final cause of our working, but we shall cause whatsoever we work to cease. Therefore something there must be desired for itself simply and for no other. That is simply for itself desirable, unto the nature whereof it is opposite and repugnant to be desired with relation unto any other. The ox and the ass desire their food, neither propose they unto themselves any end wherefore; so that of them this is desired for itself; but why? By reason of their imperfection which cannot otherwise desire it; whereas that which is desired simply for itself, the excellency thereof is such as permitteth it not in any sort to be referred to a further end.

Wherefore God hath by Scripture further made known such supernatural laws, as do serve for men's direction.

[2.] Now that which man doth desire with reference to a further end, the same he desireth in such measure as is unto that end convenient; but what he coveteth as good in itself, towards that his desire is ever infinite. So that unless the last good of all, which is desired altogether for itself, be also infinite, we do evil in making it our end; even as they who placed their felicity in wealth or honour or pleasure or any thing here attained; because in desiring any thing as our final perfection which is not so, we do amiss. [43]. Nothing may be infinitely desired but that good which indeed is infinite; for the better the more desirable; that therefore most desirable wherein there is infinity of goodness: so that if any thing desirable may be infinite, that must needs be the highest of all things that are desired. No good is infinite but only God; therefore He our felicity and bliss. Moreover, desire tendeth unto union with that it desireth. If then in him we be blessed, it is by force of participation and conjunction with Him. Again, it is not the possession of any good thing can make them happy which have it, unless they enjoy the thing where-

[41] John xiv. 27.

[42] "He that soweth to the Spirit shall of the "Spirit reap life everlasting." Gal. vi. 8.

[43] Vide Arist. Ethic. lib. x. c. 10. [c. 7.] et Metaph. l. xii. c. 6. ["Est aliquid, quod non motum "movet; quod æternum, et substantia, et actus "est."] et c. 4, ["Præter hæc item [est] cuncta "movens, tanquam omnium primum."] et c. 30.

with they are possessed. Then are we happy therefore when fully we enjoy God, as an object wherein the powers of our souls are satisfied even with everlasting delight: so that although we may be men, yet by being unto God united we live as it were the life of God.

[3.] Happiness therefore is that estate whereby we attain, so far as possibly may be attained, the full possession of that which simply for itself is to be desired, and containeth in it after an eminent sort the contentation of our desires, the highest degree of all our perfection. Of such perfection capable we are not in this life. For while we are in the world, subject we are unto sundry imperfections [44], griefs of body, defects of mind; yea the best things we do are painful, and the exercise of them grievous, being continued without intermission; so as in those very actions whereby we are especially perfected in this life we are not able to persist; forced we are with very weariness, and that often, to interrupt them: which tediousness cannot fall into those operations that are in the state of bliss, when our union with God is complete. Complete union with him must be according unto every power and faculty of our minds apt to receive so glorious an object. Capable we are of God both by understanding and will: by understanding, as He is that sovereign Truth which comprehendeth the rich treasures of all wisdom; by will, as He is that sea of Goodnes whereof whoso tasteth shall thirst no more. As the will doth now work upon that object by desire which is as it were a motion towards the end as yet unobtained; so likewise upon the same hereafter received it shall work also by love. "Ap-"petitus inhiantis fit amor fruentis," saith St. Augustine; "The longing disposition "of them that thirst is changed into the "sweet affection of them that taste and are "replenished [45]." Whereas we now love the thing that is good, but good especially in respect of benefit unto us; we shall then love the thing that is good, only or principally for the goodness of beauty in itself. The soul being in this sort, as it is active, perfected by love of that infinite good, shall, as it is receptive, be also perfected with those supernatural passions of joy, peace, and delight. All this endless and everlasting [46]. Which perpetuity, in regard whereof our blessedness is termed "a crown which "withereth not [47]," doth neither depend upon the nature of the thing itself, nor proceed from any natural necessity that our souls should so exercise themselves for ever in beholding and loving God, but from the will of God, which doth both freely perfect our nature in so high a degree, and continue it so perfected. Under Man, no creature in the world is capable of felicity and bliss. First, because their chiefest perfection consisteth in that which is best for them, but not in that which is simply best, as ours doth. Secondly, because whatsoever external perfection they tend unto, it is not better than themselves as ours is. How just occasion have we therefore even in this respect with the Prophet to admire the goodness of God? "Lord, what is man, that "thou shouldst exalt him above the works "of thy hands [48]," so far as to make thyself the inheritance of his rest and the substance of his felicity?

[4.] Now if men had not naturally this desire to be happy, how were it possible that all men should have it? All men have. Therefore this desire in man is natural. It is not in our power not to do the same; how should it then be in our power to do it coldly or remissly? So that our desire being natural is also in that degree of earnestness whereunto nothing can be added. And is it probable that God should frame the hearts of all men so desirous of that which no man may obtain? It is an axiom of Nature that natural desire cannot utterly be frustrate [49]. This desire of ours being natural should be frustrate, if that which may satisfy the same were a thing impossible for a man to aspire unto. Man doth seek a triple perfection [50]: first a sensual, consisting in those things which very life itself requireth either as necessary supplements, or as beauties and ornaments thereof; then an intellectual, consisting in those things which none underneath man is either capable of or acquainted with; lastly a spiritual and divine, consisting in those things whereunto we tend by supernatural means here, but cannot here attain unto them. They who make the first of these three the scope of their whole life, are said by the Apostle [51] to have

[44] Μόνον, ὦ 'Ασκλήπιε, τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἐν ἀνθρώποις, τὸ δὲ ἔργον οὐδαμοῦ.... Τὸ μὴ λίαν κακόν, ἐνθάδε τὸ ἀγαθον ἐστι. Τὸ δὲ ἐνθάδε ἀγαθὸν, μοριον του κακου τὸ ἐλάχιστον. 'Αδύνατον οὖν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐνθάδε καθαρεύειν τῆς κακίας.... Καγὼ δὲ χάριν ἔχω τῳ Θεῳ τῳ εἰς νουν μοι βαλόντι περὶ τῆς γνώσεως του ἀγαθου, ὁτι ἀξύνατον ἐστιν αὐτὸ ἐν τῳ κοσμῳ εἶναι· ὁ γὰρ κοσμος πλήρωμά ἐστι τῆς κακίας, ὁ δὲ Θεὸς του ἀγαθου, ἢ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοὺ Θεου. Merc. Tris. [lib. vi. f. 14.]

[45] Aug. de Trin. lib. ix. c. ult. [Verbatim, "Ap-"petitus, quo inhiatur rei cognoscendæ, fit amor "cognitæ." viii. 888.]

[46] "The just shall go into life everlasting." Matt. xxv. [46.] "They shall be as angels of "God." Matt. xxii. [30.]

[47] 2 Tim. iv. 8; 1 Pet. v. 4.

[48] Psalm viii. 4.

[49] Comment. in Proœm. ii. Metaph. ["Si com-"prehensio esset impossibilis, tunc desiderium es-"set otiosum: et concessum est ab omnibus, quod "nulla res est otiosa in fundamento naturæ et "creaturæ." t. viii. p. 14, ed. Venet. 1552.]

[50] [Arist. Eth. Nic. I. v. 2.]

[51] Phil. iii. 19.

no god but only their belly, to be earthly-minded men. Unto the second they bend themselves, who seek especially to excel in all such knowledge and virtue as doth most commend men. To this branch belongeth the law of moral and civil perfection. That there is somewhat higher than either of these two, no other proof doth need than the very process of man's desire, which being natural should be frustrate, if there were not some farther thing wherein it might rest at the length contented, which in the former it cannot do. For man doth not seem to rest satisfied, either with fruition of that wherewith his life is preserved, or with performance of such actions as advance him most deservedly in estimation; but doth further covet, yea oftentimes manifestly pursue with great sedulity and earnestness, that which cannot stand him in any stead for vital use; that which exceedeth the reach of sense; yea somewhat above capacity of reason, somewhat divine and heavenly, which with hidden exultation it rather surmiseth than conceiveth; somewhat it seeketh, and what that is directly it knoweth not, yet very intentive desire thereof doth so incite it, that all other known delights and pleasures are laid aside, they give place to the search of this but only suspected desire. If the soul of man did serve only to give him being in this life, then things appertaining unto this life would content him, as we see they do other creatures; which creatures enjoying what they live by seek no further, but in this contentation do shew a kind of acknowledgment that there is no higher good which doth any way belong unto them. With us it is otherwise. For although the beauties, riches, honours, sciences, virtues, and perfections of all men living, were in the present possession of one; yet somewhat beyond and above all this there would still be sought and earnestly thirsted for. So that Nature even in this life doth plainly claim and call for a more divine perfection than either of these two that have been mentioned.

[5.] This last and highest estate of perfection whereof we speak is received of men in the nature of a Reward [52]. Rewards do always presuppose such duties performed as are rewardable. Our natural means therefore unto blessedness are our works; nor is it possible that Nature should ever find any other way to salvation than only this. But examine the works which we do, and since the first foundation of the world what one can say, My ways are pure? Seeing then all flesh is guilty of that for which God had threatened eternally to punish, what possibility is there this way to be saved? There resteth therefore either no way unto salvation, or if any, then surely a way which is supernatural, a way which could never have entered into the heart of man as much as once to conceive or imagine, if God himself had not revealed it extraordinarily. For which cause we term it the Mystery or secret way of salvation. And therefore St. Ambrose in this matter appealeth justly from man to God [53], "Cœli "mysterium doceat me Deus, qui condidit, "non homo qui seipsum ignoravit:—Let "God himself that made me, let not man "that knows not himself, be my instructor "concerning the mystical way to heaven." "When men of excellent wit," saith Lactantius, "had wholly betaken themselves unto "study, after farewell bidden unto all kind as "well as of private as public action, they "spared no labor that might be spent in the "search of truth; holding it a thing of much "more price to seek and to find out the reason "of all affairs as well divine as human than "to stick fast in the toil of piling up riches "and gathering together heaps of honours. "Howbeit, they both did fail of their pur-"pose, and got not as much as to quit their "charges; because truth which is the se-"cret of the Most High God, whose proper "handy-work all things are, cannot be "compassed with that wit and those senses "which are our own. For God and man "should be very near neighbours, if man's "cogitations were able to take a survey of "the counsels and appointments of that "Majesty everlasting. Which being utter-"ly impossible, that the eye of man by it-"self should look into the bosom of Divine "Reason; God did not suffer him being de-"sirous of the light of wisdom to stray any "longer up and down, and with bootless "expense of travel to wander in darkness "that had no passage to get out by. His "eyes at the length God did open, and be-"stow upon him the knowledge of the truth "by way of Donative, to the end that man "might both be clearly convicted of folly, "and being through error out of the way, "have the path that leadeth unto immor-"tality laid plain before him [54]." Thus far

[52] "Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward "in heaven." Matt. v. 12. "Summa merces est ut "ipso perfruamur." Aug. de Doct. Christ. cap. 6. [I. 32. t. iii. 16.]

[53] Ambros. contra Sym. [Ep. 18, § 7. t. ii. 835.]

[54] "Magno et excellenti ingenio viri, cum se doc-"trinæ penitus dedidissent, quicquid laboris poterat "impendi (contemptis omnibus et privatis et pub-"licis actionibus) ad inquirendæ veritatis studium "contulerunt, existimantes multo esse præclarius "humanarum divinarumque rerum investigare ac "scire rationem, quam struendis opibus aut cumu-"landis honoribus inhærere. Sed neque adepti "sunt id quod volebant, et operam simul atque "industriam perdiderunt: quia veritas, id est ar-"canum summi Dei qui fecit omnia, ingenio ac "propriis sensibus non potest comprehendi. Alio-"qui nihil inter Deum hominemque distaret, si con-"silia et dispositiones illius majestatis æternæ cog-

Lactantius Firmianus, to shew that God himself is the teacher of the truth, whereby is made known the supernatural way of salvation and law for them to live in that shall be saved. In the natural path of everlasting life the first beginning is that ability of doing good, which God in the day of man's creation endued him with; from hence obedience unto the will of his Creator, absolute righteousness and integrity in all his actions; and last of all the justice of God rewarding the worthiness of his deserts with the crown of eternal glory. Had Adam continued in his first estate, this had been the way of life unto him and all his posterity. Wherein I confess notwithstanding with the wittiest of the school divines [55], "That if we speak of strict justice, God "could no way have been bound to requite "man's labours in so large and ample a "manner as human felicity doth import; "inasmuch as the dignity of this exceedeth "so far the other's value. But be it that "God of his great liberality had determined "in lieu of man's endeavours to bestow "the same, by the rule of that justice which "best beseemeth him, namely, the justice "of one that requireth nothing mincingly, "but all with pressed and heaped and "even over-enlarged measure; yet could it "never hereupon necessarily be gathered, "that such justice should add to the nature "of that reward the property of everlast-"ing continuance; sith possession of bliss, "though it should be but for a moment, "were an abundant retribution." But we are not now to enter into this consideration, how gracious and bountiful our good God might still appear in so rewarding the sons of men, albeit they should exactly perform whatsoever duty their nature bindeth them unto. Howsoever God did propose this reward, we that were to be rewarded must have done that which is required at our hands; we failing in the one, it were in nature an impossibility that the other should be looked for. The light of nature is never able to find out any way of obtaining the reward of bliss, but by performing exactly the duties and works of righteousness.

[6.] From salvation therefore and life all flesh being excluded this way, behold how the wisdom of God hath revealed a way mystical and supernatural, a way directing unto the same end of life by a course which groundeth itself upon the guiltiness of sin, and through sin desert of condemnation and death. For in this way the first thing is the tender compassion of God respecting us drowned and swallowed up in misery; the next is redemption out of the same by the precious death and merit of a mighty Saviour, which hath witnessed of himself, saying [56], "I am the way," the way that leadeth us from misery into bliss. This supernatural way had God in himself prepared before all worlds. The way of supernatural duty which to us he hath prescribed, our Saviour in the Gospel of St. John doth note, terming it by an excellency, The Work of God [57], "This is the work "of God, that ye believe in him whom he "hath sent." Not that God doth require nothing unto happiness at the hands of men saving only a naked belief (for hope and charity we may not exclude [58];) but that without belief all other things are as nothing, and it the ground of those other divine virtues.

Concerning Faith, the principal object whereof is that eternal Verity which hath discovered the treasures of hidden wisdom in Christ; concerning Hope, the highest object whereof is that everlasting Goodness which in Christ doth quicken the dead; concerning Charity, the final object whereof is that incomprehensible Beauty which shineth in the countenance of Christ the Son of the living God: concerning these virtues, the first of which beginning here with a weak apprehension of things not seen, endeth with the intuitive vision of God in the world to come; the second beginning here with a trembling expectation of things far removed and as yet only heard of, endeth with real and actual fruition of that which no tongue can express; the third beginning here with a weak inclination of heart towards him unto whom we are not

"itatio assequeretur humana. Quod quia fieri "non potuit ut homini per seipsum ratio divina "notesceret, non est passus hominem Deus lumen "sapientiæ requirentem diutius aberrare, ac sine "ullo laboris effectu vagari per tenebras inextrica-"biles. Aperuit oculos ejus aliquando, et notionem "veritatis munus suum fecit, ut et humanam sapi-"entiam nullam esse monstraret, et erranti ac vago "viam consequendæ immortalitatis ostenderet." Lactant. lib. i. cap. 1.

[55] Scot. lib. iv. Sent. dist. 49, 6. "Loquendo de "stricta justitia, Deus nulli nostrum propter quæ-"cunque merita est debitor perfectionis reddendæ "tam intensæ, propter immoderatum excessum "illius perfectionis ultra illa merita. Sed esto quod "ex liberalitate sua determinasset meritis conferre "actum tam perfectum tanquam præmium. tali "quidem justitia qualis decet eum, scilicet super-"erogantis in præmiis: tamen non sequitur ex hoc "necessario, quod per illam justitiam sit reddenda "perfectio perennis tanquam præmium, imo abun-"dans fieret retributio in beatitudine unius mo-"menti." [p. 168 Venet. 1598.]

[56] John xiv. 6.

[57] John vi. 29.

[58] [Chr. Letter, p. 13. "Tell us... whether you "thinke that *not faith alone*, but faith, hope, and "love, be the formall cause of our rightcousness."

Hooker, MS. note. "Is faith then the formall "cause of justification? And faith alone a cause "in this kind? Who hath taught you this doc-"trine? Have you been tampering so long with "Pastors, Doctors, Elders, Deacons; that the first "principles of your religion are now to learn?"]

able to approach, endeth with endless union, the mystery whereof is higher than the reach of the thoughts of men; concerning that Faith, Hope, and Charity, without which there can be no salvation, was there ever any mention made saving only in that law which God himself hath from heaven revealed? There is not in the world a syllable muttered with certain truth concerning any of these three, more than hath been supernatually received from the mouth of the eternal God.

Laws therefore concerning these things are supernatural, both in respect of the manner of delivering them, which is divine; and also in regard of the things delivered, which are such as have not in nature any cause from which they flow, but were by the voluntary appointment of God ordained besides the course of nature, to rectify nature's obliquity withal.

XII. When supernatural duties are necessarily exacted, natural are not rejected as needless. The law of God therefore is, though principally delivered for instruction in the one, yet fraught with precepts of the other also. The Scripture is fraught even with laws of Nature; insomuch that Gratian [59] defining Natural Right, (whereby is meant the right which exacteth those general duties that concern men naturally even as they are men,) termeth "Natural Right, that "which the Books of the Law and the "Gospel do contain." Neither is it vain that the Scripture aboundeth with so great store of laws in this kind: for they are either such as we of ourselves could not easily have found out, and then the benefit is not small to have them readily set down to our hands; or if they be so clear and manifest that no man endued with reason can lightly be ignorant of them, yet the Spirit as it were borrowing them from the school of Nature, as serving to prove things less manifest, and to induce a persuasion of somewhat which were in itself more hard and dark, unless it should in such sort be cleared, the very applying of them unto cases particular is not without most singular use and profit many ways for men's instruction. Besides, be they plain of themselves or obscure, the evidence of God's own testimony added to the natural assent of reason concerning the certainty of them, doth not a little comfort and confirm the same.

The cause why so many natural or rational Laws are set down in Holy Scripture.

[2.] Wherefore inasmuch as our actions are conversant about things beset with many circumstances, which cause men of sundry wits to be also of sundry judgments concerning that which ought to be done: requisite it cannot but seem the rule of divine law should herein help our imbecility, that we might the more infallibly understand what is good and what evil. The first principles of the Law of Nature are easy; hard it were to find men ignorant of them. But concerning the duty which Nature's law doth require at the hands of men in a number of things particular, so far hath the natural understanding even of sundry whole nations been darkened, that they have not discerned no not gross iniquity to be sin [60]. Again, being so prone as we are to fawn upon ourselves, and to be ignorant as much as may be of our own deformities, without the feeling sense whereof we are most wretched; even so much the more, because not knowing them we cannot so much as desire to have them taken away; how should our festered sores be cured, but that God hath delivered a law as sharp as the two edged sword, piercing the very closest and most unsearchable corners of the heart [61], which the Law of Nature can hardly, human laws by no means possible, reach unto? Hereby we know even secret concupiscence to be sin, and are made fearful to offend though it be but in a wandering cogitation. Finally, of those things which are for direction of all the parts of our life needful, and not impossible to be discerned by the light of Nature itself; are there not many which few men's natural capacity, and some which no man's hath been able to find out? They are, saith St. Augustine [62], but a few, and

[59] "Jus naturale est, quod in Lege et Evangelio continetur." p. 1, d. 1. [Corp. Jur. Can. p. 2. Ludg. 1584.]

[60] Joseph. lib. secundo contra Apion. [c. 37.] "Lacedæmonii quomodo non sunt ob inhospitali-"tatem reprehendendi, fœdumque neglectum nup-"tiarum? Elienses vero et Thebani ob coitum cum "masculis plane impudentem et contra naturam, "quem recte et utiliter exercere putabant? Cum-"que hæc omnino perpetrarunt, etiam suis legibus "miscuere." Vid. Th. 1, 2, q. 94, 4, 5, 6. "Lex "naturæ sic corrupta fuit apud Germanos, ut la-"trocinium non reputarent peccatum." [t. xi. 204.] August. (aut quisquis auctor est) lib. de quæst. Nov. et Vet. Test. "Quis nesciat quid bonæ vitæ "conveniat, aut ignoret quia quod sibi fieri non "vult aliis minime debeat facere? At vero ubi "naturalis lex evanuit oppressa consuetudine de-"linquendi, tunc oportuit manifestari scriptis, ut "Dei judicium omnes audirent [legem manifestari, "ut in Judæis omnes homines audirent:] non quod "penitus obliterata est, sed quia maxima ejus auc-"toritate carebant, idololatriæ studebatur, timor "Dei in terris non erat, fornicatio operabatur, cir-"ca rem proximi avida erat concupiscentia. Data "[danda] ergo lex erat, ut et quæ sciebantur auc-"toritatem haberent, et quæ latere cœperant man-"ifestarentur." Quæst. iv. [t. iii. App. 44.]

[61] Heb. iv. 12.

[62] ["Humanis argumentationibus hæc invenire "conantes, vix pauci magno prædíti ingenio, abun-"dantes otio, doctrinisque subtilissimis eruditi, ad "indagandam solius animæ immortalitatem per-"venire potuerunt." De Trin. lib. xiii. c. 12. tom. viii. 935.]

they endued with great ripeness of wit and judgment, free from all such affairs as might trouble their meditations, instructed in the sharpest and subtilest points of learning, who have, and that very hardly, been able to find out but only the immortality of the soul. The resurrection of the flesh what man did ever at any time dream of, having not heard it otherwise than from the school of Nature? Whereby it appeareth how much we are bound to yield unto our Creator the Father of all mercy eternal thanks, for that he hath delivered his law unto the world, a law wherein so many things are laid open, clear and manifest, as a light which otherwise would have been buried in darkness, not without the hazard, or rather not with the hazard but with the certain loss, of infinite thousands of souls most undoubtedly now saved.

[3.] We see, therefore, that our sovereign good is desired naturally; that God the author of that natural desire had appointed natural means whereby to fulfil it; that man having utterly disabled his nature unto those means hath had other revealed from God, and hath received from heaven a law to teach him how that which is desired naturally must now supernaturally be attained. Finally, we see that because those latter exclude not the former quite and clean as unnecessary, therefore together with such supernatural duties as could not possibly have been otherwise known to the world, the same law that teacheth them, teacheth also with them such natural duties as could not by light of Nature easily have been known.

XIII. In the first age of the world God gave laws unto our fathers, and by reason of the number of their days their memories served instead of books; whereof the manifold imperfections and defects being known to God, he mercifully relieved the same by often putting them in mind of that whereof it behoved them to be specially mindful. In which respect we see how many times one thing hath been iterated unto sundry even of the best and wisest among them. After that the lives of men were shortened, means more durable to preserve the laws of God from oblivion and corruption grew in use, not without precise direction from God himself. First therefore of Moses it is said, that he "wrote all the words of God [63];" not by his own private motion and device: for God taketh this act to himself [64], "I have "written." Furthermore, were not the Prophets following commanded also to do the like? Unto the holy evangelist St. John, how often express charge is given, "Scribe," "Write these things [65]." Concerning the rest of our Lord's disciples, the words of St. Augustine are [66], "Quicquid "ille de suis factis et dictis nos legere volu- "it, hoc scribendum illis tanquam suis man- "ibus imperavit."

The benefit of having divine laws written.

[2.] Now, although we do not deny it to be a matter merely accidental unto the law of God to be written; although writing be not that which addeth authority and strength thereunto; finally, though his law do require at our hands the same obedience howsoever they be delivered; his providence notwithstanding which hath made principal choice of this way to deliver them, who seeth not what cause we have to admire and magnify? The singular benefit that hath grown unto the world, by receiving the laws of God even by his own appointment committed unto writing, we are not able to esteem as the value thereof deserveth. When the question therefore is, whether we be now to seek for any revealed law of God otherwhere than only in the sacred Scripture; whether we do now stand bound in the sight of God to yield to traditions urged by the Church of Rome the same obedience and reverence we do to his written law, honouring equally and adoring both as divine: our answer is, No. They that so earnestly plead for the authority of tradition, as if nothing were more safely conveyed than that which spreadeth itself by report, and descendeth by relation of former generations unto the ages that succeed, are not all of them (surely a miracle it were if they should be) so simple as thus to persuade themselves; howsoever, if the simple were so persuaded, they could be content perhaps very well to enjoy the benefit, as they account it, of that common error. What hazard the truth is in when it passeth through the hands of report, how maimed and deformed it becometh, they are not, they cannot possibly be ignorant. Let them that are indeed of this mind consider but only that little of things divine, which the [67] heathen have in such sort received. How miserable had the state of the Church of God been long ere this, if wanting the sacred Scripture we had no record of his laws, but only the memory of

[63] Exod. xxiv. 4.

[64] Hos. viii. 12. [and Exod. xxiv. 12.]

[65] Apoc. i. 11; xiv. 13.

[66] Aug. lib. i. de Cons. Evang. cap. ult. [t. iii. pars 2. p. 26.]

[67] I mean those historical matters concerning the ancient state of the first world, the deluge, the sons of Noah, the children of Israel's deliverance out of Egypt, the life and doings of Moses their captain, with such like: the certain truth whereof delivered in Holy Scripture is of the heathen which had them only by report so intermingled with fabulous vanities, that the most which remaineth in them to be seen is the show of dark and obscure steps, where some part of the truth hath gone.

man receiving the same by report and relation from his predecessors?

[3.] By Scripture it hath in the wisdom of God seemed meet to deliver unto the world much but personally expedient to be practised of certain men; many deep and profound points of doctrine, as being the main original ground whereupon the precepts of duty depend; many prophecies, the clear performance whereof might confirm the world in belief of things unseen; many histories to serve as looking-glasses to behold the mercy, the truth, the righteousness of God towards all that faithfully serve, obey, and honour him; yea many entire meditations of piety, to be as patterns and precedents in cases of like nature; many things needful for explication, many for application unto particular occasions, such as the providence of God from time to time hath taken to have the several books of his holy ordinance written. Be it then that together with the principal necessary laws of God there are sundry other things written, whereof we might haply be ignorant and yet be saved: what? shall we hereupon think them needless? shall we esteem them as riotous branches wherewith we, sometimes behold most pleasant vines overgrown? Surely no more than we judge our hands or our eyes superfluous, or what part soever, which if our bodies did want, we might notwithstanding any such defect retain still the complete being of men. As therefore a complete man is neither destitute of any part necessary, and hath some parts whereof though the want could not deprive him of his essence, yet to have them standeth him in singular stead in respect of the special uses for which they serve; in like sort all those writings which contain in them the Law of God, all those venerable books of Scripture, all those sacred tomes and volumes of Holy Writ; they are with such absolute perfection framed, that in them there neither wanteth any thing the lack whereof might deprive us of life, nor any thing in such wise aboundeth, that as being superfluous, unfruitful, and altogether needless, we should think it no loss or danger at all if we did want it.

XIV. Although the Scripture of God therefore be stored with infinite variety of matter in all kinds, although it abound with all sorts of laws, yet the principal intent of Scripture is to deliver the laws of duties supernatural. Oftentimes it hath been in very solemn manner disputed, whether all things necessary unto salvation be necessarily set down in the Holy Scriptures or no [68]. If we define that necessary unto salvation, whereby the way to salvation is in any sort made more plain, apparent, and easy to be known; then is there no part of true philosophy, no art of account, no kind of science rightly so called, but the Scripture must contain it. If only those things be necessary, as surely none else are, without the knowledge and practice whereof it is not the will and pleasure of God to make any ordinary grant of salvation; it may be notwithstanding and oftentimes hath been demanded, how the books of Holy Scripture contain in them all necessary things, when of things necessary the very chiefest is to know what books we are bound to esteem holy; which point is confessed impossible for the Scripture itself to teach. Whereunto we may answer with truth, that there is not in the world any art or science, which proposing unto itself an end (as every one doth some end or other) hath been therefore thought defective, if it have not delivered simply whatsoever is needful to the same end; but all kinds of knowledge have their certain bounds and limits; each of them presupposeth many necessary things learned in other sciences and known beforehand. He that should take upon him to teach men how to be eloquent in pleading causes, must needs deliver unto them whatsoever precepts are requisite unto that end; otherwise he doth not the thing which he taketh upon him. Seeing then no man can plead eloquently unless he be able first to speak; it followeth that ability of speech is in this case a thing most necessary. Notwithstanding every man would think it ridiculous, that he which undertaketh by writing to instruct an orator should therefore deliver all the precepts of grammar; because his profession is to deliver precepts necessary unto eloquent speech, yet so that they which are to receive them be taught beforehand so much of that which is thereunto necessary, as comprehendeth the skill of speaking. In like sort, albeit Scripture do profess to contain in it all things that are necessary unto salvation; yet the meaning cannot be simply of all things which are necessary, but all things that are necessary in some certain kind or form; as all things which are necessary, and either could not at all or could not easily be known by the light of natural discourse; all things which are necessary to be known that we may be saved; but known with presupposal of knowledge concerning certain principles whereof it receiveth us already persuaded, and then instructeth us in all the residue that are necessary. In the number of these principles one is the sacred authority of Scripture. Being therefore persuaded by

The sufficiency of Scripture unto the end for which it was instituted.

[68] "Utrum cognitio supernaturalis necessaria via-"tori sit sufficienter tradita in sacra Scriptura?" This question proposed by Scotus is affirmatively concluded. [In Sent. lib. i. p. 10, D. et Resp. p. 2, K.]

other means that these Scriptures are the oracles of God, themselves do then teach us the rest, and lay before us all the duties which God requireth at our hands as necessary unto salvation.

[2.] Further, there hath been some doubt likewise, whether *containing in Scripture* do import express setting down in plain terms, or else *comprehending* in such sort that by reason we may from thence conclude all things which are necessary. Against the former of these two constructions instance hath sundry ways been given. For our belief in the Trinity, the co-eternity of the Son of God with his Father, the proceeding of the Spirit from the Father and the Son, the duty of baptizing infants: these with such other principal points, the necessity whereof is by none denied, are notwithstanding in Scripture no where to be found by express literal mention, only deduced they are out of Scripture by collection. This kind of comprehension in Scripture being therefore received, still there is doubt how far we are to proceed by collection, before the full and complete measure of things necessary be made up. For let us not think that as long as the world doth endure the wit of man shall be able to sound the bottom of that which may be concluded out of the Scripture; especially if "things contained by collection" do so far extend, as to draw in whatsoever may be at any time out of Scripture but probably and conjecturally surmised. But let *necessary* collection be made requisite, and we may boldly deny, that of all those things which at this day are with so great necessity urged upon this church under the name of reformed church-discipline, there is any one which their books hitherto have made manifest to be contained in the Scripture. Let them if they can allege but one properly belonging to their cause, and not common to them and us, and shew the deduction thereof out of Scripture to be necessary.

[3.] It hath been already shewed how all things necessary unto salvation in such sort as before we have maintained must needs be possible for men to know; and that many things are in such sort necessary, the knowledge whereof is by the light of Nature impossible to be attained. Whereupon it followeth that either all flesh is excluded from possibility of salvation, which to think were most barbarous; or else that God hath by supernatural means revealed the way of life so far forth as doth suffice. For this cause God hath so many times and ways spoken to the sons of men. Neither hath he by speech only, but by writing also, instructed and taught his Church. The cause of writing hath been to the end that things by him revealed unto the world might have the longer continuance, and the greater certainty of assurance, by how much that which standeth on record hath in both those respects preeminence above that which passeth from hand to hand, and hath no pens but the tongues, no books but the ears of men to record it. The several books of Scripture having had each some several occasion and particular purpose which caused them to be written, the contents thereof are according to the exigence of that special end whereunto they are intended. Hereupon it groweth that every book of Holy Scripture doth take out all kinds of truth, natural [69], historical [70], foreign [71], supernatural [72], so much as the matter handled requireth.

Now forasmuch as there hath been reason alleged sufficient to conclude, that all things necessary unto salvation must be made known, and that God himself hath therefore revealed his will, because otherwise men could not have known so much as is necessary; his surceasing to speak to the world, since the publishing of the Gospel of Jesus Christ and the delivery of the same in writing, is unto us a manifest token that the way of salvation is now sufficiently opened, and that we need no other means for our full instruction than God hath already furnished us withal.

[4.] The main drift of the whole New Testament is that which St. John setteth down as the purpose of his own history; [73] "These things are written, that ye might "believe that Jesus is Christ the Son of "God, and that in believing ye might have "life through his name." The drift of the Old that which the Apostle mentioneth to Timothy, [74] "The Holy Scriptures are able "to make thee wise unto Salvation." So that the general end both of Old and New is one; the difference between them consisting in this, that the Old did make wise by teaching salvation through Christ that should come, the New by teaching that Christ the Saviour is come, and that Jesus whom the Jews did crucify, and whom God did raise again from the dead, is he. When the Apostle therefore affirmeth unto Timothy, that the old was able to make him wise to salvation, it was not his meaning that the Old alone can do this unto us which live sithence the publication of the New. For he speaketh with presupposal of the doctrine of Christ known also unto Timothy; and therefore first it is said, [75] "Continue "thou in those things which thou hast "learned and art persuaded, knowing of "whom thou hast been taught them." Again, those Scriptures he granteth were able to make him wise to salvation; but he addeth, [76] "through the faith which is in

[69] Eph. v. 29.
[70] 2 Tim. iii. 8.
[71] Tit. i. 12.
[72] 2 Pet. ii. 4.
[73] John xx. 31.
[74] 2 Tim. iii. 15.
[75] 2 Tim. iii. 14.
[76] Verse 15.

Christ." Wherefore without the doctrine of the New Testament teaching that Christ hath wrought the redemption of the world, which redemption the Old did foreshew he should work, it is not the former alone which can on our behalf perform so much as the Apostle doth avouch, who presupposeth this when he magnifieth that so highly. And as his words concerning the books of ancient scripture do not take place but with presupposal of the Gospel of Christ embraced; so our own words also, when we extol the complete sufficiency of the whole entire body of the Scripture, must in like sort be understood with this caution, that the benefit of nature's light be not thought excluded as unnecessary, because the necessity of a diviner light is magnified.

[5.] There is in Scripture therefore, no defect, but that any man, what place or calling soever he hold in the Church of God, may have thereby the light of his natural understanding so perfected, that the one being relieved by the other, there can want no part of needful instruction unto any good work which God himself requireth, be it natural, or supernatural, belonging simply unto men as men, or unto men as they are united in whatsoever kind of society. It sufficeth therefore that Nature and Scripture do serve in such full sort, that they both jointly and not severally either of them be so complete, that unto everlasting felicity we need not the knowledge of any thing more than these two may easily furnish our minds with on all sides[77]; and therefore they which add traditions, as a part of supernatural necessary truth, have not the truth, but are in error. For they only plead, that whatsoever God revealeth as necessary for all Christian men to do or believe, the same we ought to embrace, whether we have received it by writing or otherwise; which no man denieth; when that which they should confirm, who claim so great reverence unto traditions, is, that the same traditions are necessarily to be acknowledged divine and holy. For we do not reject them only because they are not in the Scripture, but because they are neither in Scripture, nor can otherwise sufficiently by any reason be proved to be of God. That which is of God, and may be evidently proved to be so, we deny not but it hath in his kind, although unwritten, yet the selfsame force and authority with the written laws of God. It is by ours acknowledged, "that the Apostles did in every church institute and ordain some rites "and customs serving for the seemliness of "church-regiment, which rites and customs "they have not committed unto writing[78]." Those rites and customs being known to be apostolical, and having the nature of things changeable, were no less to be accounted of in the Church than other things of the like degree; that is to say, capable in like sort of alteration, although set down in the Apostles' writings. For both being known to be apostolical, it is not the manner of delivering them unto the Church, but the author from whom they proceed, which doth give them their force and credit.

Of laws positive contained in Scripture; the mutability of certain of them, and the general use of Scripture.

XV. Laws being imposed either by each man upon himself, or by a public society upon the particulars thereof, or by all the nations of men upon every several society, or by the Lord himself upon any or every of these; there is not amongst these four kinds any one but containeth sundry both natural and positive laws. Impossible it is but that they should fall into a number of gross errors, who only take such laws for positive as have been made or invented of men, and holding this position hold also, that all positive and none but positive laws are mutable. Laws natural do always bind; laws positive not so, but only after they have been expressly and wittingly imposed. Laws positive there are in every of those kinds before mentioned. As in the first kind the promises which we have passed unto men, and the vows we have made unto God; for these are laws which we tie ourselves unto, and till we have so tied ourselves they bind us not. Laws positive in the second kind are such as the civil constitutions peculiar unto each particular commonweal. In the third kind the law of heraldry in war is positive: and in the last all the judicials which God gave unto the people of Israel to observe. And although no laws but positive be mutable, yet all are not mutable which be positive. Positive laws are either permanent or else changeable, according as the matter itself is concerning

[77] [Christ. Letter, p. 7. "Although you exclude "traditions as a part of supernaturall trueth, yet "you infer that the light of nature teacheth some "knowledge naturall which is necessarie to sal- "vation." And p. 8. "What Scripture approveth "such a saying,.. that cases and matters of salva- "tion bee determinable by any other lawe then of holy "Scripture." Hooker, MS. note. "Remember "here to show the use of the law of nature in hand- "ling matters of religion. Are there not cases of "salvation wherein a man may have controversie "with infidels which believe not the Scriptures? "And even with them which believe Scripture the "law of nature notwithstanding is not without force, "that any man to whom it is alleaged can cast it "of as a thing impertinent."]

[78] Whitakerus adversus Bellarmin. quæst. 6, cap. 6. "Fatemur Apostolos in singulis ecclesiis ritus "aliquos atque consuetudines, ordinis et decori "causa, sanxisse, non autem scripsisse: quia hi "ritus non fuerunt perpetui futuri, sed liberi, qui "pro commodo et temporum ratione mutari pos- "sent." Bellarmin. Opp. I. 372. quæst. 6, cap. 6. Genev. 1610.]

which they were first made. Whether God or man be the maker of them, alteration they so far forth admit, as the matter doth exact.

[2.] Laws that concern supernatural duties are all positive [79], and either concern men supernaturally as men, or else as parts of a supernatural society, which society we call the Church. To concern men as men supernaturally is to concern them as duties which belong of necessity to all, and yet could not have been known by any to belong unto them, unless God had opened them himself, inasmuch as they do not depend upon any natural ground at all out of which they may be deduced, but are appointed of God to supply the defect of those natural ways of salvation, by which we are not now able to attain thereunto. The Church being a supernatural society doth differ from natural societies in this, that the persons unto whom we associate ourselves, in the one are men simply considered as men, but they to whom we be joined in the other, are God, Angels, and holy men. Again the Church being both a society and a society supernatural, although as it is a society it have the selfsame original grounds which other politic societies have, namely, the natural inclination which all men have unto sociable life, and consent to some certain bond of association, which bond is the law that appointeth what kind of order they shall be associated in: yet unto the Church as it is a society supernatural this is peculiar, that part of the bond of their association which belong to the Church of God must be a law supernatural, which God himself hath revealed concerning that kind of worship which his people shall do unto him. The substance of the service of God therefore, so far forth as it hath in it any thing more than the Law of Reason doth teach, may not be invented of men, as it is amongst the heathens [80], but must be received from God himself, as always it hath been in the Church, saving only when the Church hath been forgetful of her duty.

[3.] Wherefore to end with a general rule concerning all the laws which God hath tied men unto: those laws divine that belong, whether naturally or supernaturally, either to men as men, or to men as they live in politic society, or to men as they are of that politic society which is the Church, without any further respect had unto any such variable accident as the state of men and of societies of men and of the Church itself in this world is subject unto; all laws that so belong unto men, they belong for ever, yea although they be Positive Laws, unless being positive God himself which made them alter them. The reason is, because the subject or matter of laws in general is thus far forth constant: which matter is that for the ordering whereof laws were instituted, and being instituted are not changeable without cause, neither can they have cause of change, when that which gave them their first institution remaineth for ever one and the same. On the other side, laws that were made for men or societies or churches, in regard of their being such as they do not always continue, but may perhaps be clean otherwise a while after, and so may require to be otherwise ordered than before; the laws of God himself which are of this nature, no man endued with common sense will ever deny to be of a different constitution from the former, in respect of the one's constancy and the mutability of the other. And this doth seem to have been the very cause why St. John doth so peculiarly term the doctrine that teacheth salvation by Jesus Christ, [81] *Evangelium æternum*, "an eternal Gos-"pel;" because there can be no reason wherefore the publishing thereof should be taken away, and any other instead of it proclaimed, as long as the world doth continue; whereas the whole law of rites and ceremonies, although delivered with so great solemnity, is notwithstanding clean abrogated, inasmuch as it had but temporary cause of God's ordaining it.

[4.] But that we may at length conclude this first general introduction unto the nature and original birth, as of all other laws, so likewise of those which the sacred Scripture containeth, concerning the Author whereof even infidels have confessed that He can neither err nor deceive [82]: albeit about things easy and manifest unto all men by common sense there needeth no higher consultation: because as a man whose wisdom is in weighty affairs admired would take it in some disdain to have his counsel solemnly asked about a toy, so the meanness of some things is such, that to search the Scripture of God for the or-

[79] [To prevent any misapplication of this principle, it may be useful to compare Butler's Analogy, p. ii. c. 1. §. 2; where moral precepts and duties are contrasted with positive in a manner which may at first appear inconsistent with Hooker's language. But the appearance of discrepancy will perhaps be removed, if it is considered that Hooker opposes the term Positive to Natural, in regard of our ability or inability to *obtain the knowledge* of a law without express revelation: Butler on the other hand opposes Positive to Moral, in regard of our ability or inability to *discern the reasonableness* of a law *made known* to us by revelation or otherwise.]

[80] "Their fear towards me was taught by the precept of men." Isa. xxix. 13.

[81] Apoc. xiv. 6.

[82] Κομιδῇ ἄρα ὁ Θεὸς ἁπλοῦν καὶ ἀληθὲς ἔν τε ἔργῳ καὶ ἐν λόγῳ, καὶ οὔτε αὐτὸς μεθίσταται οὔτε ἄλλους ἐξαπατᾷ, οὔτε κατὰ φαντασίας οὔτε κατὰ λογους οὔτε κατὰ σημείων πομπὰς, οὐδ' ὕπαρ οὐδ' ὄναρ. Plat. in fine 2 Polit.

dering of them were to derogate from the reverend authority and dignity of the Scripture, no less than they do by whom Scriptures are in ordinary talk very idly applied unto vain and childish trifles: yet better it were to be superstitious than profane; to take from thence our direction even in all things great or small, than to wade through matters of principal weight and moment, without ever caring what the law of God hath either for or against our designs. Concerning the customs of the very Painims, thus much Strabo witnesseth: "Men "that are civil do lead their lives after one "common law appointing them what to do. "For that otherwise a multitude should "with harmony amongst themselves con- "cur in the doing of one thing, (for this is "civilly to live,) or that they should in any "sort manage community of life, it is not "possible. Now laws or statutes are of "two sorts. For they are either received "from gods, or else from men. And our "ancient predecessors did surely most hon- "our and reverence that which was from "the gods; for which cause consultation "with oracles was a thing very usual and "frequent in their times[83]." Did they make so much account of the voice of their gods, which in truth were no gods; and shall we neglect the precious benefit of conference with those oracles of the true and living God, whereof so great store is left to the Church, and whereunto there is so free, so plain, and so easy access for all men? "By thy commandments[84]" (this was David's confession unto God) "thou hast made "me wiser than mine enemies." Again, "I have had more understanding than all "my teachers, because thy testimonies are "my meditations." What pains would not they have bestowed in the study of these books, who travelled sea and land to gain the treasure of some few days' talk with men whose wisdom the world did make any reckoning of? That little which some of the heathens did chance to hear, concerning such matter as the sacred Scripture plentifully containeth, they did in wonderful sort affect; their speeches[85] as oft as they make mention thereof are strange, and such as themselves could not utter as they did other things, but still acknowledged that their wits, which did every where else conquer hardness, were with profoundness here over-matched. Wherefore seeing that God hath endued us with sense, to the end that we might perceive such things as this present life doth need; and with reason, lest that which sense cannot reach unto, being both now and also in regard of a future estate hereafter necessary to be known, should lie obscure; finally, with the heavenly support of prophetical revelation, which doth open those hidden mysteries that reason could never have been able to find out[86], or to have known the necessity of them unto our everlasting good: use we the precious gifts of God unto his glory and honour that gave them, seeking by all means to know what the will of our God is; what righteous before him; in his sight what holy, perfect, and good, that we may truly and faithfully do it.

XVI. Thus far therefore we have endeavoured in part to open, of what nature and force laws are, according unto their several kinds; the law which God with himself hath eternally set down to follow in his own works; the law which he hath made for his creatures to keep; the law of natural and necessary agents: the law which angels in heaven obey; the law whereunto by the light of reason men find themselves bound in that they are men; the law which they make by composition for multitudes and politic societies of men to be guided by; the law which belongeth unto each nation; the law that concerneth the fellowship of all; and lastly the law which God himself hath supernaturally revealed. It might peradventure have been more popular and more plausible to vulgar ears, if this first discourse had been spent in extolling the force of laws, in shewing the great necessity of them when they are good, and in aggravating their offence by whom public laws are injuriously traduced. But forasmuch as with such kind of matter the passions of men are rather stirred one way or other, than their knowledge any way set forward unto the trial of that whereof there is doubt made; I have therefore turned aside from that beaten path, and chosen though a less easy yet a more profitable way in regard of the end we propose. Lest therefore any man should marvel whereunto all these things tend, the drift and purpose of all is this, even to shew in what manner, as every good and perfect gift, so this very gift of good and perfect laws is derived from the Father of lights[87]; to teach men a reason why just and reasonable laws are of so great force, of so great use in the world; and to inform their minds

A conclusion shewing how all this belongeth to the cause in question.

[83] Πολιτικοὶ ὄντες ἀπὸ προστάγματος κοινοῦ ζῶσιν. Ἄλλως γὰρ οὐκ οἷον τε τοὺς πολλοὺς ἓν τι κατὰ ταὐτὸ ποιεῖν ἡρμοσμένως ἀλλήλοις (ὅπερ ην τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι), καὶ ἄλλως πῶς νέμειν βίον κοινόν. Τὸ δὲ πρόσταγμα δίττον· ἢ γὰρ παρὰ θεῶν, ἢ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων. Καὶ οἵ γε ἀρχαῖοι τὸ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπρέσβευον μᾶλλον καὶ ἐσέμνυνον· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ χρηστηριαζόμενος ἦν τοτε πολύς. Strab. Geogr. lib. xvi. [c. 38. t. vi. p. 361, Lips. 1811.]

[84] Psalm. cxix. 98.

[85] Vide Orphei Carmina.

[86] Ὧν γαρ ὁ νοῦς ἀπολείπεται, πρὸς ταυθ' ἡ προφητεία φθάνει. Philo de Mos. [lib. ii. in init. p. 655, Paris, 1640.]

[87] James i. 17.

with some method of reducing the laws whereof there is present controversy unto their first original causes, that so it may be in every particular ordinance thereby the better discerned, whether the same be reasonable, just, and righteous, or no. Is there any thing which can either be thoroughly understood or soundly judged of, till the very first causes and principles from which originally it springeth be made manifest? If all parts of knowledge have been thought by wise men to be then most orderly delivered and proceeded in, when they are drawn to their first original [88]; seeing that our whole question concerneth the quality of ecclesiastical laws, let it not seem a labour superfluous that in the entrance thereunto all these several kinds of laws have been considered, inasmuch as they all concur as principles, they all have their forcible operations therein, although not all in like apparent and manifest manner. By means whereof it cometh to pass that the force which they have is not observed of many.

[2.] Easier a great deal it is for men by law to be taught what they ought to do, than instructed how to judge as they should do of law; the one being a thing which belongeth generally unto all, the other such as none but the wiser and more judicious sort can perform. Yea, the wisest are always touching this point the readiest to acknowledge, that soundly to judge of a law is the weightiest thing which any man can take upon him [89]. But if we will give judgment of the laws under which we live; first let that law eternal be always before our eyes, as being of principal force and moment to breed in religious minds a dutiful estimation of all laws, the use and benefit whereof we see; because there can be no doubt but that laws apparently good are (as it were) things copied out of the very tables of that high everlasting law; even as the book of that law hath said concerning itself, "By me kings reign, and" by me "princes decree justice [90]." Not as if men did behold that book and accordingly frame their laws; but because it worketh in them, because it discovereth and (as it were) readeth itself to the world by them, when the laws which they make are righteous. Furthermore, although we perceive not the goodness of laws made, nevertheless sith things in themselves may have that which we peradventure discern not, should not this breed a fear in our hearts, how we speak or judge in the worse part concerning that, the unadvised disgrace whereof may be no mean dishonour to Him, towards whom we profess all submission and awe? Surely there must be very manifest iniquity in laws, against which we shall be able to justify our contumelious invectives. The chiefest root whereof, when we use them without cause, is ignorance how laws inferior are derived from that supreme or highest law.

[3.] The first that receive impression from thence are natural agents. The law of whose operations might be haply thought less pertinent, when the question is about laws for human actions, but that in those very actions which most spiritually and supernaturally concern men, the rules and axioms of natural operations have their force. What can be more immediate to our salvation than our persuasion concerning the law [91] of Christ towards his Church? What greater assurance of love towards his Church, than the knowledge of that mystical union, whereby the Church is become as near unto Christ as any one part of his flesh is unto other? That the Church being in such sort his he must needs protect it, what proof more strong than if a manifest law so require, which law it is not possible for Christ to violate? And what other law doth the Apostle for this allege, but such as is both common unto Christ with us, and unto us with other things natural; "No man hateth his own flesh, but doth love "and cherish it [92]?" The axioms of that law therefore, whereby natural agents are guided, have their use in the moral, yea, even in the spiritual actions of men, and consequently in all laws belonging unto men howsoever.

[4.] Neither are the Angels themselves so far severed from us in their kind and manner of working, but that between the law of their heavenly operations and the actions of men in this our state of mortality such correspondence there is, as maketh it expedient to know in some sort the one for the other's more perfect direction. Would Angels acknowledge themselves "fellow-"servants [93]" with the sons of men, but that both having one Lord, there must be some kind of law which is one and the same to both, whereunto their obedience being perfecter is to our weaker both a pattern and a spur? Or would the Apostles, speaking of that which belongeth unto saints as they are linked together in the bond of spiritual

[88] Arist. Phys. lib. i. cap. 1. [τὸ εἰδέναι καὶ τὸ ἐπίστασθαι συμβαίνει περὶ πάσας τὰς μεθόδους, ὧν εἰσιν ἀρχαὶ ἢ αἴτια ἢ στοιχεῖα, ἐκ τοῦ ταῦτα γνωρίζειν· τότε γὰρ οἰόμεθα γιγνώσκειν ἕκαστον, ὅταν τὰ αἴτια γνωρίσωμεν τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς πρώτας, καὶ μεχρὶ τῶν στοιχείων.]

[89] Arist. Ethic. x. [c. 10.] Τὸ κρῖναι ὀρθῶς μέγιστον. Intelligit de legum qualitate judicium.

[90] Prov. viii. 15.

[91] [The context leads to the supicion that Hooker wrote "the *love* of Christ." But the original edition reads "law," and the list of errata at the end, which is carefully made, as appears, by the author himself, offers no correction: neither does Dr. Spenser's edition, at least the reprint of it in 1632.]

[92] Ephes. v. 29.

[93] Apoc. xix. 10.

society [94], so often make mention how Angels therewith are delighted, if in things publicly done by the Church we are not somewhat to respect what the Angels of heaven do? Yea, so far hath the Apostle Saint Paul proceeded, as to signify [95], that even about the outward orders of the Church which serve but for comeliness, some regard is to be had of Angels, who best like us when we are most like unto them in all parts of decent demeanour. So that the law of Angels we cannot judge altogether impertinent unto the affairs of the Church of God.

[5.] Our largeness of speech how men do find out what things reason bindeth them of necessity to observe, and what it guideth them to choose in things which are left as arbitrary; the care we have had to declare the different nature of laws which severally concern all men, from such as belong unto men either civilly or spiritually associated, such as pertain to the fellowship which nations, or which Christian nations, have amongst themselves, and in the last place such as concerning every or any of these God himself hath revealed by his Holy Word: all serveth but to make manifest, that as the actions of men are of sundry distinct kinds, so the laws thereof must accordingly be distinguished. There are in men operations, some natural, some rational, some supernatural, some politic, some finally ecclesiastical; which if we measure not each by his own proper law, whereas the things themselves are so different, there will be in our understanding and judgment of them confusion.

As that first error sheweth, whereon our opposites in this cause have grounded themselves. For as they rightly maintain that God must be glorified in all things, and that the actions of men cannot tend unto his glory unless they be framed after his law; so it is their error to think that the only law which God hath appointed unto men in that behalf is the sacred Scripture. By that which we work naturally, as when we breathe, sleep, move, we set forth the glory of God as natural agents do [96], albeit we have no express purpose to make that our end, nor any advised determination therein to follow a law, but do that we do (for the most part) not as much as thinking thereon. In reasonable and moral actions another law taketh place; a law by the observation whereof [97] we glorify God in such sort, as no creature else under man is able to do; because other creatures have not judgment to examine the quality of that which is done by them, and therefore in that they do they neither can accuse nor approve themselves. Men do both, as the Apostle teacheth; yea, those men which have no written law of God to shew what is good or evil, carry written in their hearts the universal law of mankind, the Law of Reason, whereby they judge as by a rule which God hath given unto all men for that purpose [98]. The law of reason doth somewhat direct men how to honour God as their Creator; but how to glorify God in such sort as is required, to the end he may be an everlasting Saviour, this we are taught by divine law, which law both ascertaineth the truth and supplieth unto us the want of that other law. So that in moral actions, divine law helpeth exceedingly the law of reason to guide man's life; but in supernatural it alone guideth.

Proceed we further; let us place man in some public society with others, whether civil or spiritual; and in this case there is no remedy but we must add yet a further law. For although even here likewise the laws of nature and reason be of necessary use, yet somewhat over and besides them is necessary, namely, human and positive law, together with that law which is of commerce between grand societies, the law of nations, and of nations Christian. For which cause the law of God hath likewise said, "Let every soul be subject to the "higher powers [99]." The public power of all societies is above every soul contained in the same societies. And the principal use of that power is to give laws unto all that are under it; which laws in such case we must obey, unless there be reason shewed which may necessarily enforce that the Law of Reason or of God doth enjoin the contrary. Because except our own private and but probable resolutions be by the law of public determinations overruled, we take away all possibility of sociable life in the world. A plainer example whereof than ourselves we cannot have. How cometh it to pass that we are at this present day so rent with mutual contentions, and that the Church is so much troubled about the polity of the Church? No doubt if men had been willing to learn how many laws their actions in this life are subject unto, and what the true force of each law is, all these controversies might have died the very day they were first brought forth.

[6.] It is both commonly said, and truly, that the best men otherwise are not always the best in regard of society. The reason whereof is, for that the law of men's actions is one, if they be respected only as men; and another, when they are considered as parts of a politic body. Many men there are, than whom nothing is more commendable when they are singled; and yet

[94] 1 Pet. i. 12; Ephes. iii. 10; 1 Tim. v. 21.
[95] 1 Cor. xi. 10.
[96] Psalm cxlviii. 7, 8, 9.
[97] Rom. i. 21.
[98] Rom. ii. 15. [99] Rom. xiii. 1.

in society with others none less fit to answer the duties which are looked for at their hands [99]. Yea, I am persuaded, that of them with whom in this cause we strive, there are whose betters amongst men would be hardly found, if they did not live amongst men, but in some wilderness by themselves. The cause of which their disposition so unframable unto societies wherein they live, is, for that they discern not aright what place and force these several kinds of laws ought to have in all their actions. Is their question either concerning the regiment of the Church in general, or about conformity between one church and another, or of ceremonies, offices, powers, jurisdictions in our own church? Of all these things they judge by that rule which they frame to themselves with some show of probability, and what seemeth in that sort convenient, the same they think themselves bound to practise; the same by all means they labour mightily to uphold; whatsoever any law of man to the contrary hath determined they weigh it not. Thus by following the law of private reason, where the law of public should take place, they breed disturbance.

[7.] For the better inuring therefore of men's minds with the true distinction of laws, and of their several force according to the different kind and quality of our actions, it shall not peradventure be amiss to shew in some one example how they all take place. To seek no further, let but that be considered, than which there is not any thing more familiar unto us, our food.

What things are food and what are not we judge naturally by sense [1]; neither need we any other law to be our director in that behalf than the selfsame which is common unto us with beasts.

But when we come to consider of food, as of a benefit which God of his bounteous goodness hath provided for all things living [2]; the law of Reason doth here require the duty of thankfulness at our hands, towards him at whose hands we have it. And lest appetite in the use of food should lead us beyond that which is meet, we owe in this case obedience to that law of Reason, which teacheth mediocrity in meats and drinks. The same things divine law teacheth also, as at large we have shewed it doth all parts of moral duty, whereunto we all of necessity stand bound, in regard of the life to come [3].

But of certain kinds of food the Jews sometimes had, and we ourselves likewise have, a mystical, religious, and supernatural use, they of their paschal lamb and ob-

[99] Πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν μὲν τοῖς οἰκείοις τῇ ἀρετῇ δύνανται χρῆσθαι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς ἕτερον ἀδύνατοῦσι. Arist. Ethic. lib. v. cap. 3.

[1] Job xxxiv. 3.

[2] Psalm cxlv. 15, 16.

[3] [Chr. Letter, p. 13. "If from sound and sincere virtues (as you say) full joy and felicitie "ariseth, and that we all of necessitie stand "bound unto all partes of morall ductie in regarde "of life to come, and God requireth more at the "handes of men unto happines, then such a naked "beleefe, as Christ calleth the worke of God: alas "what shall we poore sinful wretches doe, &c." Hooker, MS. note, "Repent and believe." And again, Chr. Letter, ibid. "Tell us... whether there "bee not other sufficient causes to induce a Christian to godliness and honestie of life, such as is "the glorie of God our Father; his great mercies "in Christ; his love to us; example to others, but "that we must do it to merit or to make perfitt "that which Christ hath done for us." Hooker, "MS. note. Your godfathers and godmothers "have much to answere unto God for not seing "you better catechised.

"A thing necessarie as you graunt that by good "workes we shold seeke God's glory, shew ourselves "thankfull for his mercyes in Christ, answer his "loving kindnes towardes us, and give other men "good example. If then these things be necessarie unto eternall life, and workes necessarily to be "done for these ends, how should workes bee but "necessary unto the last end, seeing the next and "neerest cannot be attained without them? And "is there neither heaven nor hell, neither reward "nor punishment hereafter, to be respected here in "the leading of our lives? When thapostle doth "deterre from sinne, are his arguments only these? "only these his reasons when he stirreth unto "workes of righteousnes?

"See Eusеb. Emisenus where he speaketh of "Dorcas hir garments made for the poor." (De Init. Quadrag. Bibl. Patr. Colon. 1618, v. 551. "'Orationibus,' inquit, 'et eleemosynis purgantur "peccata:' per utramque ergo rem, sed maxime "per eleemosynam, Dei misericordia requirenda "est. Oportet itaque ut sibi res utraque consentiat: illa rogat, hæc impetrat; illa quodammodo "judicis audientiam deprecatur, hæc gratiam promeretur; illa ostium pulsat, hæc aperit; illa prodit desiderium, hæc desiderii procurat effectum: "illa supplicat, sed supplicantem ista commendat. "Sic laudabilis Tabitha, quæ in Actibus Apostolorum interpretata dicitur *Dorcas*, in operibus "bonis vitæ diem claudens, evolante anima corpus relinquens, cum jam omnibus et operationis "et vitæ renuntiasset officiis, flentes accurrunt viduæ, pauperes adgregantur tunicas et vestes quas "faciebat illis Dorcas cœlo ostendentes, conveniunt "Deum: testimonia meritorum clamant; defuncta "operatrice, vox operum bona: quæ in sæculo gesserat consequuntur animam in aliud sæculum; "consequuntur et revolvuntur; reditque de loco "mortis ad vitam præstitam. Itaque indumenta "pauperculis hic ostenduntur, illic operantur; hic "adhuc præbent usum, illic jam tribuunt præmium: quam mira et pretiosa merita largitatis! "Hic adhuc utentium algentes humeros calefaciebant, etiam illic largitricis animam refrigerabant. "Unde et nos, charissimi, animas nostras morti "obnoxias piis operibus suscitemus. Dabunt absque dubio æternam vitam, quæ aliquoties etiam "temporariam reddiderunt." Who was author of this Homily is uncertain: evidently not Eusebius of Emesa. It might be Salvian, Eucherius of Lyons, or some other Father of the Gallican Church

lations, we of our bread and wine in the Eucharist; which use none but divine law could institute.

Now as we live in civil society, the state of the commonwealth wherein we live both may and doth require certain laws concerning food [4]; which laws, saving only that we are members of the commonwealth where they are of force, we should not need to respect as rules of action, whereas now in their place and kind they must be respected and obeyed.

Yea, the selfsame matter is also a subject wherein sometime ecclesiastical laws have place; so that unless we will be authors of confusion in the Church, our private discretion, which otherwise might guide us a contrary way, must here submit itself to be that way guided, which the public judgment of the Church hath thought better. In which case that of Zonaras concerning fasts may be remembered. "Fastings are good, but "let good things be done in good and convenient manner. He that transgresseth "in his fasting the orders of the holy fathers," the positive laws of the Church of Christ, must be plainly told, "that good "things do lose the grace of their goodness, "when in good sort they are not performed [5]."

And as here men's private fancies must give place to the higher judgment of that Church which is in authority a mother over them; so the very actions of whole churches have in regard of commerce and fellowship with other churches been subject to laws concerning food, the contrary unto which laws had else been thought more convenient for them to observe; as by that order of abstinence from strangled and blood [6] may appear; an order grounded upon that fellowship which the churches of the Gentiles had with the Jews.

Thus we see how even one and the selfsame thing is under divers considerations conveyed through many laws; and that to measure by any one kind of law all the actions of men were to confound the admirable order, wherein God hath disposed all laws, each as in nature, so in degree, distinct from other.

[8.] Wherefore that here we may briefly end: of Law there can be no less acknowledged, than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world; all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power: both Angels and men and creatures of what condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet all with uniform consent, admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy.

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in the fourth or fifth century. See Cave, Hist. Lit. i. 157, and E. P. B. vi.)

On this whole subject Hooker says, "Looke S. Augustin's booke, 'De Fide et Operibus.'" (of which the following is a specimen: "Hoc est enim evangelizare Christum, non tantum dicere "quæ sunt credenda de Christo, sed etiam quæ observanda ei qui accedit ad compagem corporis "Christi; immo vero cuncta dicere quæ sunt credenda de Christo, non solum cujus sit filius, "unde secundum divinitatem, unde secundum "carnem genitus, quæ perpessus et quare, quæ sit "virtus resurrectionis ejus, quod donum Spiritus "promisit dederitque fidelibus; sed etiam qualia "membra, quibus sit caput, quærat, instituat, diligat, liberet, atque ad æternam vitam honorem-"que perducat. Hæc cum dicuntur, aliquando "brevius atque constrictius, aliquando latius et "uberius, Christus evangelizatur; et tamen non "solum quod ad fidem, verum etiam quod ad mores fidelium pertinet, non prætermittitur." t. vi. 172, F. c. ix. see also c. x.—xiv.)

[4] [See 5 Eliz. c. 5. §. 14, 15; 27 Eliz. c. 11; 35 Eliz. c. 7. §. 22.]

[5] [Καλὸν μὲν ἡ νηστεία· τὰ δὲ καλὰ καλῶς γινέσθω. Εἰ δέ τις θεσμοὺς ἀποστολικοὺς ἢ πατέρων ἁγίων παραβαίνων νηστεύει, ἀκούσεται] ὅτι οὐ καλὸν τὸ καλόν, ὅταν μὴ καλῶς γίνηται. Zonar. in Can. Apost. 66. p. 34. [ap. Beverig. Synod. t. i. p. 43. Probably Hooker has here respect to the schismatical fasts which were practised by many of the Puritans.]

[6] Acts xv. 20.

THE SECOND BOOK.

CONCERNING THEIR FIRST POSITION WHO URGE REFORMATION IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND: NAMELY, THAT SCRIPTURE IS THE ONLY RULE OF ALL THINGS WHICH IN THIS LIFE MAY BE DONE BY MEN.

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THE MATTER CONTAINED IN THIS SECOND BOOK.

I. An answer to their first proof brought out of Scripture, Prov. ii. 9.
II. To their second, 1 Cor. x. 31.
III. To their third, 1 Tim. iv. 5.
IV. To their fourth, Rom. xiv. 23.
V. To their proofs out of Fathers, who dispute negatively from authority of Holy Scripture.
VI. To their proof by the Scripture's custom of disputing from divine authority negatively.
VII. An examination of their opinion concerning the force of arguments taken from human authority for the ordering of men's actions and persuasions.
VIII. A declaration what the truth is in this matter.

As that which in the title hath been proposed for the matter whereof we treat, is only the ecclesiastical law whereby we are governed; so neither is it my purpose to maintain any other thing than that which therein truth and reason shall approve. For concerning the dealings of men who administer government, and unto whom the execution of that law belongeth; they have their Judge who sitteth in heaven, and before whose tribunal-seat they are accountable for whatsoever abuse or corruption, which (being worthily misliked in this church) the want either of care or of conscience in them hath bred. We are no patrons of those things therefore, the best defence whereof is speedy redress and amendment. That which is of God we defend, to the uttermost of that ability which He hath given; that which is otherwise, let it wither even in the root from whence it hath sprung[1]. Wherefore all these abuses being severed and set apart, which rise from the corruption of men and not from the laws themselves; come we to those things which in the very whole entire form of our church polity have been (as we persuade ourselves) injuriously blamed by them, who endeavour to overthrow the same, and instead thereof to establish a much worse; only through a strong misconceit they have, that the same is grounded on divine authority.

Now whether it be that through an earnest longing desire to see things brought to a peaceable end, I do but imagine the matters whereof we contend to be fewer than indeed they are; or else for that in truth they are fewer when they come to be discussed by reason, than otherwise they seem when by heat of contention they are divided into many slips, and of every branch an heap is made: surely, as now we have drawn them together, choosing out those things which are requisite to be severally all discussed, and omitting such mean specialties as are likely (without any great labour) to fall afterwards of themselves; I know no cause why either the number or the length of these controversies should diminish our hope of seeing them end with concord and love on all sides; which of his infinite love and goodness the Father of all peace and unity grant.

[2.] Unto which scope that our endeavour may the more directly tend, it seemeth fittest that first those things be examined, which are as seeds from whence the rest that ensue have grown. And of such the most general is that wherewith we are here to make our entrance: a question not moved (I think) any where in other churches, and therefore in ours the more likely to be soon (I trust) determined. The rather, for that it hath grown from no other root, than only a desire to enlarge the necessary use of the Word of God; which desire hath begotten an error enlarging it further than (as we are persuaded) soundness of truth will bear. For whereas God hath left sundry kinds of laws unto men, and by all those laws the actions of men are in some sort directed; they hold that one only law, the Scripture, must be the rule to direct in all things, even so far as to the "taking up of "a rush or straw[2]." About which point

[1] [Acts v. 38, 39.]

[2] T. C. l. ii. p. 59, 60. [The words are (p. 59,) "When he seeth that St. Paul speaketh here of "civil, private, and indifferent actions, as of eating "this or that kind of meat (than which there can

there should not need any question to grow, and that which is grown might presently end, if they did yield but to these two restraints: the first is, not to extend the actions whereof they speak so low as that instance doth import of taking up a straw, but rather keep themselves at the least within the compass of moral actions, actions which have in them vice or virtue: the second, not to exact at our hands for every action the knowledge of some place of Scripture out of which we stand bound to deduce it, as by divers testimonies they seek to enforce; but rather as the truth is, so to acknowledge, that it sufficeth if such actions be framed according to the law of Reason; the general axioms, rules, and principles of which law being so frequent in Holy Scripture, there is no let but in that regard even out of Scripture such duties may be deduced by some kind of consequence, (as by long circuit of deduction it may be that even all truth out of any truth may be concluded [3],) howbeit no man bound in such sort to deduce all his actions out of Scripture, as if either the place be to him unknown whereon they may be concluded, or the reference unto that place not presently considered of, the action shall in that respect be condemned as unlawful. In this we dissent, and this we are presently to examine.

[3.] In all parts of knowledge rightly so termed things most general are most strong. Thus it must be, inasmuch as the certainty of our persuasion touching particulars dependeth altogether upon the credit of those generalities out of which they grow. Albeit therefore every cause admit not such infallible evidence of proof, as leaveth no possibility of doubt or scruple behind it; yet they who claim the general assent of the whole world unto that which they teach, and do not fear to give very hard and heavy sentence upon as many as refuse to embrace the same, must have special regard that their first foundations and grounds be more than slender probabilities. This whole question which hath been moved about the kind of church regiment, we could not but for our own resolution's sake endeavour to unrip and sift; following therein as near as we might the conduct of that judicial method which serveth best for invention of truth. By means whereof, having found this the head theorem of all their discourses, who plead for the change of ecclesiastical government in England, namely, "That the Scripture of God is in "such sort the rule of human actions, that "simply whatsoever we do and are not by "it directed thereunto, the same is sin;" we hold it necessary that the proofs hereof be weighed. Be they of weight sufficient or otherwise, it is not ours to judge and determine; only what difficulties there are which as yet withhold our assent, till we be further and better satisfied, I hope no indifferent amongst them will scorn or refuse to hear.

The first pretended proof of the first position out of Scripture, Prov. ii. 9.

[4.] First therefore whereas they allege, "That Wisdom" doth teach men "every "good way [4];" and have thereupon inferred that no way is good in any kind of action unless wisdom do by Scripture lead into it; see they not plainly how they restrain the manifold ways which wisdom hath to teach men by unto one only way of teaching, which is by Scripture? The bounds of wisdom are large, and within them much is contained. Wisdom was Adam's instructor in Paradise; wisdom endued the fathers who lived before the law with the knowledge of holy things; by the wisdom of the law of God David attained to excel others in understanding [5]; and Solomon likewise to excel David by the selfsame wisdom of God teaching him many things besides the law. The ways of well-doing are in number even as many as are the kinds of voluntary actions; so that whatsoever we do in this world and may do it ill, we shew ourselves therein by well-doing to be wise. Now if wisdom did teach men by Scripture not only all the ways that are right and good in some certain kind, according to that of St. Paul [6] concerning the use of Scrip-

"be nothing more indifferent) he might easily have "seen that the sentence of the Apostle reacheth "even to his case, of taking up a straw." Which refers to Whitg. Def. 85. "It is not true that what-"soever cannot be proved in the word of God is "not of faith, for then to take up a straw ... were "against faith, and so deadly sin, because it is not "found in the Law of God." Again, T. C. ii. 60. "Seemeth it so strange a thing unto him that a "man should not take up a straw but for some "purpose, and for some good purpose?" &c.]

[3] [So Bishop Butler, Analogy, part 1, ch. vii. "Things seemingly the most insignificant imagin-"able are perpetually observed to be necessary con-"ditions to other things of the greatest importance; "so that any one thing whatever may, for ought we "know to the contrary, be a necessary condition "to any other." p. 182. ed. 1736.]

[4] T. C. l. i. p. 20. "I say, that the word of God "containeth whatsoever things can fall into any "part of man's life. For so Solomon saith in the "second chapter of the Proverbs, 'My son, if thou "receive my words, &c. then thou shalt under-"stand justice, and judgment, and equity, and "every good way.'" [In T. C. literally it is, "The "word of God containeth the direction of all "things pertaining to the Church, yea, of whatso-"ever things can fall into any part of man's life." (p. 14.)]

[5] Psalm cxix. 99.

[6] 2 Tim. iii. 16. "The whole Scripture is given "by inspiration of God, and is profitable to teach, "to improve, to correct, and to instruct in right-"eousness, that the man of God may be absolute,

ture, but did simply without any manner of exception, restraint, or distinction, teach every way of doing well; there is no Art but Scripture should teach it, because every art doth teach the way how to do something or other well. To teach men therefore wisdom professeth, and to teach them every good way; but not every good way by one way of teaching. Whatsoever either men on earth or the Angels of heaven do know, it is as a drop of that unemptiable fountain of wisdom; which wisdom hath diversely imparted her treasures unto the world. As her ways are of sundry kinds, so her manner of teaching is not merely one and the same. Some things she openeth by the sacred books of Scripture; some things by the glorious works of Nature: with some things she inspireth them from above by spiritual influence; in some things she leadeth and traineth them only by worldly experience and practice. We may not so in any one special kind admire her, that we disgrace her in any other; but let all her ways be according unto their place and degree adored.

II. That "all things be done to the glory of God [7]," the blessed Apostle (it is true) exhorteth. The glory of God is the admirable excellency of that virtue divine, which being made manifest, causeth men and Angels to extol his greatness, and in regard thereof to fear him. By "being glori-"fied" it is not meant that he doth receive any augmentation of glory at our hands, but his name we glorify when we testify our acknowledgment of his glory. Which albeit we most effectually do by the virtue of obedience; nevertheless it may be perhaps a question, whether St. Paul did mean that we sin as oft as ever we go about any thing, without an express intent and purpose to obey God therein. He saith of himself, "I do in all things please all men, seeking "not mine own commodity but" rather the good "of many, that they may be saved [8]." Shall it hereupon be thought that St. Paul did not move either hand or foot, but with express intent even thereby to further the common salvation of men? We move, we sleep, we take the cup at the hand of our friend, a number of things we oftentimes do, only to satisfy some natural desire, without present, express, and actual reference unto any commandment of God. Unto his glory even these things are done which we naturally perform, and not only that which morally and spiritually we do. For by every effect proceeding from the most concealed instincts of nature His power is made manifest. But it doth not therefore follow that of necessity we shall sin, unless we expressly intend this in every such particular.

The second proof out of Scripture, 1 Cor. x. 31.

[2.] But be it a thing which requireth no more than only our general presupposed willingness to please God in all things, or be it a matter wherein we cannot so glorify the name of God as we should without an actual intent to do him in that particular some special obedience; yet for any thing there is in this sentence alleged to the contrary, God may be glorified by obedience, and obeyed by performance of his will, and his will be performed with an actual intelligent desire to fulfil that law which maketh known what his will is, although no special clause or sentence of Scripture be in every such action set before men's eyes to warrant it. For Scripture is not the only law whereby God hath opened his will touching all things that may be done, but there are other kinds of laws which notify the will of God, as in the former book hath been proved at large: nor is there any law of God, whereunto he doth not account our obedience his glory. "Do therefore all things "unto the glory of God (saith the Apostle), "be inoffensive both to Jews and Grecians "and the Church of God; even as I please "all men in all things, not seeking mine "own commodity, but many's, that they "may be saved." In the least thing done disobediently towards God, or offensively against the good of men, whose benefit we ought to seek for as for our own, we plainly shew that we do not acknowledge God to be such as indeed he is, and consequently that we glorify him not. This the blessed Apostle teacheth; but doth any Apostle teach, that we cannot glorify God otherwise, than only in doing what we find that God in Scripture commandeth us to do?

[3.] The churches dispersed amongst the heathen in the east part of the world are by the Apostle St. Peter exhorted to have their "conversation honest amongst the Gen-"tiles, that they which speak evil of them as "of evil-doers might by the good works "which they should see glorify God in the "day of visitation [9]." As long as that which Christians did was good, and no way sub-

"being made perfect unto all good works." He meaneth all and only those good works, which belong unto us as we are men of God, and which unto salvation are necessary. Or if we understand by *men of God*, God's ministers, there is not required in them an universal skill of every good work or way, but an ability to teach whatsoever men are bound to do that they may be saved. And with this kind of knowledge the Scripture sufficeth to furnish them as touching matter.

[7] T. C. l. i. p. 26. [14.] "St. Paul saith, 'That "whether we eat or drink, or whatsoever we do, "we must do it to the glory of God.' But no man "can glorify God in any thing but by obedience; "and there is no obedience but in respect of the "commandment and word of God: therefore it "followeth that the word of God directeth a man "in all his actions."

[8] 1 Cor. x. 33.

[9] 1 Pet. ii. 12.

ject unto just reproof, their virtuous conversation was a mean to work the heathen's conversion unto Christ. Seeing therefore this had been a thing altogether impossible, but that infidels themselves did discern, in matters of life and conversation, when believers did well and when otherwise, when they glorified their heavenly Father and when not; it followeth that some things wherein God is glorified may be some other way known than only by the sacred Scripture; of which Scripture the Gentiles being utterly ignorant did notwithstanding judge rightly of the quality of Christian men's actions. Most certain it is that nothing but only sin doth dishonour God. So that to glorify him in all things is to do nothing whereby the name of God may be blasphemed [10]; nothing whereby the salvation of Jew or Grecian or any in the Church of Christ may be let or hindered [11]; nothing whereby his law is transgressed [12]. But the question is, whether only Scripture do shew whatsoever God is glorified in?

III. And though meats and drinks be said to be sanctified by the word of God and by prayer [13], yet neither is this a reason sufficient to prove, that by Scripture we must of necessity be directed in every light and common thing which is incident into any part of man's life. Only it sheweth that unto us the Word, that is to say the Gospel of Christ, having not delivered any such difference of things clean and unclean, as the Law of Moses did unto the Jews, there is no cause but that we may use indifferently all things, as long as we do not (like swine) take the benefit of them without a thankful acknowledgment of His liberality and goodness by whose providence they are enjoyed. And therefore the Apostle gave warning beforehand to take heed of such as should enjoin to "abstain from meats, which "God hath created to be received with "thanksgiving by them which believe and "know the truth. For every creature of "God is good, and nothing to be refused, if "it be received with thanksgiving, because "it is sanctified by the word of God and "prayer [14]." The Gospel, by not making many things unclean, as the Law did, hath sanctified those things generally to all, which particularly each man unto himself must sanctify by a reverend and holy use. Which will hardly be drawn so far as to serve their purpose, who have imagined the Word in such sort to sanctify all things, that neither food can be tasted, nor raiment put on, nor in the world any thing done, but this deed must needs be sin in them which do not first know it appointed unto them by Scripture before they do it.

The third Scripture proof, 1 Tim. iv. 5.

IV. But to come unto that which of all other things in Scripture is most stood upon; that place of St. Paul they say is "of all other most clear, "where speaking of those "things which are called indif- "ferent, in the end he conclud- "eth, That 'whatsoever is not "of faith is sin.' But faith is not but in re- "spect of the Word of God. Therefore "whatsoever is not done by the Word of "God is sin." Whereunto we answer, that albeit the name of Faith being properly and strictly taken, it must needs have reference unto some uttered word as the object of belief: nevertheless sith the ground of credit is the credibility of things credited; and things are made credible, either by the known condition and quality of the utterer [15], or by the manifest likelihood of truth which they have in themselves; hereupon it riseth that whatsoever we are persuaded of, the same we are generally said to believe. In which generality the object of Faith may not so narrowly be restrained, as if the same did extend no further than to the only Scriptures of God. "Though," saith our Saviour, "ye believe not me, be- "lieve my works, that ye may know and "believe that the Father is in me and I in "him [16]." "The other disciples said unto "Thomas, We have seen the Lord;" but his answer unto them was, "Except I see "in his hands the print of the nails, and put "my finger into them, I will not believe [17]." Can there be any thing more plain than that which by these two sentences appeareth, namely, that there may be a certain belief grounded upon other assurance than Scripture: any thing more clear, than that we are said not only to believe the things which we know by another's relation, but even whatsoever we are certainly persuaded of, whether it be by reason or by sense?

The fourth Scripture proof, Rom. xiv. 23. T. C. l. i. p. 27. [p. 14.]

[2.] Forasmuch therefore as it is granted that St. Paul doth mean nothing else by Faith, but only "a full persuasion that that "which we do is well done [18];" against which kind of faith or persuasion as St.

[10] Rom. ii. 24.

[11] 1 Cor. x. 32.

[12] Rom. ii. 23.

[13] "And that which St. Paul said of meats and "drinks, that they are sanctified unto us by the "word of God, the same is to be understanded of "all things else whatsoever we have the use of." T. C. l. i. p. 26. [14.]

[14] 1 Tim. iv. 3, 4.

[15] Psalm xix. 8; Apoc. iii. 14; 2 Cor. i. 18.

[16] John x. 38.

[17] John xx. 25.

[18] "And if any will say that St. Paul meaneth "there a full πληροφορίαν and persuasion that that "which he doth is well done, I grant it. But from "whence can that spring but from faith? How "can we persuade and assure ourselves that we "do well, but whereas we have the word of God "for our warrant?" T. C. l. i. p. 27. [14.]

Paul doth count it sin to enterprise any thing, so likewise "some of the very hea-"then have taught [19], as Tully, 'That noth-"ing ought to be done whereof thou doubt-"est whether it be right or wrong [20];' where-"by it appeareth that even those which had "no knowledge of the word of God did see "much of the equity of this which the Apos-"tle requireth of a Christian man;" I hope we shall not seem altogether unnecessarily to doubt of the soundness of their opinion, who think simply that nothing but only the word of God can give us assurance in any thing we are to do, and resolve us that we do well. For might not the Jews have been fully persuaded that they did well to think (if they had so thought) that in Christ God the Father was, although the only ground of this their faith had been the wonderful works they saw him do? Might not, yea, did not Thomas fully in the end persuade himself, that he did well to think that body which now was raised to be the same which had been crucified? That which gave Thomas this assurance was his sense; "Thomas, because thou hast seen, thou be-"lievest," saith our Saviour [21]. What Scripture had Tully for his assurance? Yet I nothing doubt but that they who allege him think he did well to set down in writing a thing so consonant unto truth. Finally, we all believe that the Scriptures of God are sacred, and that they have proceeded from God; ourselves we assure that we do right well in so believing. We have for this point a demonstration sound and infallible. But it is not the word of God which doth or possibly can assure us, that we do well to think it his word. For if any one book of Scripture did give testimony to all, yet still that Scripture which giveth credit to the rest would require another Scripture to give credit unto it, neither could we ever come unto any pause whereon to rest our assurance in this way; so that unless beside Scripture there were something which might assure us that we do well, we could not think we do well, no not in being assured that Scripture is a sacred and holy rule of well-doing.

[3.] On which determination we might be contented to stay ourselves without further proceeding herein, but that we are drawn on into larger speech by reason of their so great earnestness, who beat more and more upon these last alleged words, as being of all other most pregnant.

Whereas therefore they still argue, "That "wheresoever faith is wanting, there is sin;" and, "in every action not commanded faith "is wanting;" *ergo*, "in every action not "commanded, there is sin [22]:" I would demand of them first, forasmuch as the nature of things indifferent is neither to be commanded nor forbidden, but left free and arbitrary; how there can be any thing indifferent, if for want of faith sin be committed when any thing not commanded is done. So that of necessity they must add somewhat, and at leastwise thus set it down: in every action not commanded of God or permitted with approbation, faith is wanting, and for want of faith there is sin.

[4.] The next thing we are to inquire is, What those things be which God permitteth with approbation, and how we may know them to be so permitted. When there are unto one end sundry means; as for example, for the sustenance of our bodies many kinds of food, many sorts of raiment to clothe our nakedness, and so in other things of like condition: here the end itself being necessary, but not so any one mean thereunto; necessary that our bodies should be both fed and clothed, howbeit no one kind of food or raiment necessary; therefore we hold these things free in their own nature and indifferent. The choice is left to our own discretion, except a principal bond of some higher duty remove the indifferency that such things have in themselves. Their indifferency is removed, if either we take away our own liberty, as Ananias did [23], for whom to have sold or held his possessions it was indifferent, till his solemn vow and promise unto God had strictly bound him one only way; or if God himself have precisely abridged the same, by restraining us unto or by barring us from some one or more things of many, which otherwise were in themselves altogether indifferent. Many fashions of priestly attire there were, whereof Aaron and his sons might have had their free choice without sin, but that God expressly tied them unto one [24]. All meats indifferent unto the Jew, were it not that God by name excepted some, as swine's flesh [25]. Impossible therefore it is we should otherwise think, than that what things God doth neither command nor forbid, the same he permitteth with approbation either to be done or left undone. "All things are law-

[19] "What also that some even of those heathen "men have taught that nothing ought to be done "whereof thou doubtest whether it be right or "wrong. Whereby it appeareth that even those "which had no knowledge of the word of God did "see much of the equity of this which the Apostle "requireth of a Christian man: and that the chief-"est difference is, that where they sent men for the "difference of good and evil to the light of Rea-"son, in such things the Apostle sendeth them to "the school of Christ in his word, which only is "able through faith to give them assurance and "resolution in their doings." T. C. l. ii. p. 60.

[20] [De Offic. i. 9. "Bene præcipiunt, qui vetant "quidquam agere, quod dubites æquum sit an ini-"quum."]

[21] John xx. 29.

[22] T. C. l. ii. p. 58.

[23] Acts v. 4.

[24] Exod. xxviii. 4, 43; xxxix.

[25] Lev. xi.

"ful unto me," saith the Apostle [26], speaking as it seemeth in the person of the Christian gentile for maintenance of liberty in things indifferent; whereunto his answer is, that nevertheless "all things are not expedient;" in things indifferent there is a choice, they are not always equally expedient.

[5.] Now in things although not commanded of God yet lawful because they are permitted, the question is, what light shall shew us the conveniency which one hath above another. For answer, their final determination is, that [27] "Whereas the hea-"then did send men for the difference of "good and evil to the light of Reason, in "such things the Apostle sendeth us to the "school of Christ in his word, which only "is able through faith to give us assurance "and resolution in our doings." Which word *only*, is utterly without possibility of ever being proved. For what if it were true concerning things indifferent, that unless the word of the Lord had determined of the free use of them, there could have been no lawful use of them at all: which notwithstanding is untrue; because it is not the Scripture's setting down such things as indifferent, but their not setting down as necessary, that doth make them to be indifferent: yet this to our present purpose serveth nothing at all. We inquire not now, whether any thing be free to be used which Scripture hath not set down as free: but concerning things known and acknowledged to be indifferent, whether particularly in choosing any one of them before another we sin, if any thing but Scripture direct us in this our choice. When many meats are set before me, all are indifferent, none unlawful, I take one as most convenient. If Scripture require me so to do, then is not the thing indifferent, because I must do what Scripture requireth. They are all indifferent, I might take any, Scripture doth not require of me to make any special choice of one: I do notwithstanding make choice of one, my discretion teaching me so to do. A hard case, that hereupon I should be justly condemned of sin. Nor let any man think that following the judgment of natural discretion in such cases we can have no assurance that we please God. For to the Author and God of our nature, how shall any operation proceeding in natural sort be in that respect unacceptable? The nature which himself hath given to work by he cannot but be delighted with, when we exercise the same any way without commandment of his to the contrary.

[6.] My desire is to make this cause so manifest, that if it were possible, no doubt or scruple concerning the same might remain in any man's cogitation. Some truths there are, the verity whereof time doth alter: as it is now true that Christ is risen from the dead; which thing was not true at such time as Christ was living on earth, and had not suffered. It would be known therefore, whether this which they teach concerning the sinful stain of all actions not commanded of God, be a truth that doth now appertain unto us only, or a perpetual truth, in such sort that from the first beginning of the world unto the last consummation thereof, it neither hath been nor can be otherwise. I see not how they can restrain this unto any particular time, how they can think it true now and not always true, that in every action not commanded there is for want of faith sin. Then let them cast back their eyes unto former generations of men, and mark what was done in the prime of the world. Seth, Enoch, Noah, Sem, Abraham, Job, and the rest that lived before any syllable of the law of God was written, did they not sin as much as we do in every action not commanded? That which God is unto us by his sacred word, the same he was unto them by such like means as Eliphaz in Job describeth [28]. If therefore we sin in every action which the Scripture commandeth us not, it followeth that they did the like in all such actions as were not by revelation from Heaven exacted at their hands. Unless God from heaven did by vision still shew them what to do, they might do nothing, not eat, not drink, not sleep, not move.

[7.] Yea, but even as in darkness candlelight may serve to guide men's steps, which to use in the day were madness; so when God had once delivered his law in writing, it may be they are of opinion that then it must needs be sin for men to do any thing which was not there commanded them to do, whatsoever they might do before. Let this be granted, and it shall hereupon plainly ensue, either that the light of Scripture once shining in the world, all other light of Nature is therewith in such sort drowned, that now we need it not, neither may we longer use it; or if it stand us in any stead, yet as Aristotle speaketh of men whom Nature hath framed for the state of servitude, saying, "They have reason so far forth as "to conceive when others direct them [29], "but little or none in directing themselves "by themselves;" so likewise our natural capacity and judgment must serve us only for the right understanding of that which the sacred Scripture teacheth. Had the Prophets who succeeded Moses, or the blessed Apostles which followed them, been settled in this persuasion, never would they

[26] 1 Cor. vi. 12. [27] [T. C. ii. 60.]

[28] Job iv. 12. ["A thing was secretly brought "to me, and mine ear received a little thereof; in "thoughts from the visions of the night, when deep "sleep falleth on men," &c.]

[29] Arist. Pol. i. c. 5. [*δ κοινωνῶν λόγου τοσοῦτον ὅσον αἰσθάνεσθαι ἀλλὰ μὴ ἔχειν.*]

have taken so great pains in gathering together natural arguments, thereby to teach the faithful their duties. To use unto them any other motive than *Scriptum est*, "Thus "it is written," had been to teach them other grounds of their actions than Scripture; which I grant they alleged commonly, but not only. Only Scripture they should have alleged, had they been thus persuaded, that so far forth we do sin as we do any thing otherwise directed than by Scripture. St. Augustine was resolute in points of Christianity to credit none, how godly and learned soever he were, unless he confirmed his sentence by the Scriptures, *or by some reason not contrary to them* [30]. Let them therefore with St. Augustine reject and condemn that which is not grounded either on the Scripture, or on some reason not contrary to Scripture, and we are ready to give them our hands in token of friendly consent with them.

V. But against this it may be objected, and is, That the Fathers do nothing more usually in their books, than draw arguments from the Scripture negatively in reproof of that which is evil; "Scrip- "tures teach it not, avoid it "therefore;" these disputes with the Fathers are ordinary, neither is it hard to shew that the Prophets themselves have so reasoned. Which arguments being sound and good, it should seem that it cannot be unsound or evil to hold still the same assertion against which hitherto we have disputed. For if it stand with reason thus to argue, "such a thing is not taught us in "Scripture, therefore we may not receive "or allow it;" how should it seem unreasonable to think, that whatsoever we may lawfully do, the Scripture by commanding it must make it lawful? But how far such arguments do reach, it shall the better appear by considering the matter wherein they have been urged.

The first assertion endeavoured to be proved by the use of taking arguments negatively from the authority of Scripture; which kind of disputing is usual in the Fathers.

[2.] First therefore this we constantly deny, that of so many testimonies as they are able to produce for the strength of negative arguments, any one doth generally (which is the point in question) condemn either all opinions as false, or all actions as unlawful, which the Scripture teacheth us not. The most that can be collected out of them is only that in some cases a negative argument taken from Scripture is strong, whereof no man endued with judgment can doubt. But doth the strength of some negative argument prove this kind of negative argument strong, by force whereof all things are denied which Scripture affirmeth not, or all things which Scripture prescribeth not condemned? The question between us is concerning matter of action, what things are lawful or unlawful for men to do. The sentences alleged out of the Fathers are as peremptory and as large in every respect for matter of opinion as of action: which argueth that in truth they never meant any otherwise to tie the one than the other unto Scripture, both being thereunto equally tied, as far as each is required in the same kind of necessity unto salvation. If therefore it be not unlawful to know and with full persuasion to believe much more than Scripture alone doth teach; if it be against all sense and reason to condemn the knowledge of so many arts and sciences as are otherwise learned than in Holy Scripture, notwithstanding the manifest speeches of ancient Catholic Fathers, which seem to close up within the bosom thereof all manner good and lawful knowledge; wherefore should their words be thought more effectual to shew that we may not in deeds and practice, than they are to prove that in speculation and knowledge we ought not to go any farther than the Scripture? Which Scripture being given to teach matters of belief no less than of action, the Fathers must needs be and are even as plain against credit besides the relation, as against practice without the injunction of the Scripture.

[3.] St. Augustine hath said [31], "Whether it be question of Christ, or whether it "be question of his Church, or of what "thing so ever the question be; I say not, "if we, but if an angel from heaven shall "tell us any thing beside that you have received in the Scripture under the Law "and the Gospel, let him be accursed [32]."

[30] August. Ep. 19. [al. 82. t. ii. 190. "Ego enim "fateor caritati tuæ," (he is writing to St. Jerome) "solis eis Scripturarum libris, qui jam canonici "appellantur, didici hunc timorem honoremque "deferre, ut nullum eorum auctorem scribendo ali- "quid errasse firmissime credam. Ac si aliquid in "eis offendero literis quod videatur contrarium ver- "itati, nihil aliud, quam vel mendosum esse codi- "cem, vel interpretem non assecutum esse quod "dictum est, vel me minime intellexisse, non am- "bigam. Alios autem ita lego, ut quantalibet sanc- "titate doctrinaque præpolleant, non ideo verum "putem, quai ipsi ita senserunt, sed quia mihi vel "per illos auctores canonicos, vel probabili ratione, "quod a vero non abhorreat persuadere potue- "runt."]

[31] Aug. cont. Liter. Petil. lib. iii. c. 6. [t. ix. 301. "Sive de Christo, sive de ejus Ecclesia, sive de "quacunque alia re quæ pertinet ad fidem vitam- "que vestram,—non dicam nos, nequaquam com- "parandi ei qui dixit, 'Licet si nos,' sed omnino "quod secutus adjecit,—Si angelus de cœlo vobis "annunciaverit præter quam quod in Scripturis "legalibus et evangelicis accepistis, anathema "sit."]

[32] T. C. l. ii. p. 80. "Augustine saith, Whether "it be question of Christ, or whether it be question "of his Church, &c. And lest the answerer should "restrain the general saying of Augustine unto the

In like sort Tertullian [33], "We may not "give ourselves this liberty to bring in any "thing of our will, nor choose any thing "that other men bring in of their will; we "have the Apostles themselves for authors, "which themselves brought nothing of their "own will, but the discipline which they re-"ceived of Christ they delivered faithfully "unto the people." In which place the name of Discipline importeth not as they who allege it would fain have it construed, but as any man who noteth the circumstance of the place and the occasion of uttering the words will easily acknowledge, even the selfsame thing it signifieth which the name of Doctrine doth, and as well might the one as the other there have been used. To help them farther, doth not St. Jerome [34] after the selfsame manner dispute, "We believe it not, because we read "it not?" Yea, "We ought not so much "as to know the things which the Book of "the Law containeth not," saith St. Hilary. Shall we hereupon then conclude, that we may not take knowledge of or give credit unto any thing, which sense or experience or report or art doth propose, unless we find the same in Scripture? No; it is too plain that so far to extend their speeches is to wrest them against their true intent and meaning. To urge any thing upon the Church, requiring thereunto that religious assent of Christian belief, wherewith the words of the holy prophets are received; to urge any thing as part of that supernatural and celestially revealed truth which God hath taught, and not to shew it in Scripture; this did the ancient Fathers evermore think unlawful, impious, execrable. And thus, as their speeches were meant, so by us they must be restrained.

[4.] As for those alleged words of Cyprian [35], "The Christian Religion shall find, "that out of this Scripture rules of all doc-"trines have sprung, and that from hence "doth spring and hither doth return what-"soever the ecclesiastical discipline doth "contain:" surely this place would never have been brought forth in this cause, if it had been but once read over in the author himself out of whom it is cited. For the words are uttered concerning that one principal commandment of love; in the honour whereof he speaketh after this sort [36]: "Surely this commandment containeth the "Law and the Prophets, and in this one "word is the abridgment of all the volumes "of Scripture: this nature and reason and "the authority of thy word, O Lord, doth "proclaim; this we have heard out of thy "mouth; herein the perfection of all reli-"gion doth consist. This is the first com-"mandment and the last: this being writ-"ten in the Book of Life is (as it were) an "everlasting lesson both to Men and An-"gels. Let Christian religion read this one "word, and meditate upon this command-"ment, and out of this Scripture it shall "find the rules of all learning to have "sprung, and from hence to have risen and "hither to return whatsoever the ecclesias-"tical discipline containeth, and that in all "things it is vain and bootless which chari-"ty confirmeth not." Was this a sentence (trow you) of so great force to prove that Scripture is the only rule of all the actions of men? Might they not hereby even as well prove, that one commandment of Scripture is the only rule of all things, and so exclude the rest of the Scripture, as now they do all means beside Scripture? But thus it fareth, when too much desire of contra-

"Doctrine of the Gospel, so that he would thereby "shut out the Discipline;" [Here T. C. alleges the passage ascribed to St. Cyprian, quoted by Hooker in the next note;] "even Tertullian him-"self, before he was imbrued with the heresy of "Montanus, giveth testimony unto the discipline in "these words, We may not give ourselves,' &c."

[33] Tertull. de Præscript. [c. 6. "Nobis vero "nihil ex nostro arbitrio inducere licet, sed nec "eligere quod aliquis de arbitrio suo induxerit. "Apostolos Domini habemus auctores, qui nec ipsi "quicquam ex suo arbitrio, quod inducerent, ele-"gerunt: sed acceptam a Christo disciplinam fi-"deliter nationibus adsignaverunt."]

[34] Hieron. contra Helvid. ["Ut hæc quæ scripta "sunt non negamus, ita ea quæ non sunt scripta re-"nuimus. Natum Deum esse de virgine credi-"mus, quia legimus: Mariam nupsisse post partum "non credimus, quia non legimus." t. ii. 13.] Hilar. in Ps. cxxxii. [§. 6. pag. 463. "Quæ libro legis "non continentur, ea nec nosse debemus." He is speaking of an apocryphal tradition, that the angels supposed by some to be mentioned in Genesis vi. 1, 4, used to haunt Mount Hermon especially.]

[35] "Let him hear what Cyprian saith, The Chris-"tian religion (saith he) shall find, that," &c. T. C. l. ii. p. 80.

[36] "Vere hoc mandatum legem complectitur et "prophetas et in hoc verbo omnium Scripturarum "volumina coarctantur. Hoc natura, hoc ratio, hoc, "Domine, verbi tui clamat auctoritas, hoc ex ore tuo "audivimus, hic invenit consummationem omnis "religio. Primum est hoc mandatum et ultimum, "hoc in libro vitæ conscriptum indeficientem et "hominibus et angelis exhibet lectionem. Legat "hoc unum verbum et in hoc mandato meditetur "Christiana religio, et inveniet ex *hac* Scriptura "omnium doctrinarum regulas emanasse, et hinc "nasci et huc reverti quicquid ecclesiastica conti-"net disciplina, et in omnibus irritum esse et fri-"volum quicquid dilectio non confirmat." [Arnold. Carnotens. de Baptismo Christi, ad calc. S. Cyprian. ed. Fell. page 33. Udall in his Demonstration of Discipline having quoted the same passage, Sutcliffe, Remonstrance to the Demonstration, p. 17, meets it with the following; which occurs just before in the same tract: "Magister bone, libenter te "audio, et cum adversaris mihi, etiam in plagis et "doloribus intelligo disciplinam, nec latet me, *te du-"cente*, ad siccandas corruptionum mearum putred-"ines prodesse cauterium, et mundare cicatrices ve-

diction causeth our speech rather to pass by number than to stay for weight.

[5.] Well, but Tertullian doth in this case speak yet more plainly [37]: "The Scrip-"ture," saith he, "denieth what it noteth "not;" which are indeed the words of Tertullian.[38]. But what? the Scripture reckoneth up the kings of Israel, and amongst those kings David; the Scripture reckoneth up the sons of David, and amongst those sons Solomon. To prove that amongst the kings of Israel there was no David but only one, no Solomon but one in the sons of David; Tertullian's argument will fitly prove. For inasmuch as the Scripture did propose to reckon up all, if there were more it would have named them. In this case "the Scripture doth deny the thing it no-"teth not." Howbeit I could not but think that man to do me some piece of manifest injury, which would hereby fasten upon me a general opinion, as if I did think the Scripture to deny the very reign of King Henry the Eighth, because it no where noteth that any such King did reign. Tertullian's speech is probable concerning such matter as he there speaketh of. "There was," saith Tertullian, "no second Lamech like "to him that had two wives; the Scripture "denieth what it noteth not." As therefore it noteth one such to have been in that age of the world; so had there been more, it would by likelihood as well have noted many as one. What infer we now hereupon? "There was no second Lamech; the Scripture denieth what it noteth not." Were it consonant unto reason to divorce these two sentences, the former of which doth shew how the latter is restrained, and not marking the former to conclude by the latter of them, that simply whatsoever any man at this day doth think true is by the Scripture denied, unless it be there affirmed to be true? I wonder that a cause so weak and feeble hath been so much persisted in.

[6.] But to come unto those their sentences wherein matters of action are more apparently touched: the name of Tertullian is as before so here again pretended [39]; who writing unto his wife two books, and exhorting her in the one to live a widow, in case God before her should take him unto his mercy; and in the other, if she did marry yet not to join herself to an infidel, as in those times some widows Christian had done for the advancement of their estate in this present world, he urgeth very earnestly St. Paul's words, "only in the Lord [40]:" whereupon he demandeth of them that think they may do the contrary, what Scripture they can shew where God hath dispensed and granted license to do against that which the blessed Apostle so strictly doth enjoin: and because in defence it might perhaps be replied, "Seeing God "doth will that couples which are married "when both are infidels, if either party "chance to be after converted unto Chris-"tianity, this should not make separation "between them, as long as the unconverted "was willing to retain the other on whom "the grace of Christ had shined; where-"fore then should that let the making of "marriage, which doth not dissolve mar-"riage being made?" after great reasons shewed why God doth in converts being married allow continuance with infidels, and yet disallow that the faithful when they are free should enter into bonds of wedlock with such, concludeth in the end concerning those women that so marry, "They that "please not the Lord do even thereby of-"fend the Lord; they do even thereby "throw themselves into evil [41];" that is to say, while they please him not by marrying in him, they do that whereby they incur his displeasure; they make an offer of themselves into the service of that enemy with whose servants they link themselves in so near a bond. What one syllable is there in all this prejudicial any way to that which we hold? For the words of Tertullian as they are by them alleged are two ways misunderstood; both in the former part, where that is extended generally to "all things" in the neuter gender, which he speaketh in the feminine gender of women's

"teres salem *disciplinæ* tuæ, Evangelio tuo modente "infusum.....You see, that which he first called 'Doctrine, he after, ἐξηγητικῶς, called Discipline."]

[37] Tertull. lib. de Monog. [c. 4. "Semel vim "passa institutio Dei per Lamechum, constitit "postea in finem usque gentis illius. Secundus "Lamech nullus extitit, quomodo duabus marita-"tus. Negat Scriptura quod non notat." p. 671.]

[38] "And in another place Tertullian saith, That "the Scripture denieth that which it noteth not." T. C. l. ii. p. 81.

[39] T. C. l. ii. p. 80. "And that in indifferent "things it is not enough that they be not against "the word, but that they be according to the word, "it may appear by other places, where he saith, "'That whatsoever pleaseth not the Lord, dis-"pleaseth him, and with hurt is received,'" lib. ii. ad Uxorem.

[40] 1 Cor. vii. 39. Ad Uxor. l. ii c. 2. ["Cum dicit, "Tantum in Domino, jam non suadet, sed excerte "jubet....Igitur cum quædam istis diebus nuptias "suas de Ecclesia tollerct, id est, Gentili conjun-"geretur; idque ab aliis retro factum recordarer; "miratus aut ipsarum petulantiam, aut consilia-"riorum prævaricationem, quod nulla Scriptura "ejus facti licentiam proferrent, 'Nunquid,' in-"quam, 'de illo capitulo sibi blandiuntur, primæ "ad Corinthios, ubi scriptum est, Siquis frater in-"fidelem habet uxorem, et illa matrimonio con-"sentit, ne dimittat eam,' &c. Hanc monitionem "forsan fidelibus injunctis simpliciter intelligen-"dam putent, (etiam infidelibus nubere licere,) qui "ita interpretantur." p. 198.]

[41] "Quæ Domino non placent, utique Dominum "offendunt, utique Malo se inferunt." [Tertull. ad Uxor. lib. ii. c. 7.]

persons; and in the latter, where "received "with hurt" is put instead of "wilful incur- "ring that which is evil." And so in sum Tertullian doth neither mean nor say as is pretended, "Whatsoever pleaseth not the "Lord displeaseth him, and with hurt is re- "ceived;" but, "Those women that please "not the Lord" by their kind of marrying "do even thereby offend the Lord, they do "even thereby throw themselves into evil."

[7.] Somewhat more show there is in a second place of Tertullian, which notwithstanding when we have examined it will be found as the rest are [42]. The Roman emperor's custom was at certain solemn times to bestow on his soldiers a donative; which donative they received wearing garlands upon their heads. There were in the time of the emperors Severus and Antoninus [43] many who being soldiers had been converted unto Christ, and notwithstanding continued still in that military course of life. In which number, one man there was amongst all the rest, who at such a time coming to the tribune of the army to receive his donative, came but with a garland in his hand, and not in such sort as others did. The tribune offended hereat demandeth what this great singularity should mean. To whom the soldier, *Christianus sum*, "I am a Christian." Many there were so besides him which yet did otherwise at that time; whereupon grew a question, whether a Christian soldier might herein do as the unchristian did, and wear as they wore. Many of them which were very sound in Christian belief did rather commend the zeal of this man than approve his action.

Tertullian was at the same time a Montanist, and an enemy unto the Church for condemning that prophetical spirit which Montanus and his followers did boast they had received, as if in them Christ had performed his last promise; as if to them he had sent the Spirit that should be their perfecter and final instructor in the mysteries of Christian truth. Which exulceration of mind made him apt to take all occasions of contradiction. Wherefore in honour of that action, and to gall their minds who did not so much commend it, he wrote his book *De Corona Militis*, not dissembling the stomach wherewith he wrote it. For first, the man he commendeth as "one more "constant than the rest of his brethren, who "presumed," saith he, "that they might "well enough serve two Lords [44]. Afterwards choler somewhat more rising with him, he addeth, "It doth even remain that "they should also devise how to rid them- "selves of his martyrdoms, towards the "prophecies of whose Holy Spirit they "have already shewed their disdain. They "mutter that their good and long peace is "now in hazard. I doubt not but some of "them send the Scriptures before, truss up "bag and baggage, make themselves in a "readiness that they may fly from city to "city. For that is the only point of the "Gospel which they are careful not to for- "get. I know even their pastors very well "what men they are; in peace, lions, harts "in time of trouble and fear [45]." Now these men, said Tertullian, "they must be an- "swered where we do find it written in "Scripture that a Christian man may not "wear a garland [46]."

And as men's speeches uttered in heat of distempered affection have oftentimes much more eagerness than weight, so he that shall mark the proofs alleged and the answers to things objected in that book will now and then perhaps espy the like imbecility. Such is that argument whereby they that wore on their heads garlands are charged as transgressors of nature's law [47],

[42] T. C. l. ii. p. 81. "And to come yet nearer, "where he disputeth against the wearing of crown "or garland, (which is indifferent of itself,) to those "which objecting asked, where the Scripture saith "that a man might not wear a crown, he answereth "by asking, where the Scripture saith that they "may wear. And unto them replying that 'it is "permitted which is not forbidden,' he answereth "that 'it is forbidden which is not permitted.' "Whereby appeareth that the argument of the Scrip- "tures negatively holdeth not only in the doctrine "and ecclesiastical discipline, but even in matters "arbitrary, and variable by the advice of the "Church. Where it is not enough that they be "not forbidden, unless there be some word which "doth permit the use of them; it is not enough "that the Scripture speaketh not against them, "unless it speak for them; and finally, where it "displeaseth the Lord which pleaseth him not: "we [one] must of necessity have the word of his "mouth to declare his pleasure."

[43] [Caracalla.]

[44] Tert. de Coron. Milit. c. 1. ["Dei miles cæ- "teris constantior fratribus, qui se duobus domin- "is servire non posse præsumpserat, solus libero "capite, coronamento in manu otioso." The reading before Pamelius was "servire posse præsump- "serant."]

[45] ["Plane superest ut etiam martyria recusare "meditentur, qui prophetias ejusdem Sp. Sancti "respuerunt. Mussitant denique tam bonam et "longam sibi pacem periclitari. Nec dubito quos- "dam Scripturas emigrare, sarcinas expedire, fu- "gæ accingi de civitate in civitatem. Nullam "enim aliam Evangelii memoriam curant. Novi "et pastores eorum in pace leones, in prælio cer- "vos." p. 205.]

[46] ["Quatenus illud opponunt, Ubi autem pro- "hibemur coronari? hanc magis localem substan- "tiam causæ præsentis aggrediar." ibid.]

[47] [Ibid. c. 5. "In capite quis sapor floris? quis "coronæ sensus, nisi vinculi tantum? quia neque "color cernitur, neque odor ducitur, nec teneritas "commendatur. Tam contra naturam est florem "capite sectari, quam cibum aure, quam sonum "nare. Omne autem quod contra naturam est "monstri meretur notam penes omnes, penes nos

and guilty of sacrilege against God the Lord of nature, inasmuch as flowers in such sort worn can neither be smelt nor seen well by those that wear them; and God made flowers sweet and beautiful, that being seen and smelt unto they might so delight. Neither doth Tertullian bewray this weakness in striking only, but also in repelling their strokes with whom he contendeth. They ask, saith he, "What Scripture is "there which doth teach that we should "not be crowned? And what Scripture "is there which doth teach that we should? "For in requiring on the contrary part the "aid of Scripture, they do give sentence "beforehand that their part ought also by "Scripture to be aided [48]." Which answer is of no great force. There is no necessity, that if I confess I ought not to do that which the Scripture forbiddeth me, I should thereby acknowledge myself bound to do nothing which the Scripture commandeth me not. For many inducements besides Scripture may lead me to that, which if Scripture be against, they all give place and are of no value, yet otherwise are strong and effectual to persuade.

Which thing himself well enough understanding, and being not ignorant that Scripture in many things doth neither command nor forbid, but use silence; his resolution in fine is, that in the church a number of things are strictly observed, whereof no law of Scripture maketh mention one way or other [49]; that of things once received and confirmed by use long usage is a law sufficient; that in civil affairs, when there is no other law, custom itself doth stand for law [50]; that inasmuch as law doth stand upon reason, to allege reason serveth as well as to cite Scripture [51]; that whatsoever is reasonable, the same is lawful whosoever is author of it; that the authority of custom is great [52]; finally, that the custom of Christians was then and had been a long time not to wear garlands, and therefore that undoubtedly they did offend who presumed to violate such a custom by not observing that thing, the very inveterate observation whereof was a law sufficient to bind all men to observe it, unless they could shew some higher law, some law of Scripture to the contrary [53]. This presupposed, it may stand then very well with strength and soundness of reason, even thus to answer, "Whereas they ask "what Scripture forbiddeth them to wear a "garland; we are in this case rather to de-"mand what Scripture commandeth them. "They cannot here allege that it is permit-"ted which is not forbidden them: no, that "is forbidden them which is not permitted." For long-received custom forbidding them to do as they did, (if so be it did forbid them,) there was no excuse in the world to justify their act, unless in the Scripture they could shew some law, that did license them thus to break a received custom.

Now whereas in all the books of Tertullian besides there is not so much found as in that one, to prove not only that we may do but that we ought to do sundry things which the Scripture commandeth not; out of that very book these sentences are brought to make us believe that Tertullian was of a clean contrary mind. We cannot therefore hereupon yield; we cannot grant, that hereby is made manifest the argument of Scripture negatively to be of force, not only in doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline, but even in matters arbitrary. For Tertullian doth plainly hold even in that book, that neither the matter which he entreateth of was arbitrary but necessary, inasmuch as the re-

"vero etiam elogium sacrilegii, in Deum naturæ "Dominum et auctorem."]

[48] [Ibid. c. 2. "Facile est statim exigere, ubi "scriptum sit, ne coronemur? At enim ubi scrip-"tum est, ut coronemur? Expostulantes enim "Scripturæ patrocinium in parte diversa, præjudi-"cant suæ quoque parti Scripturæ patrocinium ad-"esse debere. Nam si ideo dicetur coronari licere, "quia non prohibeat Scriptura, æque retorquebitur "ideo coronari non licere, quia Scriptura non ju-"beat."]

[49] [Ibid. c. 3. "Etiam in traditionis obtentu "exigenda est, inquis, auctoritas scripta. Ergo "quæramus an et traditio non scripta non debeat "recipi? Plane negabimus recipiendam, si nulla "exempla præjudicent aliarum observationum, "quas sine ullius Scripturæ instrumento, solius "traditionis titulo, exinde consuetudinis patrocinio "vindicamus." He then instances in the customs of interrogatories in baptism, of trine immersion, and several other Church usages.]

[50] [Ibid. c. 4. "His igitur exemplis renuncia-"tum erit, posse etiam non scriptam traditionem "in observatione defendi, confirmatam consuetu-"dine .... Consuetudo autem etiam in civilibus "rebus pro lege suscipitur, cum deficit lex."]

[51] [Ibid. "Nec differt, Scriptura an ratione con-"sistat, quando et legem ratio commendet. Porro "si lex ratione constat, lex erit omne quod jam ra-"tione constiterit *a quocunque productum.*"]

[52] [Ibid. "Hanc (rationem divinam) nunc ex-"postula, salvo traditionis respectu, *quocunque* "*traditore censetur:* nec auctorem respicias, sed "auctoritatem: et inprimis consuetudinis ipsius, "quæ propterea colenda est, ne non sit rationis in-"terpres, ut si hanc Deus dederit, tunc discas, "curnam observanda sit tibi consuetudo."]

[53] [Ibid. c. 2. "Neminem dico fidelium coron-"am capite nosse alias, extra tempus tentationis "ejusmodi. Omnes ita observant a catechumenis "usque ad confessores et martyres, vel negatores. "Viderint, unde auctoritas moris, de qua cum "maxime quæritur. Porro cum quæritur cur quid "observetur, observari interim constat. Ergo nec "nullum nec incertum videri potest delictum, quod "committitur in observationem suo jam nomine "vindicandam, et satis auctoratam consensus pa-"trocinio." and c. 3. "Habentes observationem "inveteratam, quæ præveniendo statum facit."]

ceived custom of the Church did tie and bind them not to wear garlands as the heathens did; yea, and further also he reckoneth up particularly a number of things, whereof he expressly concludeth, "Harum "et aliarum ejusmodi disciplinarum si legem "expostules Scripturarum, nullam inve-"nies[54];" which is as much as if he had said in express words, "Many things there "are which concern the discipline of the "Church and the duties of men, which to "abrogate and take away the Scripture "negatively urged may not in any case "persuade us, but they must be observed, "yea, although no Scripture be found "which requireth any such thing." Tertullian therefore undoubtedly doth not in this book shew himself to be of the same mind with them by whom his name is pretended.

The first assertion endavoured to be confirmed by the Scripture's custom of disputing from divine authority negatively.

VI.[55] But sith the sacred Scriptures themselves afford oftentimes such arguments as are taken from divine authority both one way and other; "The Lord hath commanded, "therefore it must be;" and again in like sort, "He hath "not, therefore it must not be;" some certainty concerning this point seemeth requisite to be set down.

God himself can neither possibly err, nor lead into error. For this cause his testimonies, whatsoever he affirmeth, are always truth and most infallible certainty[56].

Yea further, because the things that proceed from him are perfect without any manner of defect or maim; it cannot be but that the words of his mouth are absolute, and lack nothing which they should have for performance of that thing whereunto they tend. Whereupon it followeth, that the end being known whereunto he directeth his speech, the argument even negatively is evermore strong and forcible concerning those things that are apparently requisite unto the same end. As for example: God intending to set down sundry times that which in Angels is most excellent, hath not any where spoken so highly of them as he hath of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; therefore they are not in dignity equal unto him. It is the Apostle St. Paul's argument[57].

[2.] The purpose of God was to teach his people, both unto whom they should offer sacrifice, and what sacrifice was to be offered. To burn their sons in fire unto Baal he did not command them, he spake no such thing, neither came it into his mind; therefore this they ought not to have done. Which argument the Prophet Jeremy useth more than once, as being so effectual and strong, that although the thing he reproveth were not only not commanded but forbidden them[58], and that expressly; yet the Prophet chooseth rather to charge them with the fault of making a law unto themselves, than with the crime of transgressing a law which God hath made[59]. For when the Lord hath once himself precisely set down a form of executing that wherein we are to serve him; the fault appeareth greater to do that which we are not, than not to do that which we are commanded. In this we seem to charge the law of God with hardness only, in that with foolishness; in this we shew ourselves weak and unapt to be doers of his will, in that we take upon us to be controllers of his wisdom; in this we fail to perform the thing which God seeth meet, convenient, and good, in that we presume to see what is meet and convenient better than God himself. In those actions therefore the whole form whereof God hath of purpose set down to be observed, we may not otherwise do than exactly as he hath prescribed; in such things negative arguments are strong.

[3.] Again, with a negative argument David is pressed concerning the purpose

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54 Ibid. c. 4.

55 T. C. l. ii. p. 48. "It is not hard to shew "that the Prophets have reasoned negatively. As "when in the person of the Lord the Prophet saith, "*Whereof I have not spoken*, Jer. xix. 5. *And* "*which never entered into my heart*, Jer. vii. 31. "And where he condemneth them because they "have not asked counsel at the mouth of the Lord, "Isai. xxx. 2. And it may be shewed that the "same kind of argument hath been used in things "which are not of the substance of salvation or "damnation, and whereof there was no command-"ment to the contrary, (as in the former there was. "Levit. xviii. 21; and xx. 3; Deut. xvii. 16.) In "Joshua the children of Israel are charged by the "Prophet that they asked not counsel at the mouth "of the Lord, when they entered into covenant "with the Gibeonites, Joshua ix. 14. And yet "that covenant was not made contrary unto any "commandment of God. Moreover, we read that "when David had taken this counsel, to build a "temple unto the Lord, albeit the Lord had re-"vealed before in his word that there should be "such a standing-place, where the ark of the cove-"nant and the service should have a certain abid-"ing; and albeit there was no word of God which "forbade David to build the temple; yet the Lord "(with commendation of his good affection and "zeal he had to the advancement of his glory) con-"cludeth against David's resolution to build the "temple with this reason, namely, that he had giv-"en no commandment of this who should build it. "1 Chron. xvii. 6." [The first part of this extract, from "It is not hard" to "Isai. xxx. 2" is from T. C. i. 13, 14. The parenthesis ("As in the former..... "Deut. xvii. 16.") seems to be a note of Hooker's. The latter part from "Moreover" is from T. C. ii. 49.]

56 [1 John i. 5. "God is light, and there is in "him no darkness at all." Heb. vi. 18. "It is im-"possible that God should lie." Numb. xxiii. 19. "God is not as man that he should lie."]

57 [Heb. i. 5—13; ii. 5—8.]

58 Levit. xviii. 21; xx. 3; Deut. xviii. 10.

59 [See Whitgift. Defence, &c. p. 78.]

he had to build a temple unto the Lord; "Thus saith the Lord, Thou shalt not build "me a house to dwell in. Wheresoever I "have walked with all Israel, spake I one "word to any of the judges of Israel, whom "I commanded to feed my people, saying, "Why have ye not built me an house [60]?" The Jews urged with a negative argument touching the aid which they sought at the hands of the King of Egypt; "Woe to "those rebellious children, saith the Lord, "which walk forth to go down into Egypt, "and have not asked counsel at my mouth; "to strengthen themselves with the strength "of Pharaoh [61]." Finally, the league of Joshua with the Gibeonites is likewise with a negative argument touched. It was not as it should be: and why? the Lord gave them not that advice; "They sought not counsel at the mouth of the Lord [62]."

By the virtue of which examples if any man shall suppose the force of negative arguments approved, when they are taken from Scripture in such sort as we in this question are pressed therewith, they greatly deceive themselves. For unto which of all these was it said that they had done amiss, in purposing to do or in doing any thing at all which "the Scripture" commanded them not? Our question is, Whether all be sin which is done without direction by Scripture, and not, Whether the Israelites did at any time amiss by following their own minds without asking counsel of God. No, it was that people's singular privilege, a favour which God vouchsafed them above the rest of the world, that in the affairs of their estate which were not determinable one way or other by the Scripture, himself gave them extraordinarily direction and counsel as oft as they sought it at his hands. Thus God did first by speech unto Moses, after by Urim and Thummim unto priests, lastly by dreams and visions unto prophets, from whom in such cases they were to receive the answer of God.

Concerning Joshua therefore, thus spake the Lord unto Moses, saying, "He shall "stand before Eleazar the priest, who shall "ask counsel for him by the judgment of "Urim before the Lord [63]; whereof had Joshua been mindful, the fraud of the Gibeonites could not so smoothly have passed unespied till there was no help.

The Jews had prophets to have resolved them from the mouth of God himself whether Egyptian aids should profit them, yea or no; but they thought themselves wise enough, and him unworthy to be of their counsel. In this respect therefore was their reproof though sharp yet just, albeit there had been no charge precisely given them that they should always take heed of Egypt.

[60] 1 Chron. xvii. 6.
[61] Isaiah xxx. 1, 2.
[62] Josh. ix. 14.
[63] Numb. xxvii. 21.

But as for David, to think that he did evil in determining to build God a temple, because there was in Scripture no commandment that he should build it, were very injurious: the purpose of his heart was religious and godly, the act most worthy of honour and renown: neither could Nathan choose but admire his virtuous intent, exhort him to go forward, and beseech God to prosper him therein [64]. But God saw the endless troubles which David should be subject unto during the whole time of his regiment, and therefore gave charge to defer so good a work till the days of tranquillity and peace, wherein it might without interruption be performed. David supposed that it could not stand with the duty which he owed unto God, to set himself in a house of cedar-trees, and to behold the ark of the Lord's covenant unsettled. This opinion the Lord abateth, by causing Nathan to shew him plainly, that it should be no more imputed unto him for a fault than it had been unto the Judges of Israel before him, his case being the same which theirs was, their times not more unquiet than his, not more unfit for such an action

Wherefore concerning the force of negative arguments so taken from the authority of Scripture as by us they are denied, there is in all this less than nothing.

[4.] And touching that which unto this purpose is borrowed from the controversy sometime handled between M. Harding [65] and the worthiest divine that Christendom hath bred for the space of some hundreds of years [66], who being brought up together

[64] 1 Chron. xvii. 2.

[65] T. C. l. ii. p. 50. "M. Harding reproacheth "the Bishop of Salisbury with this kind of reason- "ing; unto whom the Bishop answereth, 'The "argument of authority negatively is taken to be "good, whensoever proof is taken of God's word; "and is used not only by us, but also by many of "the Catholic Fathers.' A little after he sheweth "the reason why the argument of authority of the "Scripture negatively is good; namely, 'For that "the word of God is perfect.' In another place unto "M. Harding casting him in the teeth with nega- "tive arguments, he allegeth places out of Irenæ- "us, Chrysostom, Leo, which reasoned negatively "of the authority of the Scriptures. The places "which he allegeth be very full and plain in gene- "rality, without any such restraints as the an- "swerer imagineth: as they are there to be seen."

[66] [Vaghan in his life of Dr. Thos. Jackson, prefixed to his (Jackson's) works, p. 8, says of him, "I shall willingly associate him to those other "worthies, his predecessors in the same college, "(all living at the same time:) to the invaluable "Bishop Jewel, *Theologorum quos orbis Christi- "anus per aliquot annorum centenarios produxit "maximo:* as grave Bishop Goodwin hath de- "scribed him. To the famous Mr. Hooker, who "for his solid writings was sirnamed, The Judi- "cious, and entitled by the same, *Theologorum Ox- "onium;* 'The Oxford of Divines:' as one calls

in one University [67], it fell out in them which was spoken of two others, "They "learned in the same that which in contrary "camps they did practice [68]:" of these two the one objecting that with us arguments taken from authority negatively are over common, the Bishop's answer hereunto is, that "[69] This kind of argument is thought "to be good, whensoever proof is taken of "God's word; and is used not only by us, "but also by St. Paul, and by many of the "Catholic Fathers. St. Paul saith, God "said not unto Abraham, 'In thy seeds all "the nations of the earth shall be blessed:' "but, 'In thy seed, which is Christ;' and "thereof he thought he made a good argu- "ment [70]. Likewise, saith Origen, 'The "bread which the Lord gave unto his dis- "ciples, saying unto them, Take and eat, "he deferred not, nor commanded to be re- "served till the next day [71].' Such argu- "ments Origen and other learned Fathers "thought to stand for good, whatsoever "misliking Master Harding hath found in "them. This kind of proof is thought to "hold in God's commandments, for that "they be full and perfect: and God hath "specially charged us, that we should nei- "ther put to them nor take from them; and "therefore it seemeth good unto them that "have learned of Christ, *Unus est magister* "*vester, Christus* [72], and have heard the "voice of God the Father from heaven, "*Ipsum audite* [73]. But unto them that add "to the word of God what them listeth, and "make God's will subject unto their will, "and break God's commandments for their "own tradition's sake, unto them it seem- "eth not good."

Again, the English Apology alleging the example of the Greeks, how they have neither private masses, nor mangled sacraments, nor purgatories, nor pardons; it pleaseth Master Harding to jest out the matter, to use the help of his wits where strength of truth failed him, and to answer with scoffing at negatives. The Bishop's defence in this case is [74], "The ancient "learned Fathers having to deal with im- "pudent heretics, that in defence of their "errors avouched the judgment of all the "old bishops and doctors that had been be- "fore them, and the general consent of the "primitive and whole universal Church, "and that with as good regard of truth and "as faithfully as you do now; the better to "discover the shameless boldness and na- "kedness of their doctrine, were oftentimes "likewise forced to use the negative, and so "to drive the same heretics, as we do you, "to prove their affirmatives, which thing to "do it was never possible. The ancient "father Irenæus thus stayed himself, as we "do, by the negative [75], 'Hoc neque Proph- "etæ prædicaverunt, neque Dominus do- "cuit, neque Apostoli tradiderunt;' 'This "thing neither did the Prophets publish, "nor our Lord teach, nor the Apostles de- "liver.' By a like negative Chrysostom "saith [76], 'This tree neither Paul planted, "nor Apollos watered, nor God increased.' "In like sort Leo saith [77], 'What needeth it "to believe that thing that neither the Law "hath taught, nor the Prophets have spo- "ken, nor the Gospel hath preached, nor "the Apostles have delivered?' And "again [78], 'How are the new devices "brought in that our Fathers never knew?' "St. Augustine, having reckoned up a "great number of the Bishops of Rome, by "a general negative saith thus [79]; 'In all "this order of succession of bishops there is "not one bishop found that was a Donatist.' "St. Gregory being himself a Bishop of "Rome, and writing against the title of "*Universal Bishop*, saith thus [80], 'None of "all my predecessors ever consented to use "this ungodly title; no Bishop of Rome "ever took upon him this name of singular- "ity.' By such negatives, M. Harding, we

"Athens, 'The Greece of Greece itself.' To the "learned Dr. Reinolds, who managed the govern- "ment of the same college with the like care, hon- "or and integrity, although not with the same aus- "terities" as Dr. Jackson. Bishop Goodwin bor- rowed the expression referred to (De Præsul. Angl. p. 354, ed. 1743,) from Hooker; and adds con- cerning him, that he was "*a magno Theologo* "*Literarum Oxonium appellatus.*"]

[67] [According to Camden, they were bred in the same grammar school also. "Out of this town's "school" (he is speaking of Barnstaple) "there "issued two right learned men and most renowned "divines, John Jewell Bishop of Sarisbury, and T. "Hardinge." Britannia transl. by Holland, p. 208.

[68] Vell. Paterc. "Jugurtha ac Marius sub eodem "Africano militantes, in iisdem castris didicere "quæ postea in contrariis facerent." [l. ii. c. 9.]

[69] [Reply to M. Harding's Answer.] Art. i. Divis. 29. [p. 51, ed. 1611.]

[70] Gal. iii. 16.

[71] Orig. in Levit. Hom. 5. [t. ii. 211. ed. Bened.]

[72] Matt. xxiii. 8. 10. [73] Matt. xvii. 5.

[74] Defens. par. v. cap. 15, divis. 1.

[75] Lib. i. cap. 1.

[76] De incomp. nat. Dei, Hom. 3. t. vi. 403. ["Hanc arborem non Paulus plantavit, non Apol- "los rigavit, non Deus auxit."]

[77] Epist. xciii. c. 12. [p. 167, ed. Paris, 1639. "Quid opus est in cor admittere quod lex non "docuit, quod prophetia non cecinit, quod Evangelii "veritas non prædicavit, quod Apostolica doctrina "non tradidit?"]

[78] Epist. xcvii. c. 5. ["Quomodo.....nova in- "ducuntur, quæ nostri nunquam sensere majo- "res?" Quoted by S. Leo from S. Ambrose, de Incarn. Dom. c. 6.]

[79] Epist. clxv. [al. 53. t. ii. 121. "In hoc ordine "successionis nullus Donatista episcopus inveni- "tur."]

[80] Lib. iv. Ep. 32. ["Nemo decessorum meorum "hoc tam profano vocabulo uti consensit: nullus "Romanorum Pontificum hoc singularitatis nomen "assumpsit."]

"reprove the vanity and novelty of your religion; we tell you, none of the catholic ancient learned Fathers either Greek or Latin, ever used either your private mass, or your half communion, or your barbarous unknown prayers. Paul never planted them, Apollos never watered them, God never increased them; they are of yourselves, they are not of God."

In all this there is not a syllable which any way crosseth us. For concerning arguments negative even taken from human authority, they are here proved to be in some cases very strong and forcible. They are not in our estimation idle reproofs, when the authors of needless innovations are opposed with such negatives as that of Leo, "How are these new devices brought in which our Fathers never knew?" When their grave and reverend superiors do reckon up unto them as Augustine did unto the Donatists, large catalogues of Fathers wondered at for their wisdom, piety, and learning [81], amongst whom for so many ages before us no one did ever so think of the Church's affairs as now the world doth begin to be persuaded; surely by us they are not taught to take exception hereat, because such arguments are negative. Much less when the like are taken from the sacred authority of Scripture, if the matter itself do bear them. For in truth the question is not, whether an argument from Scripture negatively may be good, but whether it be so generally good, that in all actions men may urge it. The Fathers I grant do use very general and large terms, even as Hiero the king did in speaking of Archimedes. "From henceforward whatsoever Archimedes speaketh, it must be believed [82]." His meaning was not that Archimedes could simply in nothing be deceived, but that he had in such sort approved his skill, that he seemed worthy of credit for ever after in matters appertaining unto the science he was skilful in. In speaking thus largely it is presumed that men's speeches will be taken according to the matter whereof they speak. Let any man therefore that carrieth indifferency of judgment peruse the bishop's speeches, and consider well of those negatives concerning Scripture, which he produceth out of Irenæus, Chrysostom, and Leo [83]; which three are chosen from among the residue, because the sentences of the others (even as one of theirs also) do make for defence of negative arguments taken from human authority, and not from divine only. They mention no more restraint in the one than in the other; yet I think themselves will not hereby judge, that the Fathers took both to be strong, without restraint unto any special kind of matter wherein they held such arguments forcible. Nor doth the Bishop either say or prove any more, than that an argument in some kinds of matter may be good, although taken negatively from Scripture.

VII. An earnest desire to draw all things unto the determination of bare and naked Scripture hath caused here much pains to be taken in abating the estimation and credit of man. Which if we labour to maintain as far as truth and reason will bear, let not any think that we travel about a matter not greatly needful. For the scope of all their pleading against man's authority is, to overthrow such orders, laws, and constitutions in the Church, as depending thereupon if they should therefore be taken away, would peradventure leave neither face nor memory of Church to continue long in the world, the world especially being such as now it is. That which they have in this case spoken I would for brevity's sake let pass, but that the drift of their

Their opinion concerning the force of arguments taken from human authority for the ordering of men's actions or persuasions.

[81] [S. Aug. Ep. 53. (al. 165.) §. 2. "Si ordo episcoporum sibi succedentium considerandus est, quanto certius et vere salubriter ab ipso Petro numeramus, cui totius Ecclesiæ figuram gerenti Dominus ait, 'Super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, et portæ inferorum non vincent eam.' Petro enim successit Linus; Lino, Clemens; Clementi, Anacletus; Anacleto, Evaristus; Evaristo, Alexander; Alexandro, Sixtus; Sixto, Telesphorus; Telesphoro, Iginus; Igino, Anicetus; Aniceto, Pius; Pio, Soter; Soteri, Eleutherius; Eleutherio, Victor; Victori, Zephirinus; Zephirino, Calixtus; Calixto, Urbanus; Urbano, Pontianus; Pontiano, Antherus; Anthero, Fabianus; Fabiano, Cornelius; Cornelio, Lucius; Lucio, Stephanus; Stephano, Xystus; Xysto, Dionysius; Dionysio, Felix; Felici, Eutychianus; Eutychiano, Gaius; Gaio, Marcellinus; Marcellino, Marcellus; Marcello, Eusebius; Eusebio, Miltiades; Miltiadi, Sylvester; Sylvestro, Marcus; Marco, Julius; Julio, Liberius; Liberio, Damasus; Damaso, Siricius; Siricio, Anastasius. In hoc ordine successionis nullus Donatista Episcopus invenitur."]

[82] [Proclus in Euclid. II. 3. Montucla, Hist. des Mathématiques, I. 230.]

[83] [S. Irenæus, I. 1. 15, (after a minute exposition of the Valentinian doctrine of Æons:) Τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς ὑποθεσέως αὐτῶν οὔσης, ἣν οὔτε Προφῆται ἐκήρυξαν, οὔτε ὁ Κύριος ἐδίδαξεν, οὔτε Ἀπόστολοι παρέδωκαν, ἣν περὶ τῶν ὅλων αὐχοῦσι πλεῖον τῶν ἄλλων ἐγνωκέναι, ἐξ ἀγράφων ἀναγινώσκοντες καὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, ἐξ ἄμμου σχοινία πλέκειν ἐπιτηδεύοντες· ἀξιοπίστως προσαρμόζειν πειρῶνται τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἤτοι παραβολὰς κυριακὰς, ἢ ῥήσεις προφητικὰς, ἢ λόγους Ἀποστολικοὺς, ἵνα τὸ πλάσμα αὐτῶν μὴ ἁμάρτυρον εἶναι δοκῇ.

S. Chrysostom, VI. p. 402, 3, (speaking of one of the most offensive modifications of Arianism;) Ἡ τῶν Ἀνομοίων ἐρημωθεῖσα ψυχὴ, καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν ἐπιμελείας οὐκ ἀπολαύσασα, οἰκοθεν καὶ παρ' ἑαυτῆς τὴν ἀγρίαν ταυτὴν καὶ ἀνήμερον ἐξέβρασεν αἵρεσιν· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ δένδρον οὐ Παῦλος ἐφύτευσεν, οὐκ Ἀπολλὼς ἐπότισεν, οὐχ ὁ Θεὸς ηὔξησεν· ἀλλ' ἐφύτευσε μὲν λογισμῶν ἄκαιρος περιεργία, ἐπότισε δὲ ἀπονοίας τύφος, ηὔξησε δὲ φιλοδοξίας ἔρως.

speech being so dangerous, their words are not to be neglected.

[2.] Wherefore to say that simply an argument taken from man's authority doth hold no way, "neither affirmatively nor "negatively[84]," is hard. By a man's authority we here understand the force which his word hath for the assurance of another's mind that buildeth upon it; as the Apostle somewhat did upon their report of the house of Chloe[85]; and the Samaritans in a matter of far greater moment upon the report of a simple woman. For so it is said in St. John's Gospel, "Many of the Samaritans "of that city believed in him for the saying "of the woman, which testified, He hath "told me all things that ever I did[86]."

The strength of man's authority is affirmatively such that the weightiest affairs in the world depend thereon. In judgment and justice are not hereupon proceedings grounded? Saith not the Law that "in "the mouth of two or three witnesses every "word shall be confirmed[87]." This the law of God would not say, if there were in a man's testimony no force at all to prove any thing.

And if it be admitted that in matter of fact there is some credit to be given to the testimony of man, but not in matter of opinion and judgment; we see the contrary both acknowledged and universally practised also throughout the world. The sentences of wise and expert men were never but highly esteemed. Let the title of a man's right be called in question: are we not bold to rely and build upon the judgment of such as are famous for their skill in the laws of this land? In matter of state the weight many times of some one man's authority is thought reason sufficient, even to sway over whole nations.

And this not only "with the simpler sort;" but the learneder and wiser we are, the more such arguments in some cases prevail with us. The reason why the simpler sort are moved with authority is the conscience of their own ignorance; whereby it cometh to pass that having learned men in admiration, they rather fear to dislike them than know wherefore they should allow and follow their judgments. Contrariwise with them that are skilful authority is much more strong and forcible; because they only are able to discern how just cause there is why to some men's authority so much should be attributed. For which cause the name of Hippocrates (no doubt) were more effectual to persuade even such men as Galen himself, than to move a silly empiric. So that the very selfsame argument in this kind which doth but induce the vulgar sort to like, may constrain the wiser to yield. And therefore not orators only with the people, but even the very profoundest disputers in all faculties have hereby often with the best learned prevailed most.

As for arguments taken from human authority and that negatively; for example sake, if we should think the assembling of the people of God together by the sound of a bell, the presenting of infants at the holy font by such as commonly we call their godfathers, or any other the like received custom, to be impious, because some men of whom we think very reverently have in their books and writings no where mentioned or taught that such things should be in the Church; this reasoning were subject unto just reproof, it were but feeble, weak, and unsound. Notwithstanding even negatively an argument from human authority may be strong, as namely thus: The Chronicles of England mention no more than only six kings bearing the name of Edward since the time of the last conquest; therefore it cannot be there should be more. So that if the question be of the authority of a man's testimony, we cannot simply avouch either that affirmatively it doth not any way hold; or that it hath only force to induce the simpler sort, and not to constrain men of understanding and ripe judgment to yield assent; or that negatively it hath in it no strength at all. For unto every of these the contrary is most plain.

[3.] Neither doth that which is alleged concerning the infirmity of men overthrow or disprove this. Men are blinded with ignorance and error; many things may escape them, and in many things they may be deceived; yea, those things which they do know they may either forget, or upon sundry indirect considerations let pass; and although themselves do not err, yet may they through malice or vanity even of purpose deceive others. Howbeit infinite cases there are wherein all these impediments and lets are so manifestly excluded, that there is no show or colour whereby any such exception may be taken, but that the testimony of man will stand as a ground of infallible assurance. That there is a city of Rome, that Pius Quintus and Gregory the Thirteenth and others have been Popes of Rome,

[84] T. C. lib. i. p. 25. [13.] "When the question "is of the authority of a man, it holdeth neither "affirmatively nor negatively. The reason is, be- "cause the infirmity of man can neither attain to "the perfection of any thing whereby he might "speak all things that are to be spoken of it, neither "yet be free from error in those things which he "speaketh or giveth out. And therefore this argu- "ment neither affirmatively nor negatively com- "pelleth the hearer, but only inducеth him to some "liking or disliking of that for which it is brought, "and is rather for an orator to persuade the simp- "ler sort than for a disputer to enforce him that is "learned."

[85] 1 Cor. i. 11.

[86] John iv. 39.

[87] Deut. xix. 15; Matt. xviii. 16.

I suppose we are certainly enough persuaded. The ground of our persuasion, who never saw the place nor persons beforenamed, can be nothing but man's testimony. Will any man here notwithstanding allege those mentioned human infirmities, as reasons why these things should be mistrusted or doubted of?

Yea, that which is more, utterly to infringe the force and strength of man's testimony were to shake the very fortress of God's truth. For whatsoever we believe concerning salvation by Christ, although the Scripture be therein the ground of our belief; yet the authority of man is, if we mark it, the key which openeth the door of entrance into the knowledge of the Scripture. The Scripture could not teach us the things that are of God, unless we did credit men who have taught us that the words of Scripture do signify those things. Some way therefore, notwithstanding man's infirmity, yet his authority may enforce assent.

[4.] Upon better advice and deliberation so much is perceived, and at the length confest; that arguments taken from the authority of men may not only so far forth as hath been declared but further also be of some force in "human sciences;" which force be it never so small, doth shew that they are not utterly naught. But in "matters divine" it is still maintained stiffly, that they have no manner force at all[88]. Howbeit, the very selfsame reason, which causeth to yield that they are of some force in the one, will at the length constrain also to acknowledge that they are not in the other altogether unforcible. For if the natural strength of man's wit may by experience and study attain unto such ripeness in the knowledge of things human, that men in this respect may presume to build somewhat upon their judgment; what reason have we to think but that even in matters divine, the like wits furnished with necessary help, exercised in Scripture with like diligence, and assisted with the grace of Almighty God, may grow unto so much perfection of knowledge, that men shall have just cause, when any thing pertinent unto faith and religion is doubted of, the more willingly to incline their minds towards that which the sentence of so grave, wise, and learned in that faculty shall judge most sound? For the controversy is of the weight of such men's judgments. Let it therefore be suspected; let it be taken as gross, corrupt, repugnant unto the truth, whatsoever concerning things divine above nature shall at any time be spoken as out of the mouths of mere natural men, which have not the eyes wherewith heavenly things are discerned. For this we contend not. But whom God hath endued with principal gifts to aspire unto knowledge by; whose exercises, labours, and divine studies he hath so blessed that the world for their great and rare skill that way hath them in singular admiration; may we reject even their judgment likewise, as being utterly of no moment? For mine own part, I dare not so lightly esteem of the Church, and of the principal pillars therein.

[5.] The truth is, that the mind of man desireth evermore to know the truth according to the most infallible certainty which the nature of things can yield. The greatest assurance generally with all men is that which we have by plain aspect and intuitive beholding. Where we cannot attain unto this, there what appeareth to be true by strong and invincible demonstration, such as wherein it is not by any way possible to be deceived, thereunto the mind doth necessarily assent, neither is it in the choice thereof to do otherwise. And in case these both do fail, then which way greatest probability leadeth, thither the mind doth evermore incline. Scripture with Christian men being received as the Word of God; that for which we have probable, yea, that which we have necessary reason for, yea, that which we see with our eyes, is not thought so sure as that which the Scripture of God teacheth; because we hold that his speech revealeth there what himself seeth, and therefore the strongest proof of all, and the most necessarily assented unto by us (which do thus receive the Scripture) is the Scripture. Now it is not required nor can be exacted at our hands, that we should yield unto any thing other assent, than such as doth answer the evidence which is to be had of that we assent unto. For which cause even in matters divne, concerning some things we may lawfully doubt and

[88] T. C. lib. ii. p. 19. "Although that kind of "argument of authority of men is good neither "in human nor divine sciences; yet it hath some "small force in human sciences, (forasmuch as "naturally, and in that he is a man, he may come "to some ripeness of judgment in those sciences,) "which in divine matters hath no force at all: as "of him which naturally, and as he is a man, can "no more judge of them than a blind man of "colours. Yea so far is it from drawing credit, if "it be barely spoken without reason and testimo-"ny of Scripture, that it carrieth also a suspicion "of untruth whatsoever proceedeth from him; "which the Apostle did well note, when, to signi-"fy a thing corruptly spoken, and against the "truth, he saith, that 'it is spoken according to "man,' Rom. iii. He saith not, 'as a wicked and "lying man,' but simply 'as a man.' And al-"though this corruption be reformed in many, yet "for so much as in whom the knowledge of the "truth is most advanced there remaineth both ig-"norance and disordered affections (whereof ei-"ther of them turneth him from speaking of the "truth), no man's authority, with the Church es-"pecially and those that are called and persuaded "of the authority of the Word of God, can bring "any assurauce unto the conscience."

suspend our judgment, inclining neither to one side nor other; as namely touching the time of the fall both of man and angels: of some things we may very well retain an opinion that they are probable and not unlikely to be true, as when we hold that men have their souls rather by creation than propagation, or that the Mother of our Lord lived always in the state of virginity as well after his birth as before (for of these two the one, her virginity before, is a thing which of necessity we must believe; the other, her continuance in the same state always, hath more likelihood of truth than the contrary); finally in all things then are our consciences best resolved, and in a most agreeable sort unto God and nature settled, when they are so far persuaded as those grounds of persuasion which are to be had will bear.

Which thing I do so much the rather set down, for that I see how a number of souls are for want of right information in this point oftentimes grievously vexed. When bare and unbuilded conclusions are put into their minds, they finding not themselves to have thereof any great certainty, imagine that this proceedeth only from lack of faith, and that the Spirit of God doth not work in them as it doth in true believers; by this means their hearts are much troubled, they fall into anguish and perplexity: whereas the truth is, that how bold and confident soever we may be in words, when it cometh to the point of trial, such as the evidence is which the truth hath either in itself or through proof, such is the heart's assent thereunto; neither can it be stronger, being grounded as it should be.

I grant that proof derived from the authority of man's judgment is not able to work that assurance which doth grow by a stronger proof; and therefore although ten thousand general councils would set down one and the same definitive sentence concerning any point of religion whatsoever, yet one demonstrative reason alleged, or one manifest testimony cited from the mouth of God himself to the contrary, could not choose but overweigh them all; inasmuch as for them to have been deceived it is not impossible: it is, that demonstrative reason or testimony divine should deceive. Howbeit in defect of proof infallible, because the mind doth rather follow probable persuasions than approve the things that have in them no likelihood of truth at all; surely if a question concerning matter of doctrine were proposed, and on the one side no kind of proof appearing, there should on the other be alleged and shewed that so a number of the learnedest divines in the world have ever thought; although it did not appear what reason or what Scripture led them to be of that judgment, yet to their very bare judgment somewhat a reasonable man would attribute, notwithstanding the common imbecilities which are incident into our nature.

[6.] And whereas it is thought, that especially with "the Church, and those that "are called and persuaded of the authority "of the Word of God, man's authority" with them especially "should not prevail;" it must and doth prevail even with them, yea, with them especially, as far as equity requireth; and farther we maintain it not[89].

[89] T. C. lib. ii. p. 21. "Of divers sentences of "the Fathers themselves (whereby some have "likened them to brute beasts without reason which "suffer themselves to be led by the judgment and "authority of others, some have preferred the judg-"ment of one simple rude man alleging reason "unto companies of learned men) I will content "myself at this time with two or three sentences. "Irenæus saith, Whatsoever is to be shewed in "the Scripture cannot be shewed but out of the "Scriptures themselves. lib. iii. cap. 12. Jerome "saith, 'No man be he never so holy or eloquent "hath any authority after the Apostles:' in Ps. "lxxxvi. Augustine saith, 'That he will believe "none, how godly and learned soever he be, unless "he confirm his sentence by the Scriptures, or by "some reason not contrary to them. Ep. 18." [al. 82. t. ii. p. 190.] "And in another place, Hear "this, the Lord saith; Hear not this, Donatus "saith, Rogatus saith, Vincentius saith, Hilarius "saith, Ambrose saith, Augustine saith, but hearken "unto this, the Lord saith, Ep. 48," [al. 93. c. 6, Opp. t. ii. p. 239. It may be questioned whether this place is at all relevant to Cartwright's purpose. *Glorificatum est nomen meum in gentibus dicit Dominus.* Audi, *dicit Dominus*: non, dicit Donatus, aut Rogatus, aut Vincentius, aut Hilarius, aut Ambrosius, aut Augustinus; sed, *dicit Dominus;* cum legitur, *Et benedicentur in eo omnes tribus terræ.....Et replebitur gloria ejus omnis terra, fiat, fiat.* Et tu sedes Cartennis, et cum decem Rogatistis, qui remansistis, dicis, *Non fiat, non fiat.*] "And again, having to do with "an Arian, he affirmeth that neither he ought to "bring forth the Council of Nice, nor the other "the Council of Arimine, thereby to bring preju-"dice each to other; neither ought the Arian to "be holden by the authority of the one nor him-"self by the authority of the other, but by the "Scriptures, which are witnesses proper to neither "but common to both matter with matter, cause "with cause, reason with reason, ought to be de-"bated. Cont. Max. Arian. l. iii. c. 14." [al. lib. ii. c. 14. §. 3. t. viii. 704. Nec nunc ego Nicænum, nec tu debes Ariminense tanquam præjudicaturus proferre concilium. Nec ego hujus auctoritate, nec tu illius detineris. Scripturarum auctoritatibus, non quorumque propriis, sed utrisque communibus testibus, res cum re, causa cum causa, ratio cum ratione concertet.] "And in another place against "Petilian the Donatist he saith, Let not these "words be heard between us, I say, You say; let "us hear this, Thus saith the Lord. And by and "by speaking of the Scriptures he saith, There "let us seek the Church, there let us try the cause. "De Unit. Eccles. cap. 5." [cap. 2, 3. Inter nos et Donatistas quæstio est, ubi sit hoc corpus: i. e. ubi sit Ecclesia. Quid ergo facturi sumus? in verbis nostris eam quæsituri; an in verbis capitis

For men to be tied and led by authority, as it were with a kind of captivity of judgment, and though there be reason to the contrary not to listen unto it, but to follow like beasts the first in the herd, they know not, nor care not whither, this were brutish. Again, that authority of men should prevail with men either against or above Reason, is no part of our belief. "Companies of learned "men," be they never so great and reverend, are to yield unto Reason; the weight whereof is no whit prejudiced by the simplicity of his person which doth allege it, but being found to be sound and good, the bare opinion of men to the contrary must of necessity stoop and give place.

Irenæus [90], writing against Marcion which held one God author of the old Testament and another of the New, to prove that the Apostles preached the same God which was known before to the Jews, he copiously allegeth sundry their sermons and speeches uttered concerning that matter and recorded in Scripture. And lest any should be wearied with such store of allegations, in the end he concludeth, "While we labour "for these demonstrations out of Scripture, "and do summarily declare the things "which many ways have been spoken, be "contented quietly to hear, and do not "think my speech tedious: Quoniam ostensiones quæ sunt in Scripturis non possunt "ostendi nisi ex ipsis Scripturis; Because "demonstrations that are in Scripture may "not otherwise be shewed than by citing "them out of the Scriptures themselves "where they are." Which words make so little unto the purpose, that they seem as it were offended at him which hath called them thus solemnly forth to say nothing.

And concerning the verdict of Jerome [91]; if no man, be he never so well learned, have after the Apostles any authority to publish new doctrine as from heaven, and to require the world's assent as unto truth received by prophetical revelation; doth this prejudice the credit of learned men's judgment in opening that truth, which by being conversant in the Apostles' writings they have themselves from thence learned?

St. Augustine exhorteth not to hear men, but to hearken what God speaketh. His purpose is not (I think) that we should stop our ears against his own exhortation, and therefore he cannot mean simply that audience should altogether be denied unto men, but either that if men speak one thing and God himself teach another, then he not they to be obeyed; or if they both speak the same thing, yet then also man's speech unworthy of hearing, not simply, but in comparison of that which proceedeth from the mouth of God.

"Yea, but we doubt what the will of God "is." Are we in this case forbidden to hear what men of judgment think it to be? If not, then this allegation also might very well have been spared.

In that ancient strife which was between the catholic Fathers and Arians, Donatists, and others of like perverse and froward disposition, as long as to Fathers or councils alleged on the one side the like by the contrary side were opposed, impossible it was that ever the question should by this means grow unto any issue or end. The Scripture they both believed; the Scripture they knew could not give sentence on both sides; by Scripture the controversy between them was such as might be determined. In this case what madness was it with such kinds of proofs to nourish their contention, when there were such effectual means to end all controversy that was between them! Hereby therefore it doth not as yet appear, that an argument of authority of man affirmatively is in matters divine nothing worth.

Which opinion being once inserted into the minds of the vulgar sort, what it may grow unto God knoweth. Thus much we see, it hath already made thousands so headstrong even in gross and palpable errors, that a man whose capacity will scarce serve him to utter five words in sensible manner blusheth not in any doubt concerning matter of Scripture to think his own bare *Yea* as good as the *Nay* of all the wise, grave, and learned judgments that are in the whole world: which insolency must be repressed, or it will be the very bane of Christian religion.

[7.] Our Lord's disciples marking what speech he uttered unto them, and at the same time calling to mind a common opin-

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sui, Domini nostri Jesu Christi? Puto, quod in illius potius verbis eam quærere debemus, qui Veritas est, et optime novit corpus suum.....In verbis nostris Ecclesiam quæri nolumus.....c. 5. Non audiamus, "Hæc dicis, hoc dico," sed audiamus, "Hæc dicit Dominus." Sunt certe libri Dominici, quorum auctoritati utrique consentimus, utrique cedimus, utrique servimus: ibi quæramus Ecclesiam, ibi discutiamus causam nostram.] "Hereby "[here] it is manifest, that the argument of the "authority of man affirmatively is nothing worth."

[90] [P. 230. ed. Grabe. "Nobis autem conlaborantibus his ostensionibus quæ ex Scripturis sunt, 'et quæ multifarie dicta sunt breviter et compendiose annuntiantibus, et tu cum magnanimitate "attende eis, et non longiloquium puta; hoc intelligens; quoniam," &c.]

[91] [viii. 127. C. sup. Psalm. 86. v. 6. "'Dominus "narrabit in scriptura populorum et principum, "horum qui fuerunt in ea.' 'Principum:' hoc est, "Apostolorum et Evangelistarum. 'Horum qui "fuerunt in ea.' Videte quid dicat: 'Qui fuerunt,' "non 'qui sunt:' ut exceptis Apostolis, quodcunque aliud postea dicetur, abscindatur: non "habeat postea auctoritatem. Quamvis ergo sanctus sit aliquis post Apostolos, quamvis disertus "sit, non habet auctoritatem."]

ion held by the Scribes, between which opinion and the words of their Master it seemed unto them that there was some contradiction, which they could not themselves answer with full satisfaction of their own minds; the doubt they propose to our Saviour, saying, "Why then say the Scribes that Elias must first come [92]?" They knew that the Scribes did err greatly, and that many ways even in matters of their own profession. They notwithstanding thought the judgment of the very Scribes in matters divine to be of some value; some probability they thought there was that Elias should come, inasmuch as the Scribes said it. Now no truth can contradict any truth; desirous therefore they were to be taught how both might stand together; that which they knew could not be false, because Christ spake it; and this which to them did seem true, only because the Scribes had said it. For the Scripture, from whence the Scribes did gather it, was not then in their heads. We do not find that our Saviour reproved them of error for thinking the judgment of the Scribes to be worth the objecting, for esteeming it to be of any moment or value in matters concerning God.

[8.] We cannot therefore be persuaded that the will of God is, we should so far reject the authority of men as to reckon it nothing. No, it may be a question, whether they that urge us unto this be themselves so persuaded indeed [93]. Men do sometimes bewray that by deeds, which to confess they are hardly drawn. Mark then if this be not general with all men for the most part: when the judgments of learned men are alleged against them, what do they but either elevate their credit, or oppose unto them the judgments of others as learned? Which thing doth argue that all men acknowledge in them some force and weight, for which they are loath the cause they maintain should be so much weakened as their testimony is available. Again, what reason is there why alleging testimonies as proofs, men give them some title of credit, honour, and estimation, whom they allege, unless beforehand it be sufficiently known who they are; what reason hereof but only a common ingrafted persuasion, that in some men there may be found such qualities as are able to countervail those exceptions which might be taken against them, and that such men's authority is not lightly to be shaken off?

[9.] Shall I add further, that the force of arguments drawn from the authority of Scripture itself, as Scriptures commonly are alleged, shall (being sifted) be found to depend upon the strength of this so much despised and debased authority of man? Surely it doth, and that oftener than we are aware of. For although Scripture be of God, and therefore the proof which is taken from thence must needs be of all other most invincible; yet this strength it hath not, unless it avouch the selfsame thing for which it is brought. If there be either undeniable appearance that so it doth, or reason such as cannot deceive, then Scripture-proof (no doubt) in strength and value exceedeth all. But for the most part, even such as are readiest to cite for one thing five hundred sentences of holy Scripture; what warrant have they, that any one of them doth mean the thing for which it is alleged? Is not their surest ground most commonly, either some probable conjecture of their own, or the judgment of others taking those Scriptures as they do? Which notwithstanding to mean otherwise than they take them, it is not still altogether impossible. So that now and then they ground themselves on human authority, even when they most pretend divine. Thus it fareth even clean throughout the whole controversy about that discipline which is so earnestly urged and laboured for... Scriptures are plentifully alleged to prove that the whole Christian world for ever ought to embrace it. Hereupon men term it *The Discipline of God*. Howbeit examine, sift and resolve their alleged proofs, till you come to the very root from whence they spring, the heart wherein their strength lieth; and it shall clearly appear unto any man of judgment, that the most which can be inferred upon such plenty of divine testimonies is only this, That *some things* which they maintain, as far as *some men* can *probably conjecture*, do *seem* to have been out of Scripture *not absurdly* gathered. Is this a warrant sufficient for any man's conscience to build such proceedings upon, as have been and are put in use for the stablishment of that cause?

[10.] But to conclude, I would gladly understand how it cometh to pass, that they which so peremptorily do maintain that human authority is nothing worth are in the cause which they favour so careful to have the common sort of men persuaded, that the wisest the godliest and the best learned in all Christendom are that way given, seeing they judge this to make nothing in the world for them. Again how cometh it to

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[92] [S. Matt. xvii. 10.]

[93] Christ. Letter, p. 8. "We pray you to explane "your owne meaning, whether you thinke that "there be anie naturall light, teaching knowledge of "things necessarie to salvation, which knowledge "is not contayned in holy Scripture." Hooker MS. note. "They are matters of salvation I think which "you handle in this booke. If therefore determin- "able only by Scripture, why presse you me so of- "ten with humane authorities? Why alleage you "the Articles of Religion as the voice of the "Church against me? Why cite you so many "commentaries, bookes and sermons, partly of "Bishops partly of others?"]

pass they cannot abide that authority should be alleged on the other side, if there be no force at all in authorities on one side or other? Wherefore labour they to strip their adversaries of such furniture as doth not help? Why take they such needless pains to furnish also their own cause with the like? If it be void and to no purpose that the names of men are so frequent in their books, what did move them to bring them in, or doth to suffer them there remaining? Ignorant I am not how this is salved, "They do it not but after the truth "made manifest first by Reason or by "Scripture: they do it not but to control "the enemies of the truth, who bear themselves bold upon human authority making "not for them but against them rather [94]." Which answers are nothing: for in what place or upon what consideration soever it be they do it, were it in their own opinion of no force being done, they would undoubtedly refrain to do it.

A declaration what the truth is in this matter.

VIII. But to the end it may more plainly appear what we are to judge of their sentences, and of the cause itself wherein they are alleged; first, it may not well be denied, that all actions of men endued with the use of reason are generally either good or evil. For although it be granted that no action is properly termed good or evil unless it be voluntary; yet this can be no let to our former assertion, That all actions of men endued with the use of reason are generally either good or evil; because even those things are done voluntarily by us which other creatures do naturally, inasmuch as we might stay our doing of them if we would. Beasts naturally do take their food and rest when it offereth itself unto them. If men did so too, and could not do otherwise of themselves, there were no place for any such reproof as that of our Saviour Christ unto his disciples [95], "Could ye not "watch with me one hour?" That which is voluntarily performed in things tending to the end, if it be well done, must needs be done with deliberate consideration of some reasonable cause wherefore we rather should do it than not. Whereupon it seemeth, that in such actions only those are said to be good or evil which are capable of deliberation: so that many things being hourly done by men, wherein they need not use with themselves any manner of consultation at all, it may perhaps hereby seem that well or ill-doing belongeth only to our weightier affairs, and to those deeds which are of so great importance that they require advice. But thus to determine were perilous, and peradventure unsound also. I do rather incline to think, that seeing all the unforced actions of men are voluntary, and all voluntary actions tending to the end have choice, and all choice presupposeth the knowledge of some cause wherefore we make it: where the reasonable cause of such actions so readily offereth itself that it needeth not to be sought for; in those things though we do not deliberate, yet they are of their nature apt to be deliberated on, in regard of the will, which may incline either way, and would not any one way bend itself, if there were not some apparent motive to lead it. Deliberation actual we use, when there is doubt what we should incline our wills unto. Where no doubt is, deliberation is not excluded as impertinent unto the thing, but as needless in regard of the agent, which seeth already what to resolve upon. It hath no apparent absurdity therefore in it to think, that all actions of men endued with the use of reason are generally either good or evil.

[2.] Whatsoever is good, the same is also approved of God: and according unto the sundry degrees of goodness, the kinds of divine approbation are in like sort multiplied. Some things are good, yet in so mean a degree of goodness, that men are only not disproved nor disallowed of God for them. "No man hateth his own flesh [96]." "If ye "do good unto them that do so to you, the "very publicans themselves do as much [97]." "They are worse than infidels that have no "care to provide for their own [98]." In actions of this sort, the very light of Nature alone may discover that which is so far forth in the sight of God allowable.

[3.] Some things in such sort are allowed, that they be also required as necessary unto salvation, by way of direct, immediate and proper necessity final; so that without performance of them we cannot by ordinary course be saved, nor by any means be excluded from life observing them. In actions of this kind our chiefest direction is from Scripture, for Nature is no sufficient teacher what we should do that we may attain unto life everlasting. The unsufficiency of the light of Nature is by the light of Scripture so fully and so perfectly herein supplied, that further light than this hath added there doth not need unto that end.

[4.] Finally some things, although not so required of necessity that to leave them undone excludeth from salvation, are not-

[94] "If at any time it happened unto Augustine "(as it did against the Donatists and others) to "allege the authority of the ancient Fathers which "had been before him; yet this was not done be"fore he had laid a sure foundation of his cause "in the Scriptures, and that also being provoked "by the adversaries of the truth, who bare them"selves high of some council, or of some man of "name that had favoured that part." T. C. lib. ii. p. 22.

[95] Matt. xxvi. 40.

[96] Ephes. v. 29. [97] Matt. v. 46. [98] 1 Tim. v. 8.

withstanding of so great dignity and acceptation with God, that most ample reward in heaven is laid up for them. Hereof we have no commandment either in Nature or Scripture which doth exact them at our hands; yet those motives there are in both which draw most effectually our minds unto them. In this kind there is not the least action but it doth somewhat make to the accessory augmentation of our bliss. For which cause our Saviour doth plainly witness, that there shall not be as much as a cup of cold water bestowed for his sake without reward [99]. Hereupon dependeth whatsoever difference there is between the states of saints in glory; hither we refer whatsoever belongeth unto the highest perfection of man by way of service towards God; hereunto that fervour and first love of Christians did bend itself, causing them to sell their possessions, and lay down the price at the blessed Apostles' feet [1]. Hereat St. Paul undoubtedly did aim in so far abridging his own liberty, and exceeding that which the bond of necessary and enjoined duty tied him unto [2].

[5.] Wherefore seeing that in all these several kind of actions there can be nothing possibly evil which God approveth: and that he approveth much more than he doth command [3]; and that his very commandments in some kind, as namely his precepts comprehended in the law of nature, may be otherwise known than only by Scripture; and that to do them, howsoever we know them, must needs be acceptable in his sight [4]: let them with whom we have hitherto disputed consider well, how it can stand with reason to make the bare mandate of sacred Scripture the only rule of all good and evil in the actions of mortal men. The testimonies of God are true, the testimonies of God are perfect, the testimonies of God are all sufficient unto that end for which they were given. Therefore accordingly we do receive them, we do not think that in them God hath omitted any thing needful unto his purpose, and left his intent to be accomplished by our devisings. What the Scripture purposeth, the same in all points it doth perform.

Howbeit that here we swerve not in judgment, one thing especially we must observe, namely that the absolute perfection of Scripture is seen by relation unto that end whereto it tendeth. And even hereby it cometh to pass, that first such as imagine the general and main drift of the body of sacred Scripture not to be so large as it is, nor that God did thereby intend to deliver, as in truth he doth, a full instruction in all things unto salvation necessary, the knowledge whereof man by nature could not otherwise in this life attain unto: they are by this very mean induced either still to look for new revelations from heaven, or else dangerously to add to the word of God uncertain tradition, that so the doctrine of man's salvation may be complete; which doctrine we constantly hold in all respects without any such thing added to be so complete, that we utterly refuse as much as once to acquaint ourselves with any thing further. Whatsoever to make up the doc-

[99] Matt. x. 42.

[1] Acts iv. 34, 35.

[2] 1 Thess. ii. 7. 9.

[3] [Chr. Letter, p. 15. "Whether we may not "justly judge, that in thus speaking you sow the "seede of that doctrine which leadeth men to "those arrogant workes of supererogation."

Hooker, MS. note. "Did God command Paul "not to marry, or not to receive his daily maintenance from the Church? He refrained both "without commandment, but not without approbation from God. Yea, he himself doth counsell that which he doth not command, and they "that followed his counsell did well, although they "did it not by way of necessary obedience, but "of voluntarie choice.

"Was the sale of Ananias his land allowed in "God's sight? I hope you will graunt it was, sith "the Holy Ghost commendeth sundry others "which did the like. His purpose in selling was "good, but his fraud irreligious and wicked in "withholding the price which he pretended to give "whole. Yeat did not God command Ananias or "the rest to make any such sale. For then how "should Peter have said it was free for Ananias to "have reteined it in his handes? God did therefore approve what he did not command in that "action.

"Had not the Law as well free offerings, which "were approved, as necessary, which were commanded, of God?

"If I should ask, have you sinned in not setting your name to your book, I am very sure you "will answere, no, but that you have done what "God alloweth. Yeat hath not God I think commaunded that you should conceale your name: "and so you have shewed yourself heere a Papist "by doing a work of supererogation, if every "thing done and not commanded be such a work. "The like might be said although you had put "your name thereto. For the case is like in all "workes indifferent. But as for supererogation in "poperie, it belongeth unto satisfactory actions, "and not unto meritorious. Whereas therefore "with them workes not commanded are chiefly "meritorious, and in merit no supererogation held, "you do ill to say that he which maketh any "thing not commanded allowable establisheth "workes of supererogation."

Chr. Letter, p. 15. "You appeare to us to scatter the prophane graines of poperie."

Hooker, MS. note. "It is not I that scatter, "but you that gather more than ever was let fall."]

[4] [Hooker, MS. note on Chr. Letter, p. 14. "De "imperfectione bonorum operum vide Hier. con"tra Lucifer. cap. 6." (p. 142, D. "Conveniat unus"quisque cor suum et in omni vita inveniet, quam "rarum sit fidelem animam inveniri, ut nihil ob "gloriæ cupiditatem, nihil ob rumusculos hominum "faciat, &c.,) and Genebrard in Symb. Athanas. "p. 306."]

trine of man's salvation is added, as in supply of the Scripture's insufficiency, we reject it. Scripture purposing this, hath perfectly and fully done it.

Again the scope and purpose of God in delivering the Holy Scripture such as do take more largely than behoveth, they on the contrary side, racking and stretching it further than by him was meant, are drawn into sundry as great inconveniences. These pretending the Scripture's perfection infer thereupon, that in Scripture all things lawful to be done must needs be contained. We count those things perfect which want nothing requisite for the end whereto they were instituted. As therefore God created every part and particle of man exactly perfect, that is to say in all points sufficient unto that use for which he appointed it; so the Scripture, yea every sentence thereof, is perfect, and wanteth nothing requisite unto that purpose for which God delivered the same. So that if hereupon we conclude, that because the Scripture is perfect, therefore all things lawful to be done are comprehended in the Scripture; we may even as well conclude so of every sentence, as of the whole sum and body thereof, unless we first of all prove that it was the drift, scope, and purpose of Almighty God in Holy Scripture to comprise all things which man may practice.

[6.] But admit this, and mark, I beseech you, what would follow. God in delivering Scripture to his church should clean have abrogated amongst them the law of nature; which is an infallible knowledge imprinted in the minds of all the children of men, whereby both general principles for directing of human actions are comprehended, and conclusions derived from them; upon which conclusions groweth in particularity the choice of good and evil in the daily affairs of this life. Admit this, and what shall the Scripture be but a snare and a torment to weak consciences, filling them with infinite perplexities, scrupulosities, doubts insoluble, and extreme despairs[5]? Not that the Scripture itself doth cause any such thing, (for it tendeth to the clean contrary, and the fruit thereof is resolute assurance and certainty in that it teacheth,) but the necessities of this life urging men to do that which the light of nature, common discretion and judgment of itself directeth them unto; on the other side, this doctrine teaching them that so to do were to sin against their own souls, and that they put forth their hands to iniquity whatsoever they go about and have not first the sacred Scripture of God for direction; how can it choose but bring the simple a thousand times to their wit's end: how can it choose but vex and amaze them? For in every action of common life to find out some sentence clearly and infallibly setting before our eyes what we ought to do, (seem we in Scripture never so expert,) would trouble us more than we are aware. In weak and tender minds we little know what misery this strict opinion would breed, besides the stops it would make in the whole course of all men's lives and actions. Make all things sin which we do by direction of nature's light, and by the rule of common discretion, without thinking at all upon Scripture; admit this position, and parents shall cause their children to sin, as oft as they cause them to do any thing, before they come to years of capacity and be ripe for knowledge in the Scripture: admit this, and it shall not be with masters as it was with him in the Gospel, but servants being commanded to go[6] shall stand still till they have their errand warranted unto them by Scripture. Which as it standeth with Christian duty in some cases, so in common affairs to require it were most unfit.

[7.] Two opinions therefore there are concerning sufficiency of Holy Scripture, each extremely opposite unto the other, and both repugnant unto truth. The schools of Rome teach Scriptpre to be so unsufficient, as if except traditions were added, it did not contain all revealed and supernatural truth, which absolutely is necessary for the children of men in this life to know that they may in the next be saved. Others justly condemning this opinion grow likewise unto a dangerous extremity, as if Scripture did not only contain all things in that kind necessary, but all things simply, and in such sort that to do any thing according to any other law were not only unnecessary but even opposite unto salvation, unlawful and sinful. Whatsoever is spoken of God or things appertaining to God otherwise than as the truth is; though it seem an honour, it is an injury. And as incredible praises given unto men do often abate and impair the credit of their deserved commendation; so we must likewise take great heed, lest in attributing unto Scripture more than it can have, the incredibility of that do cause even those things which indeed it hath most abundantly to be less reverently esteemed. I therefore leave it to themselves to consider, whether they have in this first point or not overshot themselves; which God doth know is quickly done, even when our meaning is most sincere, as I am verily persuaded theirs in this case was.

[5] "Where this doctrine is accused of bringing "men to despair, it hath wrong. For when doubting is the way to despair, against which this "doctrine offereth the remedy, it must need be "that it bringeth comfort and joy to the conscience "of man." T. C. lib. ii. p. 61.

[6] Luke vii. 8.

THE THIRD BOOK.

CONCERNING THEIR SECOND ASSERTION, THAT IN SCRIPTURE THERE MUST BE OF NECESSITY CONTAINED A FORM OF CHURCH POLITY, THE LAWS WHEREOF MAY IN NOWISE BE ALTERED.

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THE MATTER CONTAINED IN THIS THIRD BOOK.

I. What the Church is, and in what respect Laws of Polity are thereunto necessarily required.
II. Whether it be necessary that some particular Form of Church Polity be set down in Scripture, sith the things that belong particularly to any such Form are not of necessity to Salvation.
III. That matters of Church Polity are different from matters of Faith and Salvation, and that they themselves so teach which are our reprovers for so teaching.
IV. That hereby we take not from Scripture any thing which thereunto with the soundness of truth may be given.
V. Their meaning who first urged against the Polity of the Church of England, that nothing ought to be established in the Church more than is commanded by the Word of God.
VI. How great injury men by so thinking should offer unto all the Churches of God.
VII. A shift notwithstanding to maintain it, by interpreting *commanded*, as though it were meant that greater things only ought to be found set down in Scripture particularly, and lesser framed by the general rules of Scripture.
VIII. Another device to defend the same, by expounding *commanded*, as if it did signify *grounded* on Scripture, and were opposed to things found out by light of natural reason only.
IX. How Laws for the Polity of the Church may be made by the advice of men, and how those Laws being not repugnant to the Word of God are approved in his sight.
X. That neither God's being the Author of Laws, nor yet his committing of them to Scripture, is any reason sufficient to prove that they admit no addition or change.
XI. Whether Christ must needs intend Laws unchangeable altogether, or have forbidden any where to make any other Law than himself did deliver.

I. ALBEIT the substance of those controversies whereinto we have begun to wade be rather of outward things appertaining to the Church of Christ, than of any thing wherein the nature and being of the Church consisteth, yet because the subject or matter which this position concerneth is, *A Form of Church Government* or *Church Polity*, it therefore behoveth us so far forth to consider the nature of the Church, as is requisite for men's more clear and plain understanding in what respect Laws of Polity or Government are necessary thereunto.

What the Church is, and in what respect laws of Polity are thereunto necessarily required.

[2.] That Church of Christ, which we properly term his body mystical, can be but one; neither can that one be sensibly discerned by any man, inasmuch as the parts thereof are some in heaven already with Christ, and the rest that are on earth (albeit their natural persons be visible) we do not discern under this property, whereby they are truly and infallibly of that body. Only our minds by intellectual conceit are able to apprehend, that such a real body there is, a body collective, because it containeth an huge multitude; a body mystical, because the mystery of their conjunction is removed altogether from sense. Whatsoever we read in Scripture concerning the endless love and the saving mercy which God sheweth towards his Church, the only proper subject thereof is this Church. Concerning this flock it is that our Lord and Saviour hath promised, "I give unto them "eternal life, and they shall never perish, "neither shall any pluck them out of my "hands[1]." They who are of this society have such marks and notes of distinction from all others, as are not object unto our sense; only unto God, who seeth their hearts and understandeth all their secret cogitations, unto him they are clear and manifest. All men knew Nathanael to be an Israelite. But our Saviour piercing deeper giveth further testimony of him than men could have done with such certainty as he did, "Behold indeed an Israelite in whom "is no guile[2]." If we profess as Peter did[3], that we love the Lord, and profess it in the hearing of men, charity is prone to believe all things, and therefore charitable men are likely to think we do so, as long as they see no proof to the contrary. But that our love is sound and sincere, that it cometh from "a pure heart and a good conscience and a

[1] John x. 28. [2] John i. 47. [3] John xxi. 15.

"faith unfeigned [4]," who can pronounce, saving only the Searcher of all men's hearts, who alone intuitively doth know in this kind who are His?

[3.] And as those everlasting promises of love, mercy, and blessedness belong to the mystical Church; even so on the other side when we read of any duty which the Church of God is bound unto, the Church whom this doth concern is a sensibly known company. And this visible Church in like sort is but one, continued from the first beginning of the world to the last end. Which company being divided into two moieties, the one before, the other since the coming of Christ; that part, which since the coming of Christ partly hath embraced and partly shall hereafter embrace the Christian Religion, we term as by a more proper name the Church of Christ. And therefore the Apostle affirmeth plainly of all men Christian [5], that be they Jews or Gentiles, bond or free, they are all incorporated into one company, they all make but *one body* [6]. The unity of which visible body and Church of Christ consisteth in that uniformity which all several persons thereunto belonging have, by reason of that *one Lord* whose servants they all profess themselves, that *one Faith* which they all acknowledge, that *one Baptism* wherewith they are all initiated [7].

[4.] The visible Church of Jesus Christ is therefore one, in outward profession of those things, which supernaturally appertain to the very essence of Christianity, and are necessarily required in every particular Christian man. "Let all the house of Israel know for certainty," saith Peter, "that "God hath made him both Lord and "Christ, even this Jesus whom you have "crucified [8]." Christians therefore they are not, which call not him their Master and Lord [9]. And from hence it came that first at Antioch, and afterwards throughout the whole world, all that are of the Church visible were called Christians even amongst the heathen. Which name unto them was precious and glorious, but in the estimation of the rest of the world even Christ Jesus himself was execrable [10]; for whose sake all men were so likewise which did acknowledge him to be their Lord. This himself did foresee, and therefore armed his Church, to the end they might sustain it without discomfort. "All these things "they will do unto you for my name's sake; "yea, the time shall come, that whosoever "killeth you will think that he doth God "good service [11]." "These things I tell you, "that when the hour shall come, ye may "then call to mind how I told you before-"hand of them [12]."

[5.] But our naming of Jesus Christ the Lord is not enough to prove us Christians, unless we also embrace that faith, which Christ hath published unto the world. To shew that the angel of Pergamus continued in Christianity, behold how the Spirit of Christ speaketh, "Thou keepest my name, "and thou hast not denied my faith [13]." Concerning which faith, "the rule thereof," saith Tertullian, "is one alone, immovable, "and no way possible to be better framed "anew [14]." What rule that is he sheweth by rehearsing those few articles of Christian belief. And before Tertullian, Ireney: "The Church though scattered through "the whole world unto the utmost borders "of the earth, hath from the Apostles "and their disciples received belief [15]." The parts of which belief he also reciteth, in substance the very same with Tertullian, and thereupon inferreth, "This faith the "Church being spread far and wide pre-"serveth as if one house did contain them: "these things it equally embraceth, as "though it had even one soul, one heart, "and no more: it publisheth, teacheth and "delivereth these things with uniform con-"sent, as if God had given it but one only "tongue wherewith to speak. He which "amongst the guides of the Church is best "able to speak uttereth no more than this, "and less than this the most simple doth

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[4] 1 Tim. i. 5.

[5] 1 Cor. xii. 13.

[6] "That he might reconcile both unto God in "one body." Ephes. ii. 16. "That the Gen-"tiles should be inheritors also, and of the same "body." Ephes. iii. 6. Vide Th. p. 3. q. 7. art. 3. [should it not be "q. 8. art. 3?"]

[7] [Ephes. iv. 5.]

[8] Acts ii. 36.

[9] John xiii. 13; Col. iii. 24. iv. 1.

[10] 1 Cor. i. 23. Vide et Tacitum, lib. Annal. xv. [c. 44.] "Nero quæsitissimis pœnis affecit quos "per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat. "Auctor nominis ejus Christus, qui Tiberio impe-"ritante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum sup-"plicio affectus erat. Repressaque in præsens ex-"itiabilis superstitio rursus erumpebat, non modo "per Judæam, originem ejus mali, sed per urbem "etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda "confluunt celebranturque."

[11] John xv. 21.

[12] John xvi. 2. 4.

[13] Apoc. ii. 13.

[14] Tertull. de Virgin. Veland. [c. 1. "Regula qui-"dem fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis et irre-"formabilis."

[15] Iren. advers. Hæres. lib. i. cap. 2. et 3. ['Η μὲν ἐκκλησία, καίπερ καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἕως περάτων τῆς γῆς διεσπαρμένη, παρὰ δὲ τῶν 'Αποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων μαθητῶν παραλαβοῦσα τὴν . . . πίστιν . . .

And c. iii. Ταυτὴν τὴν πίστιν, ὡς προέφαμεν, ἡ ἐκκλησία, καίπερ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διεσπαρμένη, ἐπιμελῶς φυλάσσει, ὡς ἐναοίκον οἰκοῦσα· καὶ ὁμοίως πιστεύει τούτοις ὡς μίαν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχουσα καρδίαν· καὶ συμφώνως ταῦτα κηρύσσει καὶ διδάσκει καὶ παραδίδωσιν, ὡς ἓν στόμα κεκτημένη . . . . καὶ οὔτε ὁ πάνυ δυνατὸς ἐν λόγῳ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις προεστώτων ἕτερα τούτων ἐρεῖ . . οὔτε ὁ ἀσθενὴς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ἐλαττώσει τὴν παράδοσιν.]

"not utter," when they make profession of their faith.

[6.] Now although we know the Christian faith and allow of it, yet in this respect we are but entering; entered we are not into the visible Church before our admittance by the door of Baptism. Wherefore immediately upon the acknowledgment of Christian faith, the Eunuch (we see) was baptized by Philip [16], Paul by Ananias [17], by Peter an huge multitude containing three thousand souls [18], which being once baptized were reckoned in the number of souls added to the visible Church.

[7.] As for those virtues that belong unto moral righteousness and honesty of life, we do not mention them, because they are not proper unto Christian men, as they are Christian, but do concern them as they are men. True it is, the want of these virtues excludeth from Salvation [19]. So doth much more the absence of inward belief of heart; so doth despair and lack of hope; so emptiness of Christian love and charity. But we speak now of the visible Church, whose children are signed with this mark, "One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism." In whomsoever these things are, the Church doth acknowledge them for her children; them only she holdeth for aliens and strangers, in whom these things are not found. For want of these it is that Saracens, Jews, and Infidels are excluded out of the bounds of the Church. Others we may not deny to be of the visible Church, as long as these things are not wanting in them. For apparent it is, that all men are of necessity either Christians or not Christians. If by external profession they be Christians, then are they of the visible Church of Christ: and Christians by external profession they are all, whose mark of recognizance hath in it those things which we have mentioned, yea although they be impious idolaters, wicked heretics, persons excommunicable, yea, and cast out for notorious improbity. Such withal we deny not to be the imps and limbs of Satan, even as long as they continue such.

[8.] Is it then possible, that the selfsame men should belong both to the synagogue of Satan and to the Church of Jesus Christ? Unto that Church which is his mystical body, not possible; because that body consisteth of none but only true Israelites, true sons of Abraham, true servants and saints of God. Howbeit of the visible body and Church of Jesus Christ those may be and oftentimes are, in respect of the main parts of their outward profession, who in regard of their inward disposition of mind, yea, of external conversation, yea, even of some parts of their very profession, are most worthily both hateful in the sight of God himself, and in the eyes of the sounder part of the visible Church most execrable. Our Saviour therefore compareth the kingdom of heaven to a net, whereunto all which cometh neither is nor seemeth fish [20]: his Church he compareth unto a field, where tares manifestly known and seen by all men do grow intermingled with good corn [21] and even so shall continue till the final consummation of the world. God hath had ever and ever shall have some Church visible upon earth. When the people of God worshipped the calf in the wilderness [22]; when they adored the brazen serpent [23]; when they served the gods of nations; when they bowed their knees to Baal [24]; when they burnt incense and offered sacrifice unto idols [25]: true it is, the wrath of God was most fiercely inflamed against them, their prophets justly condemned them, as an adulterous seed [26] and a wicked generation of miscreants, which had forsaken the living God [27], and of him were likewise forsaken [28], in respect of that singular mer-

[16] Acts viii. 38.

[17] Acts xxii. 16.

[18] Acts ii. 41.

[19] [Chr. Letter, p. 8. "Whether you mean ... "that morall vertues are any where rightlie taught "but in holy Scripture: *or that wheresoever they "be taught, they be of such necessitie, that the "wante of them exclude from salvation, and what "Scripture approveth such a saying?*"

Hooker, MS. note. "A doctrine which would "well have pleased Caligula, Nero, and such oth-"er monsters to heare. Had thapostles taught "this it might have advanced them happily to "honour. The contrary doctrine hath cost many "saints and martyrs their lives."

Ibid. p. 13. "The very cause why good workes "cannot justify is for that evell workes do exclude "from salvation: And the most righteous in some "things offend. "Vid. Philon. p. 205." (*εἰ γὰρ βουληθείη ὁ θεὸς δικάσαι τῷ θνητῷ χωρὶς ἐλέου, τὴν καταδικάζουσαν ψῆφον οἴσει, μηδενὸς ἀνθρώπων τὸν ἀπὸ γενέσεως μέχρι τελευτῆς βίον ἄπταιστον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ δραμόντος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἑκουσίοις, τοῦ δὲ ἀκουσίοις χρησαμένου τοῖς ἐν ποσὶν ὀλισθήμασιν.*)

And again, ibid. "The workes of heathen men "not acceptable *propter pravum agendi prin-"cipium.* Vide "Euchir." ("Licet dicere, Phi-"losophiæ alios nomen usurpasse, nos vitam. Ete-"nim, qualia ab his dari possunt præcepta viven-"di? Causam nesciunt: ignorantes enim Deum, "et statim ab exordio justitiæ declinantes, conse-"quenti in cætera feruntur errore. Sic fit postea, "ut studiorum talium finis sit vanitas. Siqui apud "illos honestiora definiunt, huic jactantiæ deservi-"unt huic laborant: ita apud eos non est vacua "vitiis abstinentia vitiorum." Epist. ad Valerian. in Bibl. Patr. Colon. 1618. t. iv. p. 777.)

And again, ibid. "Morall workes done in faith, "hope and charitie are accepted and rewarded "with God, the want thereof punished with eter-"nal death. Noe fornicator, adulterer, &c."]

[20] Matt. xiii. 47.

[21] Matt. xiii. 24.

[22] Exod. xxxii; Ps. cvi. 19, 20.

[23] 2 Kings xviii. 4.

[24] Jer. xi. 13.

[25] 2 Kings xxii. 17.

[26] Isa. lvii. 3.

[27] Isa. i. 4.

[28] Isa. lx. 15.

cy wherewith he kindly and lovingly embraced his faithful children. Howbeit retaining the law of God and the holy seal of his covenant, the sheep of his visible flock they continued even in the depth of their disobedience and rebellion[29]. Wherefore not only *amongst* them God always had his Church, because he had thousands which never bowed their knees to Baal[30]; but whose knees were bowed unto Baal, even they were also of the visible church of God. Nor did the Prophet so complain, as if that Church had been quite and clean extinguished; but he took it as though there had not been remaining in the world any besides himself, that carried a true and an upright heart towards God with care to serve him according unto his holy will.

[9.] For lack of diligent observing the difference, first between the Church of God mystical and visible, then between the visible sound and corrupted, sometimes more, sometimes less, the oversights are neither few nor light that have been committed. This deceiveth them, and nothing else, who think that in the time of the first world, the family of Noah did contain all that were of the visible Church of God. From hence it grew, and from no other cause in the world, that the African bishops in the council of Carthage [31], knowing how the administration of baptism belongeth only to the Church of Christ, and supposing that heretics which were apparently severed from the sound believing Church could not possibly be of the Church of Jesus Christ, thought it utterly against reason, that baptism administered by men of corrupt belief should be accounted as a sacrament. And therefore in maintenance of rebaptization their arguments are built upon the fore-alleged ground [32], "That heretics are not at all any "part of the Church of Christ. Our Sa- "viour founded his Church on a rock, and "not upon heresy [33]. Power of baptizing "he gave to his Apostles, unto heretics he "gave it not [34]. Wherefore they that are "without the Church, and oppose them- "selves against Christ, do but scatter His "sheep and flock, without the Church bap- "tize they cannot." Again, "Are heretics "Christians or are they not? If they be "Christians wherefore remain they not in "God's Church? If they be no Christians, "how make they Christians? Or to what "purpose shall those words of the Lord "serve: 'He which is not with me is "against me' and, 'He which gathereth not "with me scattereth [35]?' Wherefore evi- "dent it is, that upon misbegotten children "and the brood of Antichrist without re- "baptization the Holy Ghost cannot de- "scend [36]." But none in this case so earnest as Cyprian [37]: "I know no baptism but "one, and that in the Church only; none "without the Church, where he that doth "cast out the Devil hath the Devil; he doth "examine about belief whose lips and words "do breathe forth a canker; the faithless "doth offer the articles of faith; a wicked "creature forgiveth wickedness; in the "name of Christ Antichrist signeth; he "which is cursed of God blesseth; a dead "carrion promiseth life; a man unpeaceable "giveth peace; a blasphemer calleth upon "the name of God; a profane person doth "exercise priesthood; a sacrilegious wretch "doth prepare the altar; and in the neck "of all these that evil also cometh, the Eu- "charist a very bishop of the Devil doth "presume to consecrate." All this was true, but not sufficient to prove that heretics were in no sort any part of the visible Church of Christ, and consequently their baptism no baptism. This opinion therefore was afterwards both condemned by a better advised council [38], and also revoked by the chiefest of the authors thereof themselves.

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[29] Jer. xiii. 11.

[30] 1 Kings xix. 18.

[31] [A. D. 256.]

[32] Fortunat. in Concil. Car. ["Jesus Christus, "Dominus et Deus noster, Dei Patris et Creatoris "Filius, super petram ædificavit Ecclesiam suam, "non super hæresin; et potestatem baptizandi "Episcopis dedit, non hæreticis. Quare qui ex- "tra Ecclesiam sunt, et contra Christum stantes "oves ejus et gregem spargunt, baptizare foris non "possunt." t. i. 233. ed. Fell.]

[33] Matt. vii. 24. xvi. 18. [34] Matt. xxviii. 19.

[35] Matt. xii. 30.

[36] Secundinus in eodem Concil. [ibid. p. 234. "Hæretici Christiani sunt, an non? Si Christiani "sunt, cur in Ecclesia Dei non sunt? Si Chris- "tiani non sunt, quomodo Christianos faciunt? aut "quo pertinebit sermo Domini dicentis, Qui non "est mecum adversus me est, et qui non mecum "colligit spargit? Unde constat, super filios alien- "os et soboles Antichristi Spiritum Sanctum per "manus impositionem tantummodo non posse de- "scendere."]

[37] [Not Cyprian, but another Cæcilius, Bishop of Bilta in Mauritania, ibid. 230. "Ego unum "baptisma in Ecclesia sola scio, et extra Ecclesi- "am nullum. Hic erit unum, ubi spes vera est et "fides certa. Sic enim scriptum est: 'Una fides "una spes, unum baptisma,' non apud hæreticos, "ubi spes nulla est, et fides falsa, ubi omnia per "mendacium aguntur, ubi exorcizat dæmoniacus; "sacramentum interrogat cujus os et verba cancer "emittunt; fidem dat infidelis; veniam delicto- "rum tribuit sceleratus; in nomine Christi tingit "Antichristus; benedicit a Deo maledictus; vi- "tam pollicetur mortuus; pacem dat impacificus; "Deum invocat blasphemus; sacerdotium admin- "istrat prophanus; ponit altare sacrilegus. Ad "hæc omnia accedit et illud malum, ut antistites "Diaboli audeant Eucharistiam facere."]

[38] In Concilio Niceno. Vide Hieron. Dial. adv. Lucifer. [ii. 146. The genuine canons of the council of Nice contain no express general enactment on this point: only the 8th canon exempts the Novatians from rebaptization, the 19th imposes it on

[10.] What is but only the selfsame error and misconceit, wherewith others being at this day likewise possessed, they ask us where our Church did lurk, in what cave of the earth it slept for so many hundreds of years together before the birth of Martin Luther? As if we were of opinion that Luther did erect a new Church of Christ. No, the Church of Christ which was from the beginning is and continueth unto the end: of which Church all parts have not been always equally sincere and sound. In the days of Abia it plainly appeareth that Judah was by many degrees more free from pollution than Israel, as that solemn oration sheweth wherein he pleadeth for the one against the other in this wise [39]: "O "Jeroboam and all Israel hear you me: have "ye not driven away the priests of the "Lord, the sons of Aaron and the Levites, "and have made you priests like the people "of nations? Whosoever cometh to con"secrate with a young bullock and seven "rams, the same may be a priest of them "that are no gods. But we belong unto "the Lord our God and have not forsaken "him; and the priests the sons of Aaron "minister unto the Lord every morning and "every evening burnt-offerings and sweet "incense, and the bread is set in order upon "the pure table, and the candlestick of gold "with the lamps thereof to burn every eve"ning; for we keep the watch of the Lord "our God, but ye have forsaken him [40]." In St. Paul's time the integrity of Rome was famous; Corinth many ways reproved; they of Galatia much more out of square [41]. In St. John's time Ephesus and Smyrna in far better state than Thyatira and Pergamus were [42]. We hope therefore that to reform ourselves if at any time we have done amiss, is not to sever ourselves from the Church we were of before. In the Church we were, and we are so still. Other difference between our estate before and now we know none but only such as we see in Judah; which having sometime been idolatrous became afterwards more soundly religious by renouncing idolatry and superstition. If Ephraim "be joined unto "idols," the counsel of the Prophet is, "Let "him alone." "If Israel play the harlot, let not Judah sin [43]." "If it seem evil unto "you," saith Joshua [44], "to serve the Lord, "choose you this day whom you will serve; "whether the gods whom your fathers serv"ed beyond the flood, or the gods of the "Amorites in whose land ye dwell: but I "and mine house will serve the Lord." The indisposition therefore of the Church of Rome to reform herself must be no stay unto us from performing our duty to God; even as desire of retaining conformity with them could be no excuse if we did not perform that duty.

Notwithstanding so far as lawfully we may, we have held and do hold fellowship with them. For even as the Apostle doth say of Israel that they are in one respect enemies but in another beloved of God [45]; in like sort with Rome we dare not communicate concerning sundry her gross and grievous abominations, yet touching those main parts of Christian truth wherein they constantly still persist, we gladly acknowledge them to be of the family of Jesus Christ; and our hearty prayer unto God Almighty is, that being conjoined so far forth with them, they may at the length (if it be his will) so yield to frame and reform themselves, that no distraction remain in any thing, but that we "all may "with one heart and one mouth glorify God

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the followers of Paul of Samosata. The principle however, for which Hooker contends, is plainly implied in these two enactments. See Routh, Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Opuscula, p. 359, 366. The 7th canon of Constantinople is more express: but its genuineness is doubted: however it may safely be appealed to for the practice of the orthodox church in that age, ibid. 379, 450. The passage from St. Jerome is as follows: "Conatus est "beatus Cyprianus contritos lacus fugere, nec bi"bere de aqua aliena; et idcirco hæreticorum bap"tisma reprobans, ad Stephanum tunc Romanæ "urbis Episcopum, qui a beato Petro vigesimus "sextus fuit, super hac re Africanam synodum di"rexit: sed conatus ejus frustra fuit. Denique illi "ipsi episcopi, qui rebaptizandos hæreticos cum "eo statuerant, ad antiquam consuetudinem revo"luti, novum emisere decretum." (But see the viiith canon of the council of Arles, (A. D. 314.) as quoted by Dr. Routh, Reliquiæ Sacræ, III. 137. and his note there, which seems to prove that St. Jerome did not mean a formal repeal of St. Cyprian's rule, but a discontinuance of it in practice, sanctioned as we know by St. Augustin, who was Jerome's contemporary.) And p. 147, A. "Syno"dus quoque Nicæna.....omnes hæreticos sus"cepit, exceptis Pauli Samosateni discipulis."]

[39] 2 Chron. xiii. 4, 9, 10, 11.

[40] [See the conclusion of Hooker's first Sermon on part of St. Jude.]

[41] [Rom. i. 8; 1 Cor. i. iii—vi; Gal. i. 6.]

[42] Apoc. ii. Vide S. Hieron. [ubi sup. 146. "Apos"tolis adhuc in seculo superstitibus, adhuc apud "Judæam Christi sanguine recenti, phantasma "Domini corpus asserebatur: Galatas ad observa"tionem legis traductos Apostolus iterum partu"rit: Corinthios resurrectionem carnis non creden"tes pluribus argumentis ad verum iter trahere "conatur..... Plurimi (hæreticorum) vivente ad"huc Joanne Apostolo eruperunt..... Angelo "Ephesi deserta charitas imputatur: in angelo "Pergamenæ Ecclesiæ, idolothytorum esus, et "Nicolaitarum doctrina reprehenditur: item apud "angelum Thiatyrorum Hiezabel Prophetissa, et "simulacrorum escæ, et fornicationes increpantur. "Et tamen omnes hos ad pœnitentiam Dominus "hortatur....non autem cogeret pœnitere, si non "esset pœnitentibus veniam concessurus."]

[43] Hos. iv. 17, 15.

[44] Josh. xxiv. 15.

[45] Rom. xi. 28.

"the Father of our Lord and Saviour [46]," whose Church we are.

As there are which make the Church of Rome utterly no Church at all, by reason of so many, so grievous errors in their doctrines; so we have them amongst us, who under pretence of imagined corruptions in our discipline do give even as hard a judgment of the Church of England itself [47].

[11.] But whatsoever either the one sort or the other teach, we must acknowledge even heretics themselves to be, though a maimed part, yet a part of the visible Church. If an infidel should pursue to death an heretic professing Christianity, only for Christian profession's sake, could we deny unto him the honour of martyrdom? Yet this honour all men know to be proper unto the Church. Heretics therefore are not utterly cut off from the visible Church of Christ.

If the Fathers do any where, as oftentimes they do, make the true visible Church of Christ and heretical companies opposite; they are to be construed as separating heretics, not altogether from the company of believers, but from the fellowship of sound believers. For where professed unbelief is, there can be no visible Church of Christ; there may be, where sound belief wanteth. Infidels being clean without the Church deny directly and utterly reject the very principles of Christianity; which heretics embrace and err only by misconstruction: whereupon their opinions, although repugnant indeed to the principles of Christian faith, are notwithstanding by them held otherwise, and maintained as most consonant thereunto. Wherefore being Christians in regard of the general truth of Christ which they openly profess, yet they are by the Fathers every where spoken of as men clean excluded out of the right believing Church, by reason of their particular errors, for which all that are of a sound belief must needs condemn them.

[12.] In this consideration, the answer of Calvin unto Farel concerning the children of Popish parents doth seem crazed [48]. "Whereas," saith he, "you ask our judg-"ment about a matter, whereof there is "doubt amongst you, whether ministers of "our order professing the pure doctrine of "the Gospel may lawfully admit unto bap-"tism an infant whose father is a stranger "into our Churches, and whose mother hath "fallen from us unto the Papacy, so that "both the parents are popish: thus we have "thought good to answer; namely, that it "is an absurd thing for us to baptize them "which cannot be reckoned members of "our body. And sith Papists' children are "such, we see not how it should be lawful "to minister baptism unto them." Sounder a great deal is the answer of the ecclesiastical college of Geneva unto Knox, who having signified unto them, that himself did not think it lawful to baptize bastards or the children of idolaters (he meaneth Papists) or of persons excommunicate, till either the parents had by repentance submitted themselves unto the Church, or else their children being grown unto the years of understanding should come and sue for their own baptism: "For thus thinking," saith he, "I am thought to be over-severe, and "that not only by them which are popish, "but even in their judgments also who "think themselves maintainers of the "truth [49]." Master Knox's oversight herein they controlled. Their sentence was, "Wheresoever the profession of Christi-"anity hath not utterly perished and been "extinct, infants are beguiled of their right, "if the common seal be denied them [50]." Which conclusion in itself is sound, although it seemeth the ground is but weak whereupon they built it. For the reason which they yield of their sentence, is this; "The promise which God doth make to the "faithful concerning their seed reacheth un "to a thousand generations; it resteth not "only in the first degree of descent. In-"fants therefore whose great-grandfathers "have been holy and godly, do in that re-"spect belong to the body of the Church "although the fathers and grandfathers of "whom they descend have been apostates: "because the tenure of the grace of God "which did adopt them three hundred "years ago and more in their ancient pre-"decessors, cannot with justice be defeated "and broken off by their parents' impiety "coming between [51]." By which reason of

[46] Rom. xv. 6.

[47] [See Pref. c. viii. 1.]

[48] Calvin. Epist. 149, [p. 173. ed. Genev. 1617. "Rogas, liceatne ordinis nostri ministris, qui pu-"ram evangelii doctrinam profitentur, ad baptis-"mum admitere infantem, cujus pater ab ecclesiis "nostris alienus est, mater vero ad Papatum defe-"cit, ita ut parentes ambo sint Papistæ: ita re-"spondendum censuimus; absurdum esse ut eos "baptizemus, qui corporis nostri membra censeri "nequeunt. Quum in hoc ordine sint Papistarum "liberi quomodo baptismum illis administrare li-"ceat, non videmus."]

[49] Epist. 283. [Ibid. p. 441. "An ad baptismum "admitti debeant spurii, idololatrarum et excom-"municatorum filii, priusquam vel parentes per "resipiscentiam sese subdiderint Ecclesiæ, vel ii "qui ex hujusmodi prognati sunt, baptismum pe-"tere possint. Quia nego, plus æquo severus ju-"dicor, non a solis Papisticis, verum etiam ab iis "qui sibi veritatis patroni videntur."]

[50] Epist. 285. [Ibid. p. 442. "Ubicunque non "prorsus intercidit, vel extincta fuit Christianismi "professio, fraudantur jure suo infantes, si a com-"muni symbolo arcentur."]

[51] Calv. ubi supra. "Imprimis expendere con-"venit, quos Deus sua voce ad baptismum invitet. "Promissio autem non sobolem tantum cujusque

theirs although it seem that all the world may be baptized, inasmuch as no man living is a thousand descents removed from Adam himself, yet we mean not at this time either to uphold or to overthrow it: only their alleged conclusion we embrace, so it be construed in this sort; "That forasmuch as men remain in the visible Church, "till they utterly renounce the profession "of Christianity, we may not deny unto infants their right by withholding from them "the public sign of holy baptism, if they be "born where the outward acknowledgment of Christianity is not clean gone "and extinguished." For being in such sort born, their parents are within the Church, and therefore their birth doth give them interest and right in baptism.

[13.] Albeit not every error and fault, yet heresies and crimes which are not actually repented of and forsaken, exclude quite and clean from that salvation which belongeth unto the mystical body of Christ; yea, they also make a separation from the visible sound Church of Christ; altogether from the visible Church neither the one nor the other doth sever. As for the act of excommunication, it neither shutteth out from the mystical, nor clean from the visible, but only from fellowship with the visible in holy duties. With what congruity then doth the Church of Rome deny, that her enemies whom she holdeth always for heretics, do at all appertain to the Church of Christ; when her own do freely grant, that albeit the Pope (as they say) cannot teach heresy nor propound error, he may notwithstanding himself worship idols, think amiss concerning matters of faith [52], yea give himself unto acts diabolical, even being Pope? How exclude they us from being any part of the Church of Christ under the colour and pretence of heresy, when they cannot but grant it possible even for him to be as touching his own personal persuasion heretical[53], who in their opinion not only is of the Church, but holdeth the chiefest place of authority over the same? But of these things we are not now to dispute. That which already we have set down, is for our present purpose sufficient.

[14.] By the Church therefore in this question we understand no other than only the visible Church. For preservation of Christianity there is not any thing more needful, than that such as are of the visible Church have mutual fellowship and society one with another. In which consideration, as the main body of the sea being one, yet within divers precincts hath divers names; so the Catholic Church is in like sort divided into a number of distinct Societies, every of which is termed a Church within itself. In this sense the Church is always a visible society of men; not an assembly, but a society. For although the name of the Church be given unto Christian assembles, although any multitude of Christian men congregated may be termed by the name of a Church, yet assemblies properly are rather things that belong to a Church. Men are assembled for performance of public actions; which actions being ended, the assembly dissolveth itself and is no longer in being, whereas the Church which was assembled doth no less continue afterwards than before. "Where but three are, and they of "the laity also (saith Tertullian), yet there "is a Church [54];" that is to say, a Christian assembly. But a Church, as now we are to understand it, is a Society; that is, a number of men belonging unto some Christian fellowship, the place and limits whereof are certain. That wherein they have communion is the public exercise of such duties as those mentioned in the Apotles' Acts, "instruction, breaking of "bread and prayer [55]." As therefore they that are of the mystical body of Christ have those inward graces and virtues, whereby they differ from all others, which are not of the same body; again, whosoever appertain to the visible body of the Church, they have also the notes of external profession, whereby the world knoweth what they are: after the same manner even the several societies of Christian men, unto every of which the name of a Church is given with addition betokening severalty, as the Church of Rome, Corinth, Ephesus, England, and so the rest, must be endued with correspondent general properties belonging unto them as they are public Christian societies. And of such properties com-

"fidelium in primo gradu comprehendit, sed in "mille generationes extenditur.... Nobis ergo mi"nime dubium est, quin soboles ex piis et sanctis "atavis progenita, quamvis apostatæ fuerint avi "et parentes, ad Ecclesiæ tamen corpus pertine"ant.... Quia iniquum est, cum Deus ante annos "trecentos vel plures adoptione sua eos dignatus "fuerit, ut quæ deinde secuta est parentum impie"tas cælestis gratiæ cursum abrumpat." The former letter was dated 1553, this 1559.]

[52] [Harding ap. Jewel. Def. of Apol. 632. ed. 1611. "The Pope may err by personed error, in "his own private judgment, as a man; and as a "particular Doctor in his own opinion: yet as he "is Pope.... in public judgment, in deliberation, "and definitive sentence, he never erreth nor ever "erred."]

[53] [Alphonsus de Castro de Hær. i. 4, ap. Jewel, 633. "Non dubitamus an hæreticum esse, et "Papam esse, coire in unum possint..... Non "enim credo aliquem esse adeo impudentem Papæ "assentatorem, ut ei tribuere hoc velit, ut nec er"rare, nec in interpretatione sacrarum literarum "hallucinari possit." This passage was omitted in the later editions of the work. See Laud's Conf. with Fisher, p. 263, 264. ed. 1639.]

[54] Tertull. Exhort. ad Castit. [c. 7.] "Ubi tres, "Ecclesia est, licet Laici."

[55] Acts ii. 42.

mon unto all societies Christian, it may not be denied that one of the very chiefest is Ecclesiastical Polity.

Which word I therefore the rather use, because the name of Government, as commonly men understand it in ordinary speech, doth not comprise the largeness of that whereunto in this question it is applied. For when we speak of Government, what doth the greatest part conceive thereby, but only the exercise of superiority peculiar unto Rulers and Guides of others? To our purpose therefore the name of Church-Polity will better serve, because it containeth both government and also whatsoever besides belongeth to the ordering of the Church in public. Neither is any thing in this degree more necessary than Church-Polity, which is a form of ordering the public spiritual affairs of the Church of God.

II. But we must note, that he which affirmeth speech to be necessary among all men throughout the world, doth not thereby import that all men must necessarily speak one kind of language. Even so the necessity of polity and regiment in all Churches may be held without holding any one certain form to be necessary in them all. Nor is it possible that any form of polity, much less of polity ecclesiastical, should be good, unless God himself be author of it[56]. "Those things that "are not of God" (saith Tertullian,) "they "can have no other than God's adversary "for their author." Be it whatsoever in the Church of God, if it be not of God, we hate it. Of God it must be; either as those things sometime were, which God supernaturally revealed, and so delivered them unto Moses for government of the commonwealth of Israel; or else as those things which men find out by help of that light which God hath given them unto that end[57]. The very Law of Nature itself; which no man can deny but God hath instituted, is not of God, unless that be of God whereof God is the author as well this latter way as the former. But forasmuch as no form of Church-Polity is thought by them to be lawful, or to be of God, unless God be so the author of it that it be also set down in Scripture; they should tell us plainly, whether their meaning be that it must be there set down in whole or in part. For if wholly, let them shew what one form of Polity ever was so. Their own to be so taken out of Scripture they will not affirm; neither deny they that in part even this which they so much oppugn is also from thence taken. Again they should tell us, whether only that be taken out of Scripture which is actually and particularly there set down; or else that also which the general principles and rules of Scripture potentially contain. The one way they cannot as much as pretend, that all the parts of their own discipline are in Scripture: and the other way their mouths are stopped, when they would plead against all other forms besides their own; seeing the general principles are such as do not particularly prescribe any one, but sundry may equally be consonant unto the general axioms of the Scripture.

Whether it be necessary that some particular form of Church Polity be set down in Scripture, sith the things that belong particularly unto any such form are not of necessity to salvation.

[2.] But to give them some larger scope and not to close them up in these straits: let their allegations be considered, wherewith they earnestly bend themselves against all which deny it necessary that any one complete form of church polity should be in Scripture. First therefore whereas it hath been told them[58] that matters of faith, and in general matters necessary unto Salvation, are of a different nature from ceremonies, order, and the kind of church government; and that the one is necessary to be expressly contained in the word of God, or else manifestly collected out of the same, the other not so; that it is necessary not to receive the one, unless there be something in Scripture for them; the other free, if nothing against them may thence be alleged: although there do not appear any just or reasonable cause to reject or dislike of this, nevertheless as it is not easy to speak to the contentation of minds exulcerated in themselves, but that somewhat there will be always which displeaseth; so herein for two things we are reproved. [59]The first is

[56] Tertull. de habitu mul. [c. 8.] "Æmuli sint "necesse est, quæ Dei non sunt."

[57] Rom. ii. 15. "Ille legis hujus inventor, dis-"ceptator, lator." Cic. iii. de Repub. [ap. Lact. vi. 8. and Opp. vii. 906. Ed. Ernesti.]

[58] [In Whitgift's Answer to the Admon. 20, 21. See Def. 76, &c.]

[59] Two things misliked; the one, that we distinguish matters of discipline or church government from matters of faith and necessary unto Salvation: the other, that we are injurious to the Scripture of God in abridging the large and rich contents thereof. Their words are these: "You "which distinguish between these, and say, that "matters of faith and necessary unto salvation "may not be tolerated in the Church, unless they "be expressly contained in the word of God, or "manifestly gathered; but that ceremonies, order, "discipline, government in the Church, may not "be received against the word of God, and conse-"quently may be received if there be no word "against them, although there be none for them: "you (I say) distinguishing or dividing after this "sort do prove yourself an evil divider. As though "matters of discipline and kind of government "were not matters necessary to salvation and of "faith." [This sentence ("as though ... of faith") is transposed by Hooker to this place, from where it occurs in T. C. a few lines above.] It is no "small injury which you do unto the word of God "to pin it in so narrow room, as that it should be

misdistinguishing, because matters of discipline and church government are (as they say) "matters necessary to salvation and "of faith," whereas we put a difference between the one and the other. Our second fault is, *injurious dealing* with the Scripture of God, as if it contained only "the principal "points of religion, some rude and unfashioned matter of building the Church, but "had left out that which belongeth unto "the form and fashion of it; as if there were "in the Scripture no more than only to "cover the Church's nakedness, and not "chains, bracelets, rings, jewels, to adorn "her; sufficient to quench her thirst, to kill "her hunger, but not to minister a more "liberal, and (as it were) a more delicious "and dainty diet." In which case[60] our apology shall not need to be very long.

III. The mixture of those things by speech which by nature are divided, is the mother of all error. To take away therefore that error which confusion breedeth, distinction is requisite. Rightly to distinguish is by conceit of mind to sever things different in nature, and to discern wherein they differ. So that if we imagine a difference where there is none, because we distinguish where we should not, it may not be denied that we misdistinguish. The only trial whether we do so, yea or no, dependeth upon comparison between our conceit and the nature of things conceived.

That matters of discipline are different from matters of faith and salvation; and that they themselves so teach which are our reprovers.

[2.] Touching matters belonging unto the Church of Christ this we conceive, that they are not of one suit. Some things are *merely* of faith, which things it doth suffice that we know and believe; some things not only to be known but done, because they concern the actions of men. Articles about the Trinity are matters of *mere* faith, and must be believed. Precepts concerning the works of charity are matters of action; which to know, unless they be practised, is not enough. This being so clear to all men's understanding, I somewhat marvel that they especially should think it absurd to oppose Church-government, a plain matter of action, unto matters of faith, who know that themselves divide the Gospel into Doctrine and Discipline[61]. For if matters of discipline be rightly by them distinguished from matters of doctrine, why not matters of government by us as reasonably set against matters of faith? Do not they under doctrine comprehend the same which we intend by matter of faith? Do not they under discipline comprise the regiment of the Church? When they blame that in us which themselves follow, they give men great cause to doubt that some other thing than judgment doth guide their speech.

[3.] What the Church of God standeth bound to know or do, the same in part nature teacheth. And because nature can teach them but only in part, neither so fully as is requisite for man's salvation, nor so easily as to make the way plain and expedite enough that many may come to the knowledge of it, and so be saved; therefore in Scripture hath God both collected the most necessary things that the school of nature teacheth unto that end, and revealeth also whatsoever we neither could with safety be ignorant of, nor at all be instructed in but by supernatural revelation from him. So that Scripture containing all things that are in this kind any way needful for the Church, and the principal of the other sort, this is the next thing wherewith we are charged as with an error: we teach that whatsoever is unto salvation termed *necessary* by way of excellency, whatsoever it standeth all men upon to know or do that they may be saved, whatsoever there is whereof it may truly be said, "This not to "believe is eternal death and damnation," or, "This every soul that will live must duly "observe;" of which sort the articles of Christian faith and the sacraments of the Church of Christ are: all such things if Scripture did not comprehend, the Church of God should not be able to measure out the length and the breadth of that way wherein for ever she is to walk, heretics and schismatics never ceasing some to abridge, some to enlarge, all to pervert and obscure the same. But as for those things that are accessory hereunto, those things that so belong to the way of salvation, as to alter them is no otherwise to change that way, than a path is changed by altering only the uppermost face thereof; which be it laid with gravel, or set with grass, or paved

"able to direct us but in the principal points of our "religion; or as though the substance of religion "or some rude and unfashioned matter of build- "ing of the Church were uttered in them; and "those things were left out that should pertain to "the form and fashion of it; or as if there were "in the Scriptures only to cover the Church's na- "kedness, and not also chains and bracelets and "rings and other jewels to adorn her and set her "out; or that, to conclude there were sufficient to "quench her thirst and kill her hunger, but not to "minister unto her a more liberal and (as it were) "a more delicious and dainty diet. These things "you seem to say, when you say, that matters ne- "cessary to Salvation and of Faith are contained "in Scripture; especially when you oppose these "things to Ceremonies, Order, Discipline, and "Government." T. C. lib. i. p. 26. [14.]

[60] [cause?]

[61] T. C. l. ii. p. 1. "We offer to shew the disci- "pline to be a part of the Gospel." And again, p. 5. "I speak of the Discipline as of a part of the Gos- "pel." If the Discipline be one part of the Gospel, what other part can they assign but Doctrine to answer in division to the Discipline? [See also lib. i. p. 32.]

with stone, remaineth still the same path; in such things because discretion may teach the Church what is convenient, we hold not the Church further tied herein unto Scripture, than that against Scripture nothing be admitted in the Church, lest that path which ought always to be kept even, do thereby come to be overgrown with brambles and thorns.

[4.] If this be unsound, wherein doth the point of unsoundness lie? It is not that we make some things *necessary*, some things *accessary* and appendent only: for our Lord and Saviour himself doth make that difference, by terming judgment and mercy and fidelity with other things of like nature, "the greater and weightier matters of the "law[62]." Is it then in that we account ceremonies (wherein we do not comprise sacraments, or any other the like substantial duties in the exercise of religion, but only such external rites as are usually annexed unto church actions,) is it an oversight that we reckon these things and matters[63] of government in the number of things accessory, not things necessary in such sort as hath been declared? Let them which therefore think us blameable consider well their own words. Do they not plainly compare the one unto garments which cover the body of the Church; the other unto rings, bracelets, and jewels, that only adorn it; the one to that food which the Church doth live by, the other to that which maketh her diet liberal, dainty, and more delicious[64]? Is dainty fare a thing necessary to the sustenance, or to the clothing of the body rich attire? If not, how can they urge the necessity of that which themselves resemble by things not necessary? or by what construction shall any man living be able to make those comparisons true, holding that distinction untrue, which putteth a difference between things of external regiment in the Church and things necessary unto salvation?

That we do not take from Scripture any thing which may be thereunto given with soundness of truth.

IV. Now as it can be to nature no injury that of her we say the same which diligent beholders of her works have observed; namely, that she provideth for all living creatures nourishment which may suffice; that she bringeth forth no kind of creature whereto she is wanting in that which is needful[65]: although we do not so far magnify her exceeding bounty, as to affirm that she bringeth into the world the sons of men adorned with gorgeous attire, or maketh costly buildings to spring up out of the earth for them: so I trust that to mention what the Scripture of God leaveth unto the Church's discretion in some things, is not in any thing to impair the honour which the Church of God yieldeth to the sacred Scripture's perfection. Wherein seeing that no more is by us maintained, than only that Scripture must needs teach the Church whatsoever is in such sort necessary as hath been set down; and that it is no more disgrace for Scripture to have left a number of other things free to be ordered at the discretion of the Church, than for nature to have left it unto the wit of man to devise his own attire, and not to look for it as the beasts of the field have theirs: if neither this can import, nor any other proof sufficient be brought forth, that we either will at any time or ever did affirm the sacred Scripture to comprehend no more than only those bare necessaries; if we acknowledge that as well for particular application to special occasions, as also in other manifold respects, infinite treasures of wisdom are over and besides abundantly to be found in the Holy Scripture; yea that scarcely there is any noble part of knowledge, worthy the mind of man, but from thence it may have some direction and light; yea, that although there be no necessity it should of purpose prescribe any one particular form of church government, yet touching the manner of governing in general the precepts that Scripture setteth down are not few, and the examples many which it proposeth for all Church governors even in particularities to follow; yea, that those things finally which are of principal weight in the very particular form of church polity (although not that form which they imagine, but that which we against them uphold) are in the self-same Scriptures contained: if all this be willingly granted by

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[62] Matt. xxiii. 23.

[63] The government of the Church of Christ granted by Fenner himself to be thought a matter of great moment, yet not of the substance of religion. Against D. Bridges, pag. 121: if it be Fenner which was the author of that book. ["A "Defence of the Ecclesiastical Discipline ordayned of God to be used in His Church, against "a Reply of Maister Bridges to a 'briefe and "plain Declaration' of it, which was printed an. "1584." 4°. 1588, p. 120, 121. "Our Saviour "is sayde, with charge and commaundement that "they should be observed, to have delivered to His "Disciples such things, as for the space of fourtie "days He declared unto them concerning His "kingdome. A part whereof (it hathe bin alreadie "shewed) must needes be understoode to have bin "of the government of His Church, which necessarilie *dependeth on* His kingdome."]

[64] Mirum videri debet.....doctrina evangelica tanquam bona valetudine contentos, de disciplina, qua eandem tueantur, ac vires simul et colorem acquirant, non esse solicitos." Eccl. Disc. fol. 2. Medicis contenta, qui salutem procurassent, aliptas ad colorem et vires acquirendas non adhibuit." fol. 3.]

[65] Arist. Pol. lib. i. c. 8. et Plato 'in Menex. [t. ii. 237. E. ed. Serrani. *πᾶν γὰρ τὸ τεκὸν τροφὴν ἔχει ἐπιτήδειαν ὧν ἂν τέκῃ.*] Arist. lib. iii. de Animal. c. 4. 5.

us which are accused to pin the word of God in so narrow room, as that it should be able to direct us but in principal points of our religion; or as though the substance of religion or some rude and unfashioned matter of building the Church were uttered in them, and those things left out that should pertain to the form and fashion of it; let the cause of the accused be referred to the accuser's own conscience, and let that judge whether this accusation be deserved where it hath been laid.

V. But so easy it is for every man living to err, and so hard to wrest from any man's mouth the plain acknowledgment of error, that what hath been once inconsiderately defended, the same is commonly persisted in, as long as wit by whetting itself is able to find out any shift, be it never so sleight, whereby to escape out of the hands of present contradiction. So that it cometh herein to pass with men unadvisedly fallen into error, as with them whose state hath no ground to uphold it, but only the help which by subtile conveyance they draw out of casual events arising from day to day, till at length they be clean spent. They which first gave out, that "nothing ought to "be established in the Church which is not "commanded by the word of God," thought this principle plainly warranted by the manifest words of the Law[66], "Ye shall put "nothing unto the word which I command "you, neither shall you take aught there-"from, that ye may keep the command-"ments of the Lord your God, which I "command you." Wherefore having an eye to a number of rites and orders in the Church of England, as marrying with a ring, crossing in the one sacrament, kneeling at the other, observing of festival days more than only that which is called the Lord's day, enjoining abstinence at certain times from some kinds of meat, churching of women after childbirth, degrees taken by divines in universities, sundry church offices, dignities, and callings, for which they found no commandment in the Holy Scripture, they thought by the one only stroke of that axiom to have cut them off. But that which they took for an oracle being sifted was repelled. True it is concerning the word of God, whether it be by misconstruction of the sense or by falsification of the words, wittingly to endeavor that any thing may seem divine which is not, or any thing not seem which is, were plainly to abuse, and even to falsify divine evidence; which injury offered but unto men, is most worthily counted heinous. Which point I wish they did well observe, with whom nothing is more familiar than to plead in these causes, "the law of God," "the word of the Lord;" who notwithstanding when they come to allege what word and what law they mean, their common ordinary practice is to quote by-speeches in some historical narration or other, and to urge them as if they were written in most exact form of law. What is to add to the law of God if this be not? When that which the word of God doth but deliver historically, we construe without any warrant as if it were legally meant, and so urge it further than we can prove that it was intended; do we not add to the laws of God, and make them in number seem more than they are? It standeth us upon to be careful in this case. For the sentence of God is heavy against them that wittingly shall presume thus to use the Scripture[67].

Their meaning who first did plead against the Polity of the Church of England, urging that "nothing ought to be established in the Church which is not commanded by the word of God;" and what Scripture they thought they might ground this assertion upon.

VI. But let that which they do hereby intend be granted them; let it once stand as consonant to reason, that because we are forbidden to add to the law of God any thing, or to take aught from it, therefore we may not for matters of the Church make any law more than is already set down in Scripture: who seeth not what sentence it shall enforce us to give against all Churches in the world, inasmuch as there is not one, but hath had many things established in it, which though the Scripture did never command, yet for us to condemn were rashness? Let the Church of God even in the time of our Saviour Christ serve for example unto all the rest. In their domestical celebration of the passover, which supper they divided (as it were) into two courses; what Scripture did give commandment that between the first and the second he that was chief should put off the residue of his garments, and keeping on his feast-robe[68] only wash the feet of them that were with him? What Scripture did command them never to lift up their hands unwashed in prayer unto God? which custom Aristeas (be the credit of the author more or less) sheweth wherefore they did so religiously observe[69]. What Scripture did command the Jews every festival day to fast till the sixth hour? the custom both mentioned by Josephus in

The same assertion we cannot hold without doing wrong unto all Churches.

[66] Whatsoever I command you, take heed you do "it. 'Thou shalt put nothing thereto, nor take "aught therefrom.'" Deut. iv. 2. and xii. 32. [Adm. p. 3. See also Answ. 59, 60, 61. T. C. 1. 21, 22. Eccl. Disc. fol. 5.]

[67] [Rev. xxii. 18.]

[68] John xiii. Cœnatorium: de quo Matt. xxii. 12. Ibi de Cœnatorio nuptiali.

[69] [De LXX Interpretibus, ad calc. Josephi, Colon. 1691, p. 33. *ἐπερώτησαν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο· τίνος χάριν ἀπονιζόμενοι τὰς χεῖρας, τὸ πρωὶ καῦτα εὔχονται; διεσάφουν δὲ, ὅτι μαρτύριόν ἐστι τοῦ μηδὲν εἰργάσθαι κακόν· πᾶσα γὰρ ἐνέργεια διὰ τῶν χειρῶν γίνεται.*]

the history of his own life[70], and by the words of Peter signified[71]. Tedious it were to rip up all such things as were in that Church established, yea by Christ himself and by his Apostle observed, though not commanded any where in Scripture.

VII. Well, yet a gloss there is to colour that paradox, and notwithstanding all this, still to make it appear in show not to be altogether unreasonable. And therefore till further reply come, the cause is held by a feeble distinction; that the commandments of God being either general or special, although there be no express word for every thing in specialty, yet there are general commandments for all things, to the end, that even such cases as are not in Scripture particularly mentioned, might not be left to any to order at their pleasure, only with caution that nothing be done against the word of God: and that for this cause the Apostle hath set down in Scripture four general rules, requiring such things alone to be received in the Church as do best and nearest agree with the same rules, that so all things in the Church may be appointed, not only *not against* but *by* and *according to* the word of God. The rules are these, "Nothing scandalous or offensive unto any, "especially unto the Church of God[72];" "All things in order and with seemliness[73];" All unto edification[74];" finally, "All to the "glory of God[75]." Of which kind how many might be gathered out of the Scripture, if it were necessary to take so much pains? Which rules they that urge, minding thereby to prove that nothing may be done in the Church but what Scripture commandeth, must needs hold that they tie the Church of Christ no otherwise than only because we find them there set down by the finger of the Holy Ghost. So that unless the Apostle by writing had delivered those rules to the Church, we should by observing them have sinned, as now by not observing them.

A shift to maintain that nothing ought to be established in the Church which is not commanded in the word of God; namely, that commandments are of two sorts, and that all things lawful in the Church are commanded, if not by special precepts, yet by general rules in the word.

[2.] In the Church of the Jews is it not granted[76], that the appointment of the hour for daily sacrifices; the building of synagogues throughout the land to hear the word of God and to pray in, when they came not up to Jerusalem, the erecting of pulpits and chairs to teach in, the order of burial, the rites of marriage, with such-like, being matters appertaining to the Church, yet are not any where prescribed in the law, but were by the Church's discretion instituted? What then shall we think? Did they hereby add to the law, and so displease God by that which they did? None so hardly persuaded of them. Doth their law deliver unto them the self-same general rules of the Apostle, that framing thereby their orders they might in that respect clear themselves from doing amiss? St. Paul would then of likelihood have cited them out of the Law, which we see he doth not. The truth is, they are rules and canons of that law which is written in all men's hearts; the Church had forever no less than now stood bound to observe them, whether the Apostle had mentioned them or no.

Seeing therefore those canons do bind as they are edicts of nature, which the Jews observing as yet unwritten, and thereby framing such church orders as in their law were not prescribed, are notwithstanding in that respect unculpable: it followeth that sundry things may be lawfully done in the Church, so as they be not done against the Scripture, although no Scripture do command them, but the Church only following the light of reason judge them to be in discretion meet.

[3.] Secondly, unto our purpose and for the question in hand, whether the commandments of God in Scripture be general or special, it skilleth not: for if being particularly applied they have in regard of such particulars a force constraining us to take some one certain thing of many, and to leave the rest; whereby it would come to pass, that any other particular but that one being established, the general rules themselves in that case would be broken; then is it utterly impossible that God should leave any thing great or small free for the Church to establish or not.

[4.] Thirdly, if so be they shall grant, as they cannot otherwise do, that these rules are no such laws as require any one particular thing to be done, but serve rather to direct the Church in all things which she doth; so that free and lawful it is to devise any ceremony, to receive any order, and to authorize any kind of regiment, no special commandment being thereby violated, and the same being thought such by them, to whom the judgment thereof appertaineth, as that it is not scandalous, but decent, tending unto edification, and setting forth the glory of God; that is to say, agreeable unto the general rules of Holy Scripture: this doth them no good in the world for the furtherance of their purpose. That which should make for them must prove that men ought not to make laws for church regiment, but only keep those laws which in

[70] [c. 5 l. τὴν συνοδον διέλυσεν ἐπελθοῦσα ἕκτη ὥρα, καθ' ἣν τοῖς σάββασιν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι νόμιμόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν. cf. Acts x. 9.]

[71] [Acts ii. 15.]

[72] 1 Cor. x. 32.

[73] 1 Cor. xiv. 40.

[74] 1 Cor. xiv. 26.

[75] Rom. xiv. 6, 7. [and 1 Cor. x. 31. see T. C. i. 27.]

[76] T. C. lib. i. p. 35. [21.]

Scripture they find made. The plain intent of the Book of Ecclesiastical Discipline [77] is to shew that men may not devise laws of church government, but are bound for ever to use and execute only those which God himself hath already devised and delivered in the Scripture. The selfsame drift the Admonitioners also had, in urging that nothing ought to be done in the Church according unto any law of man's devising, but all according to that which God in his word hath commanded. Which not remembering, they gather out of Scripture general rules to be followed in making laws; and so in effect they plainly grant that we ourselves may lawfully make laws for the Church, and are not bound out of Scripture only to take laws already made, as they meant who first alleged that principle whereof we speak. One particular platform it is which they respected, and which they laboured thereby to force upon all Churches; whereas these general rules do not let but that there may well enough be sundry. It is the particular order established in the Church of England, which thereby they did intend to alter, as being not commanded of God; whereas unto those general rules they know we do not defend that we may hold any thing unconformable. Obscure it is not what meaning they had, who first gave out that grand axiom; and according unto that meaning it doth prevail far and wide with the favourers of that part. Demand of them, wherefore they conform not themselves unto the order of our Church, and in every particular their answer for the most part is, "We find no such thing com-"manded in the word:" whereby they plainly require some special commandment for that which is exacted at their hands; neither are they content to have matters of the Church examined by general rules and canons.

[5.] As therefore in controversies between us and the Church of Rome, that which they practise is many times even according to the very grossness of that which the vulgar sort conceiveth; when that which they teach to maintain it is so nice and subtile that hold can very hardly be taken thereupon; in which cases we should do the Church of God small benefit by disputing with them according unto the finest points of their dark conveyances, and suffering that sense of their doctrine to go uncontrolled, wherein by the common sort it is ordinarily received and practised: so considering what disturbance hath grown in the Church amongst ourselves, and how the authors thereof do commonly build altogether on this as a sure foundation, "Noth-"ing ought to be established in the Church "which in the word of God is not command-"ed;" were it reason that we should suffer the same to pass without controlment in that current meaning whereby every where it prevaileth, and stay till some strange construction were made thereof, which no man would lightly have thought on but being driven thereunto for a shift?

VIII. The last refuge in maintaining this position is thus to construe it, "Nothing "ought to be established in "the Church, but that which "is commanded in the word "of God;" that is to say, all church orders must be "grounded upon the word of "God [78];" in such sort grounded upon the word, not that being found out by some "star, "or light of reason, or learn-"ing, or other help," they may be received, so they be not against the word of God; but according at leastwise unto the general rules of Scripture they must be made. Which is in effect as much as to say, "We know not what to say "well in defence of this posi-"tion; and therefore lest we "should say it is false, there is "no remedy but to say that in "some sense or other it may "be true, if we could tell how."

Another answer in defence of the former assertion, whereby the meaning thereof is opened in this sort. All Church orders must be commanded in the word, that is to say, grounded upon the word, and made according at the leastwise unto the general rules of Holy Scripture. As for such things as are found out by any star or light of reason, and are in that respect received so they be not against the word of God, all such things it holdeth unlawfully received.

[2.] First, that scholy had need of a very favourable reader and a tractable, that should think it plain construction, when to be *commanded in the Word* and *grounded upon the Word* are made all one. If when a man may live in the state of matrimony, seeking that good thereby which nature principally desireth [79], he make rather choice of a contrary life in regard of St. Paul's judgment [80]; that which he doth is manifestly *grounded* upon the word of God, yet not *commanded* in his word, because without breach of any commandment he might do otherwise.

[3.] Secondly, whereas no man in justice and reason can be reproved for those actions which are framed according unto that known will of God, whereby they are to be judged; and the will of God which we are to judge our actions by, no sound divine in the world ever denied to be in part made manifest even by light of nature, and not by Scripture alone: if the Church being directed by the former of these two (which God hath given who gave the other, that man might in different sort be guided by them both), if the Church I say do approve and establish that which thereby it judgeth meet, and findeth not repugnant to any word or syllable of Holy Scripture;

[77] [By Travers, Geneva 1580.]

[78] T. C. ii. 56. [79] Arist. Pol. i. 2.
[80] 1 Cor. vii. 8, 26.

who shall warrant our presumptuous boldness controlling herein the Church of Christ?

[4.] But so it is, the name of the light of nature is made hateful with men; the "star of reason and learning," and all other such like helps, beginneth no otherwise to be thought of than if it were an unlucky comet; or as if God had so accursed it, that it should never shine or give light in things concerning our duty any way towards him, but be esteemed as that star in the Revelation[81] called Wormwood, which being fallen from heaven, maketh rivers and waters in which it falleth so bitter, that men tasting them die thereof. A number there are, who think they cannot admire as they ought the power and authority of the word of God, if in things divine they should attribute any force to man's reason. For which cause they never use reason so willingly as to disgrace reason. Their usual and common discourses are unto this effect. First, "the natural man perceiveth not the "things of the Spirit of God; for they are "foolishness unto him: neither can he know "them, because they are spiritually discerned[82]." Secondly, it is not for nothing that St. Paul giveth charge to "beware of philosophy[83]," that is to say, such knowledge as men by natural reason attain unto. Thirdly, consider them that have from time to time opposed themselves against the Gospel of Christ, and most troubled the Church with heresy. Have they not always been great admirers of human reason? Hath their deep and profound skill in secular learning made them the more obedient to the truth, and not armed them rather against it? Fourthly, they that fear God will remember how heavy his sentences are in this case: "I will destroy the wisdom of "the wise, and will cast away the under"standing of the prudent. Where is the "wise? where is the scribe? where is the "disputer of this world? hath not God "made the wisdom of this world foolishness? "Seeing the world by wisdom knew not "God in the wisdom of God, it pleased God "by the foolishness of preaching to save "believers[84]." Fifthly, the word of God in itself is absolute, exact, and perfect. The word of God is a two-edged sword[85]; as for the weapons of natural reason, they are as the armour of Saul[86], rather cumbersome about the soldier of Christ than needful. They are not of force to do that which the apostles of Christ did by the power of the Holy Ghost: "My preaching," therefore saith Paul, "hath not been "in the enticing speech of man's wisdom, "but in plain evidence of the Spirit and of "power, that your faith might not be in the "wisdom of men, but in the power of God[87]." Sixthly, if I believe the Gospel there needeth no reasoning about it to persuade me; if I do not believe, it must be the Spirit of God and not the reason of man that shall convert my heart unto him. By these and the like disputes an opinion hath spread itself very far in the world, as if the way to be ripe in faith were to be raw in wit and judgment; as if Reason were an enemy unto Religion, childish Simplicity the mother of ghostly and divine Wisdom.

[5.] The cause why such declamations prevail so greatly, is, for that men suffer themselves in two respects to be deluded: one is, that the wisdom of man being debased either in comparison with that of God, or in regard of some special thing exceeding the reach and compass thereof, it seemeth to them (not marking so much) as if simply it were condemned: another, that learning, knowledge, or wisdom, falsely so termed, usurping a name whereof they are not worthy, and being under that name controlled; their reproof is by so much the more easily misapplied, and through equivocation wrested against those things whereunto so precious names do properly and of right belong. This, duly observed, doth to the former allegations itself make sufficient answer. Howbeit, for all men's plainer and fuller satisfaction:

[6.] First, Concerning the inability of reason to search out and to judge of things divine, if they be such as those properties of God and those duties of men towards him, which may be conceived by attentive consideration of heaven and earth; we know that of mere natural men the Apostle testifieth[88], how they knew both God, and the Law of God. Other things of God there be which are neither so found, nor though they be shewed can ever be approved without the *special* operation of God's good grace and Spirit. Of such things sometime spake the Apostle St. Paul, declaring how Christ had called him to be a witness of his death and resurrection from the dead, according to that which the prophets and Moses had foreshewed. Festus, a mere natural man, an infidel, a Roman, one whose ears were unacquainted with such matter, heard him, but could not reach unto that whereof he spake; the suffering and the rising of Christ from the dead he rejecteth as idle superstitious fancies not worth the hearing[89]. The Apostle that knew them by the Spirit, and spake of them with power of the Holy Ghost, seemed in his eyes but learnedly mad[90]. Which example maketh manifest what elsewhere the same Apostle teacheth, namely, that nature hath

[81] Apoc. viii. 10.
[82] 1 Cor. ii. 14.
[83] Col. ii. 8.
[84] 1 Cor. i. 19.
[85] [Heb. iv. 12.]
[86] [1 Sam. xvii. 39.]
[87] 1 Cor. ii. 4.
[88] Rom. i. 21, 32.
[89] Acts xxv. 19.
[90] Acts xxvi. 24.

need of grace [91], whereunto I hope we are not opposite, by holding that grace hath use of nature.

[7.] Secondly, Philosophy we are warned to take heed of: not that philosophy which is true and sound knowledge attained by natural discourse of reason; but that philosophy, which to bolster heresy or error casteth a fraudulent show of reason upon things which are indeed unreasonable, and by that mean as by a stratagem spoileth the simple which are not able to withstand such cunning. "Take heed lest any "spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit [92]." He that exhorteth to beware of an enemy's policy doth not give counsel to be impolitic, but rather to use all provident foresight and circumspection, lest our simplicity be overreached by cunning sleights. The way not to be inveigled by them that are so guileful through skill, is thoroughly to be instructed in that which maketh skilful against guile, and to be armed with that true and sincere philosophy, which doth teach, against that deceitful and vain, which spoileth.

[8.] Thirdly, But many great philosophers have been very unsound in belief. And many sound in belief, have been also great philosophers. Could secular knowledge bring the one sort unto the love of Christian faith? Nor Christian faith the other sort out of love with secular knowledge. The harm that heretics did, they did it unto such as were unable to discern between sound and deceitful reasoning; and the remedy against it was ever the skill which the ancient Fathers had to descry and discover such deceit. Insomuch that Cresconius the heretic complained greatly of St. Augustine, as being too full of logical subtilities [93]. Heresy prevaileth only by a counterfeit show of reason; whereby notwithstanding it becometh invincible, unless it be convicted of fraud by manifest remonstrance clearly true and unable to be withstood. When therefore the apostle requireth ability to convict heretics [94], can we think he judgeth it a thing unlawful, and not rather needful, to use the principal instrument of their conviction, the light of reason? It may not be denied but that in the Fathers' writings there are sundry sharp invectives against heretics, even for their very philosophical reasonings. The cause whereof Tertullian confesseth not to have been any dislike conceived against the kind of such reasonings, but the end [95]. "We may," saith he, "even in matters of "God be made wiser by reasons drawn "from the public persuasions, which are "grafted in men's minds: so they be used "to further the truth, not to bolster error; "so they make with, not against that which "God hath determined. For there are "some things even known by nature, as the "immortality of the soul unto many, our God "unto all. I will therefore myself also use "the sentence of some such as Plato, pronouncing every soul immortal. I myself "too will use the secret acknowledgment of "the commonalty, bearing record of the "God of gods. But when I hear men allege, 'That which is dead is dead;' and, "'While thou art alive be alive;' and, 'After death an end of all, even of death itself:' then will I call to mind both that the "heart of the people with God is accounted "dust [96], and that the very wisdom of the "world is pronounced folly [97]. If then an "heretic fly also unto such vicious popular "and secular conceits, my answer unto him "shall be, 'Thou heretic, avoid the heathen; "although in this ye be one, that ye both "belie God, yet thou that doest this under "the name of Christ, differest from the hea"then, in that thou seemest to thyself a "Christian. Leave him therefore his con"ceits, seeing that neither will he learn

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[91] 1 Cor. ii. 14.

[92] Col. ii. 8.

[93] [S. Aug. contr. Cresecon. i. 16. t. ix. 397. "Quid est aliud Dialectica, quam peritia disputandi? Quod ideo aperiendum putavi, quia etiam "ipsam mihi objicere voluisti, quasi 'Christianæ "non congruat veritati, et ideo me doctores vestri, "velut hominem dialecticum, merito fugiendum "potius et cavendum, quam refellendum revincen"dumque censuerint.' Quod cum tibi non persuaserint, nam te adversus nos etiam scribendo "disputare non piguit, tu tamen in me dialecticam "criminatus es, quo falleres imperitos, cosque laudares qui disputando mecum congredi noluerant. "Sed tu videlicet non dialectica uteris, cum con"tra nos scribis?"]

[94] Tit. i. 9. 11.

[95] Tert. de Resur. Carnis, [c. 3. Est quidem et "de communibus sensibus sapere in Dei rebus, sed "in testimonium veri, non in adjutorium falsi; "quod sit secundum divinam, non contra divi"am dispositionem. Quædam enim et natura "nota sunt, ut immortalitas animæ penes plures, ut "Deus noster penes omnes. Utar ergo et senten"tia Platonis alicujus pronunciantis, 'Omnis ani"ma immortalis.' Utar et conscientia populi, con"testantis Deum Deorum.....At cum aiunt, 'Mor"tuum quod mortuum,' et 'Vive dum vivis,' et "'Post mortem omnia finiuntur, etiam ipsa:' tunc "meminero, et cor vulgi cinerem a Deo deputatum, "et ipsam sapientiam sæculi stultitiam pronuncia"tam. Tunc si et hæreticus ad vulgi vitia, vel "sæculi ingenia confugerit, 'Discede,' dicam, 'ab "ethnico, hæretice; etsi unum estis omnes qui "Deum fingitis; dum hoc tamen in Christi nom"ine facis, dum Christianus tibi videris, alius ab "ethnico es. Redde illi suos sensus, quia nec ille "de tuis instruitur. Quid cæco duci inniteris, si "vides? Quid vestiris a mundo, si Christum in"duisti? Quid alieno uteris clypeo, si ab Aposto"lo armatus es? Ille potius a te discat carnis re"surrectionem confiteri, quam tu ab illo diffi"teri.'"]

[96] [Isai. xliv. 20.]

[97] [1 Cor. iii. 19.]

"thine. Why dost thou having sight trust "to a blind guide; thou which hast put on "Christ take raiment of him that is naked? "If the Apostle have armed thee, why dost "thou borrow a stranger's shield? Let "him rather learn of thee to acknowledge, "than thou of him to renounce the resur- "rection of the flesh.'" In a word, the Catholic Fathers did good unto all by that knowledge, whereby heretics hindering the truth in many, might have furthered therewith themselves, but that obstinately following their own ambitious or otherwise corrupted affections, instead of framing their wills to maintain that which reason taught, they bent their wits to find how reason might seem to teach that which their wills were set to maintain. For which cause the Apostle saith of them justly, that they are for the most part αὐτοκατάκριτοι, men condemned even in and of themselves [98]. For though they be not all persuaded that it is truth which they withstand, yet that to be error which they uphold they might undoubtedly the sooner a great deal attain to know, but that their study is more to defend what once they have stood in, than to find out sincerely and simply what truth they ought to persist in forever.

[9.] Fourthly, There is in the world no kind of knowledge, whereby any part of truth is seen, but we justly account it precious; yea, that principal truth, in comparison whereof all other knowledge is vile, may receive from it some kind of light; whether it be that Egyptian and Chaldean wisdom mathematical, wherewith Moses and Daniel were furnished [99]; or that natural, moral, and civil wisdom, wherein Solomon excelled all men [1]; or that rational and oratorial wisdom of the Grecians, which the Apostle St. Paul brought from Tarsus; or that Judaical, which he learned in Jerusalem sitting at the feet of Gamaliel [2]: to detract from the dignity thereof were to injury [3] even God himself, who being that light which none can approach unto, hath sent out these lights whereof we are capable, even as so many sparkles resembling the bright fountain from which they rise.

But there are that bear the title of wise men and scribes and great disputers of the world, and are nothing in deed less than what in show they most appear. These being wholly addicted unto their own wills, use their wit, their learning, and all the wisdom they have, to maintain that which their obstinate hearts are delighted with, esteeming in the frantic error of their minds the greatest madness in the world to be wisdom, and the highest wisdom foolishness. Such were both Jews and Grecians, which professed the one sort legal, and the other secular skill, neither enduring to be taught the mystery of Christ: unto the glory of whose most blessed name, whoso study to use both their reason and all other gifts, as well which nature as which grace hath endued them with, let them never doubt but that the same God who is to destroy and confound utterly that wisdom falsely so named in others, doth make reckoning of them as of true Scribes, Scribes by wisdom instructed to the kingdom of heaven [4], not Scribes against that kingdom hardened in a vain opinion of wisdom; which in the end being proved folly, must needs perish, true understanding, knowledge, judgment and reason continuing for evermore.

[10.] Fifthly, Unto the word of God, being in respect of that end for which God ordained it perfect, exact, and absolute in itself, we do not add reason as a supplement of any maim or defect therein, but as a necessary instrument, without which we could not reap by the Scripture's perfection that fruit and benefit which it yieldeth. "The "word of God is a twoedged sword [5]," but in the hands of reasonable men; and reason as the weapon that slew Goliath, if they be as David was that use it. Touching the Apostles, He which gave them from above such power for miraculous confirmation of that which they taught, endued them also with wisdom from above to teach that which they so did confirm. Our Saviour made choice of twelve simple and unlearned men, that the greater their lack of natural wisdom was, the more admirable that might appear which God supernaturally endued them with from heaven. Such therefore as knew the poor and silly estate wherein they had lived, could not but wonder to hear the wisdom of their speech, and be so much the more attentive unto their teaching. They studied for no tongue, they spake with all; of themselves they were rude, and knew not so much as how to premeditate; the Spirit gave them speech and eloquent utterance.

But because with St. Paul it was otherwise than with the rest, inasmuch as he never conversed with Christ upon earth as they did; and his education had been scholastical altogether, which theirs was not; hereby occasion was taken by certain malignants, secretly to undermine his great authority in the Church of Christ, as though the gospel had been taught him by others

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[98] Tit. iii. 11.

[99] Acts vii. 22: Dan. i. 17.

[1] 1 Kings iv. 29, 30.

[2] Acts xxii. 3.

[3] ["To injury, v. for 'to injure.' 'Those that are "in authority, and princes themselves, ought to "take great heed how they *injury* any man by "word or deed, and whom they *injury*.' Danet's "Comines, lib. iii." Nares's Glossary.

"I am strangely *injuried* by the Archbishop." Hugh Broughton in Strype's Whitg. iii. 367.]

[4] Matt. xiii. 52.

[5] Heb. iv. 12.

than by Christ himself, and as if the cause of the Gentiles' conversion and belief through his means had been the learning and skill which he had by being conversant in their books; which thing made them so willing to hear him, and him so able to persuade them; whereas the rest of the Apostles prevailed, because God was with them, and by miracle from heaven confirmed his word in their mouths. They were mighty in *deeds*: as for him, being absent, his writings had some force; in presence, his power not like unto theirs. In sum, concerning his preaching, their very byword was, λόγος ἐξουθενημένος, *addle speech, empty talk*[6]: his writings full of great words, but in the power of miraculous operations his presence not like the rest of the Apostles.

Hereupon it riseth that St. Paul was so often driven to make his apologies. Hereupon it riseth that whatsoever time he had spent in the study of human learning, he maketh earnest protestation to them of Corinth, that the gospel which he had preached amongst them did not by other means prevail with them, than with others the same gospel taught by the rest of the Apostles of Christ. "My preaching," saith he, "hath not been in the persuasive speeches "of human wisdom, but in demonstration "of the Spirit and of power: that your faith "may not be in the wisdom of men, but in "the power of God[7]." What is it which the Apostle doth here deny? Is it denied that his speech amongst them had been *persuasive*? No: for of him the sacred history plainly testifieth, that for the space of a year and a half he spake in their synagogue every Sabbath, and *persuaded* both Jews and Grecians[8]. How then is the speech of men made persuasive? Surely there can be but two ways to bring this to pass, the one human, the other divine. Either St. Paul did *only* by art and natural industry cause his own speech to be credited; or else God by miracle did authorize it, and so bring credit thereunto, as to the speech of the rest of the Apostles. Of which two, the former he utterly denieth. For why? if the preaching of the rest had been effectual by miracle, his *only* by force of his own learning; so great inequality between him and the other Apostles in this thing had been enough to subvert their faith. For might they not with reason have thought, that if he were sent of God as well as they, God would not have furnished them and not him with the power of the Holy Ghost? Might not a great part of them being simple haply have feared, lest their assent had been cunningly gotten unto his doctrine, rather through the weakness of their own wits than the certainty of that truth which he had taught them? How unequal had it been that all believers through the preaching of other Apostles should have their faith strongly built upon the evidence of God's own miraculous approbation, and they whom he had converted should have their persuasion built only upon his skill and wisdom who persuaded them?

As therefore calling from men may authorize us to teach, although it could not authorize him to teach as other Apostles did: so although the wisdom of man had not been sufficient to enable him such a teacher as the rest of the Apostles were, unless God's miracles had strengthened both the one and the other's doctrine; yet unto our ability both of teaching and learning the truth of Christ, as we are but mere Christian men, it is not a little which the wisdom of man may add[9].

[11.] Sixthly, Yea, whatsoever our hearts be to God and to his truth, believe we or be we as yet faithless, for our conversion or confirmation the force of natural reason is

[6] 2 Cor. x. 10. [7] 1 Cor. ii. 4, 5.
[8] Acts xviii. 4. 11.

[9] [Chr. Letter, p. 43. "In all your bookes, al- "though we finde manie good things, manie "trueths and fine points bravely handled, yet in all "your discourse, for the most parte, Aristotle the "patriarch of philosophers (with divers other hu- "mane writers) and the ingenuous schoolemen, al- "most in all points have some finger: reason is "highlie sett up against Holie Scripture, and read- "ing against preaching."

Hooker MS. note. "If Aristotle and the school- "men be such perilous creatures, you must needes "think yourself an happie man, whome God hath "so fairely blest from too much knowledge in "them.

"Remember heer S. Jerome's Epistle in his own "defense." [To Magnus, t. II. 326. He pleads precedent, scriptural and ecclesiastical, for his use of profane learning.] "Forget not Picus Miran- "dula's judgment of the schoolemen;" (Opp. i. "79. Ut a nostris, ad quos postremo philosophia "pervenit, nunc exordiar; est in Joanne Scoto "vegetum quiddam atque discussum, in Thoma "solidum et æquabile, in Ægidio tersum et exact- "um, in Francisco acre et acutum, in Alberto "priscum, amplum, et grande, in Henrico, ut mi- "hi visum est, semper sublime et venerandum.") "Beza's judgment of Aristotle." (For his opinion of the use of logic, see Epis. 67.) "As also "Calvin's judgment of philosophie. Epist. 90, ad "Bucerum," (p. 110. "Et philosophia præclarum "est Dei donum; et qui omnibus sæculis extite- "runt docti viri, eos Deus ipsi excitavit, ut ad veri notitiam mundo prælucerent.") Again, Chr. Letter, ibid. "Shall we doe you wronge to suspect..... "that you esteeme the preaching and writing of "all the reverend Fathers of our Church, and the "*bookes of holy Scripture to bee at the least of no* "*greater moment than Aristotle and the schoole-* "*men?*"

Hooker MS. note: "I think of the Scripture of "God as reverently as the best of the purified "crew in the world. I except not any, no not the "founders themselves and captaines of that fac- "tion. In which mind I hope by the grace of "Almighty God that I shall both live and die."]

great. The force whereof unto those effects is nothing without grace. What then? To our purpose it is sufficient, that whosoever doth serve, honour, and obey God, whosoever believeth in Him, that man would no more do this than innocents and infants do, but for the light of natural reason that shineth in him, and maketh him apt to apprehend those things of God, which being by grace discovered, are effectual to persuade reasonable minds and none other, that honour, obedience, and credit, belong of right unto God. No man cometh unto God to offer him sacrifice, to pour out supplications and prayers before him, or to do him any service, which doth not first believe him both to be, and to be a rewarder of them who in such sort seek unto him [10]. Let men be taught this either by revelation from heaven, or by instruction upon earth; by labour, study, and meditation, or by the only secret inspiration of the Holy Ghost; whatsoever the mean be they know it by, if the knowledge thereof were possible without discourse of natural reason, why should none be found capable thereof but only men; nor men till such time as they come unto ripe and full ability to work by reasonable understanding? The whole drift of the Scripture of God, what is it but only to teach Theology? Theology, what is it but the science of things divine? What science can be attained unto without the help of natural discourse and reason? "Judge you of that which I speak [11]," saith the Apostle. In vain it were to speak any thing of God, but that by reason men are able somewhat to judge of that they hear, and by discourse to discern how consonant it is to truth.

[12.] Scripture indeed teacheth things above nature, things which our reason by itself could not reach unto. Yet those things also we believe, knowing by reason that the Scripture is the word of God. In the presence of Festus a Roman, and of King Agrippa a Jew, St. Paul omitting the one, who neither knew the Jews' religion, nor the books whereby they were taught it, speaks unto the other of things foreshewed by Moses and the Prophets and performed in Jesus Christ; intending thereby to prove himself so unjustly accused, that unless his judges did condemn both Moses and the Prophets, him they could not choose but acquit, who taught only that fulfilled, which they so long since had foretold. His cause was easy to be discerned; what was done their eyes were witnesses; what Moses and the Prophets did speak their books could quickly shew; it was no hard thing for him to compare them, which knew the one, and believed the other. "King Agrippa, believest thou the Prophets? I know thou dost [12]." The question is how the books of the Prophets came to be credited of King Agrippa. For what with him did authorize the Prophets, the like with us doth cause the rest of the Scripture of God to be of credit.

[13.] Because we maintain that in Scripture we are taught all things necessary unto salvation; hereupon very childishly it is by some demanded, what Scripture can teach us the sacred authority of the Scripture, upon the knowledge whereof our whole faith and salvation dependeth? As though there were any kind of Science in the world which leadeth men into knowledge without presupposing a number of things already known. No science doth make known the first principles whereon it buildeth, but they are always either taken as plain and manifest in themselves, or as proved and granted already, some former knowledge having made them evident. Scripture teacheth all supernatural revealed truth, without the knowledge whereof salvation cannot be attained. The main principle whereupon our belief of all things therein contained dependeth, is, that the Scriptures are the oracles of God himself. This in itself we cannot say is evident. For then all men that hear it would acknowledge it in heart, as they do when they hear that "every whole "is more than any part of that whole," because this in itself is evident. The other we know that all do not acknowledge when they hear it. There must be therefore some former knowledge presupposed which doth herein assure the hearts of all believers. Scripture teacheth us that saving truth which God hath discovered unto the world by revelation, and it presumeth us taught otherwise that itself is divine and sacred.

[14.] The question then being by what means we are taught this; some answer that to learn it we have no other way than only tradition; as namely that so we believe because both we from our predecessors and they from theirs have so received. But is this enough? That which all men's experience teacheth them may not in any wise be denied. And by experience we all know, that the first outward motive leading men so to esteem of the Scripture is the authority of God's Church [13]. For when we

[10] Heb. xi. 6.

[11] 1 Cor. x. 15.

[12] Acts xxvi. 27.

[13] [Chr. Letter, p. 9. 10. "Have we not here "good cause to suspect the underpropping of a "popish principle concerning the Churches author- "itie above the Holie Scripture, to the disgrace of "the English Church?"

Hooker, MS. note. "You have already done "your best to make a jarre between nature and "Scripture. Your next endeavour is to doe the "like betweene Scripture and the Church. Your "delight in conflicts doth make you dreame of "them where they are not.

Again, Chris. Letter, p. 10. "We pray you to

know the whole Church of God hath that opinion of the Scripture, we judge it even at the first an impudent thing for any man bred and brought up in the Church to be of a contrary mind without cause. Afterwards the more we bestow our labor in reading or hearing the mysteries thereof, the more we find that the thing itself doth answer our received opinion concerning it. So that the former inducement prevailing somewhat with us before, doth now much more prevail, when the very thing hath ministered farther reason. If infidels or atheists chance at any time to call it in question, this giveth us occasion to sift what reason there is, whereby the testimony of the Church concerning Scripture and our own persuasion which Scripture itself hath confirmed, may be proved a truth infallible. In which case the ancient Fathers being often constrained to shew, what warrant they had so much to rely upon the Scriptures, endeavored still to maintain the authority of the books of God by arguments such as unbelievers themselves must needs think reasonable, if they judged thereof as they should. Neither is it a thing impossible or greatly hard, even by such kind of proofs so to manifest and clear that point, that no man living shall be able to deny it, without denying some apparent principle such as all men acknowledge to be true.

Wherefore if I believe the Gospel, yet is reason of singular use, for that it confirmeth me in this my belief the more: if I do not as yet believe, nevertheless to bring me to the number of believers except reason did somewhat help, and were an instrument which God doth use unto such purposes, what should it boot to dispute with infidels or godless persons for their conversion and persuasion in that point?

[15.] Neither can I think that when grave and learned men do sometime hold, that of this principle there is no proof but by the testimony of the Spirit, which assureth our hearts therein, it is their meaning to exclude utterly all force which any kind of reason may have in that behalf; but I rather incline to interpret such their speeches, as if they had more expressly set down, that other motives and inducements, be they never so strong and consonant unto reason, are notwithstanding uneffectual of themselves to work faith concerning this principle, if the special grace of the Holy Ghost concur not to the enlightening of our minds. For otherwise I doubt not but men of wisdom and judgment will grant, that the Church, in this point especially, is furnished with reason, to stop the mouths of her impious adversaries; and that as it were altogether bootless to allege against them what the Spirit hath taught us, so likewise that even to our ownselves it needeth caution and explication how the testimony of the Spirit may be discerned, by what means it may be known; lest men think that the Spirit of God doth testify those things which the spirit of error suggesteth. The operations of the Spirit, especially these ordinary which be common unto all true Christian men, are as we know things secret and undiscernible even to the very soul where they are, because their nature is of another and an higher kind than that they can be by us perceived in this life. Wherefore albeit the Spirit lead us into all truth and direct us in all goodness, yet because these workings of the Spirit in us are so privy and secret, we therefore stand on a plainer ground, when we gather by reason from the quality of things believed or done, that the Spirit of God hath directed us in both, than if we settle ourselves to believe or to do any certain particular thing, as being moved thereto by the Spirit.

[16.] But of this enough. To go from the books of Scripture to the sense and meaning thereof: because the sentences which are by the Apostles recited out of the Psalms [14], to prove the resurrection of Jesus Christ, did not prove it, if so be the Prophet David meant them of himself; this exposition therefore they plainly disprove, and shew by manifest reason, that of David the words of David could not possibly be meant. Exclude the use of natural reasoning about the sense of Holy Scripture concerning the articles of our faith, and then that the Scripture doth concern the articles of our faith who can assure us? That, which by right exposition buildeth up Christian faith, being misconstrued breedeth error: between true and false construction, the difference reason must shew. Can Christian men perform that which Peter requireth at their hands; is it possible they should both believe and be able, without the use of reason, to render "a reason of "their belief[15]," a reason sound and sufficient to answer them that demand it, be

"expound, either by experience or otherwise; "Whether the worde of God was receaved in the "world, and beleeved by men, by the virtue and "authoritie of the witnesses, either Prophets or "Apostles, or the holy Church; or that such were "not esteemed for the wordes sake."

Hooker, MS. note. "I am sorie to see you in "the groundes and elements of your religion so "scelenderly instructed.

"Fides nititur authoritate docentis. Docens au- "tem confirmatam habet authoritatem personæ vir- "tute miraculorum. Id quod omnino necessarium "est propter ea quæ docet supra et præter natural- "em rationem: qua omnis probatio argumentosa "nititur, quæ fidem facit. Atque hoc Apostolus de "se testatur, cum efficacem fuisse sermonem suum "asserit non vi humanæ persuasionis, sed assisten- "tis Spiritus ad opera miraculosa perficienda. "Vide Tertull. cont. Gent. p. 637."]

[14] Acts xiii. 36; ii. 34. [15] 1 Pet. iii. 15.

they of the same faith with us or enemies thereunto? may we cause our faith without reason to appear reasonable in the eyes of men? This being required even of learners in the school of Christ, the duty of their teachers in bringing them unto such ripeness must needs be somewhat more, than only to read the sentences of Scripture, and then paraphrastically to scholy them; to vary them with sundry forms of speech, without arguing or disputing about any thing which they contain. This method of teaching may commend itself unto the world by that easiness and facility which is in it: but a law or a pattern it is not, as some do imagine, for all men to follow that will do good in the Church of Christ.

[17.] Our Lord and Saviour himself did hope by disputation to do some good, yea by disputation not only of, but against the truth, albeit with purpose for the truth. That Christ should be the son of David was truth; yet against this truth our Lord in the gospel objecteth, "If Christ be the "son of David, how doth David call him Lord [16]?" There is as yet no way known how to dispute, or to determine of things disputed, without the use of natural reason.

If we please to add unto Christ their example, who followed him as near in all things as they could; the sermon of Paul and Barnabas set down in the Acts [17], where the people would have offered unto them sacrifice; in that sermon what is there but only natural reason to disprove their act? "O men, why do you these things? We "are men even subject to the self-same pas- "sions with you; we preach unto you to "leave these vanities and to turn to the liv- "ing God, the God that hath not left him- "self without witness, in that he hath done "good to the world, giving rain and fruitful "seasons, filling our heart with joy and "gladness."

Neither did they only use reason in winning such unto Christian belief as were yet thereto unconverted, but with believers themselves they followed the selfsame course. In that great and solemn assembly of believing Jews how doth Peter prove that the Gentiles were partakers of the grace of God as well as they, but by reason drawn from those effects, which were apparently known amongst them? "God "which knoweth hearts hath borne them "witness in giving unto them the Holy "Ghost as unto us [18]."

The light therefore, which the star of natural reason and wisdom casteth, is too bright to be obscured by the mist of a word or two uttered to diminish that opinion which justly hath been received concerning the force and virtue thereof, even in matters that touch most nearly the principal duties of men and the glory of the eternal God.

[18.] In all which hitherto hath been spoken touching the force and use of man's reason in things divine, I must crave that I be not so understood or construed, as if any such thing by virtue thereof could be done without the aid and assistance of God's most blessed Spirit. The thing we have handled according to the question moved about it; which question is whether the light of reason be so pernicious, that in devising laws for the Church men ought not by it to search what may be fit and convenient. For this cause therefore we have endeavored to make it appear, how in the nature of reason itself there is no impediment, but that the selfsame Spirit, which revealeth the things that God hath set down in his law, may also be thought to aid and direct men in finding out by the light of reason what laws are expedient to be made for the guiding of his Church, over and besides them that are in Scripture. Herein therefore we agree with those men, by whom human laws are defined to be ordinances, which such as have lawful authority given them for that purpose do probably draw from the laws of nature and God, by discourse of reason aided with the influence of divine grace. And for that cause, it is not said amiss touching ecclesiastical canons, that "by instinct of the Ho- "ly Ghost they have been made, and con- "secrated by the reverend acceptation of "all the world [19]."

IX. Laws for the Church are not made as they should be, unless the makers follow such direction as they ought to be guided by: wherein that Scripture standeth not the Church of God in any stead, or serveth nothing at all to direct, but may be let pass as needless to be consulted with, we judge it profane, impious, and irreligious to think. For although it were in vain to make laws which the Scripture hath already made, because what we are already there commanded to do, on our parts there resteth nothing but only that it be executed; yet because both in that which we are commanded, it concerneth the duty of the Church by law to provide, that the looseness and slackness of men may not cause the commandments of God to be unexecuted; and a number of things there are for which the Scripture hath not provided by any law, but left them

How laws for the regiment of the Church may be made by the advice of men following therein the light of reason, and how those laws being not repugnant to the word of God are approved in his sight.

[16] Matt. xxii. 43. [17] Acts xiv. 15.
[18] Acts xv. 8.

[19] Violatores. 25. q. i. [Decret. Gratian. caus. xxv. quæst. i. c. 6. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Paris. 1618. p. 313. "Violatores canonum voluntari gra- "viter a sanctis patribus judicantur, et a Sancto "Spiritu (instinctu cujus, et dono dictati sunt) "damnantur."]

unto the careful discretion of the Church; we are to search how the Church in these cases may be well directed to make that provision by laws which is most convenient and fit. And what is so in these cases, partly Scripture and partly reason must teach to discern. Scripture comprehending examples and laws, laws some natural and some positive: examples there neither are for all cases which require laws to be made, and when there are, they can but direct as precedents only. Natural laws direct in such sort, that in all things we must for ever do according unto them; Positive so, that against them in no case we may do any thing, as long as the will of God is that they should remain in force. Howbeit when Scripture doth yield us precedents, how far forth they are to be followed; when it giveth natural laws, what particular order is thereunto most agreeable; when positive, which way to make laws unrepugnant unto them; yea though all these should want, yet what kind of ordinances would be most for that good of the Church which is aimed at, all this must be by reason found out. And therefore, "to refuse the conduct of the "light of nature," saith St. Augustine, "is "not folly alone but accompanied with im-"piety [20]."

[2.] The greatest amongst the school-divines studying how to set down by exact definition the nature of an human law (of which nature all the Church's constitutions are) found not which way better to do it than in these words: "Out of the precepts of the "law of nature, as out of certain common and "undemonstrable principles, man's reason "doth necessarily proceed unto certain more "particular determinations; which particu-"lar determinations being found out accord-"ing unto the reason of man, they have the "names of human laws, so that such other "conditions be therein kept as the making "of laws doth require [21]," that is, if they whose authority is thereunto required do establish and publish them as laws. And the truth is, that all our controversy in this cause concerning the orders of the Church is, what particulars the Church may appoint. That which doth find them out is the force of man's reason. That which doth guide and direct his reason is first the general law of nature; which law of nature and the moral law of Scripture are in the substance of law all one. But because there are also in Scripture a number of laws particular and positive, which being in force may not by any law of man be violated; we are in making laws to have thereunto an especial eye. As for example, it might perhaps seem reasonable unto the Church of God, following the general laws concerning the nature of marriage, to ordain in particular that cousin-germans shall not marry. Which law notwithstanding ought not to be received in the Church, if there should be in Scripture a law particular to the contrary, forbidding utterly the bonds of marriage to be so far forth abridged. The same Thomas therefore whose definition of human laws we mentioned before, doth add thereunto this caution concerning the rule and canon whereby to make them [22]: *human laws are measures* in respect of men whose actions they must direct; howbeit such measures they are, as have also their higher rules to be measured by, *which rules are two, the law of God, and the law of nature.* So that laws human must be made according to the general laws of nature, and without contradiction unto any positive law in Scripture. Otherwise they are ill made.

[3.] Unto laws thus made and received by a whole church, they which live within the bosom of that church must not think it a matter indifferent either to yield or not to yield obedience. Is it a small offence to despise the Church of God [23]? "My son "keep thy father's commandment," saith Solomon, "and forget not thy mother's in-"struction: bind them both always about "thine heart [24]." It doth not stand with the duty which we owe to our heavenly Father, that to the ordinances of our mother the Church we should shew ourselves disobedient. Let us not say we keep the commandments of the one, when we break the law of the other: for unless we observe both, we obey neither. And what doth let but that we may observe both, when they are not the one to the other in any sort repugnant? For of such laws only we speak, as being made in form and manner already declared, can have in them no contradiction unto the laws of Almighty God. Yea that which is more, the laws thus made God himself doth in such sort authorize, that to despise them is to despise in them Him. It is a loose and licentious opinion which the Anabaptists have embraced, holding that a Christian man's liberty is lost, and the soul which Christ hath redeemed unto himself

[20] "Luminis naturalis ducatum repellere non "modo stultum est sed et impium." August. lib. iv. de Trin. cap. 6. [The editor has not been able to verify this quotation.]

[21] Tho. Aqui. 1, 2. q. 91, art. 3. [t. xi. p. i. 199.] "Ex præceptis legis naturalis, quasi ex quibusdam "principiis communibus et indemonstrabilibus, "necesse est quod ratio humana procedat ad ali-"qua magis particulariter disponenda. Et istæ "particulares dispositiones adinventæ secundum "rationem humanam dicuntur *leges humanæ*, ob-"servatis aliis conditionibus quæ pertinent ad ra-"tionem legis."

[22] Quæst. 95. Art. 3. [t. xi. p. i. 206. "Lex hu-"mana ... est quædam regula, vel mensura regu-"lata, vel mensurata quadam superiori mensura; "quæ quidem est duplex, scil. divina lex, et lex "naturæ, ut ex supradictis patet."]

[23] 1 Cor. xi. 22. [24] Prov. vi. 20.

injuriously drawn into servitude under the yoke of human power, if any law be now imposed besides the Gospel of Jesus Christ: in obedience whereunto the Spirit of God and not the constraint of man is to lead us, according to that of the blessed Apostle, "such as are led by the Spirit of God they "are the sons of God[25]," and not such as live in thraldom unto men. Their judgment is therefore that the Church of Christ should admit no law-makers but the Evangelists. The author of that which causeth another thing to be, is author of that thing also which thereby is caused. The light of natural understanding, wit, and reason, is from God; he it is which thereby doth illuminate every man entering into the world[26]. If there proceed from us any thing afterwards corrupt and naught, the mother thereof is our own darkness, neither doth it proceed from any such cause whereof God is the author. He is the author of all that we think or do by virtue of that light, which himself hath given. And therefore the laws which the very heathens did gather to direct their actions by, so far forth as they proceeded from the light of nature, God himself doth acknowledge to[27] have proceeded even from himself, and that he was the writer of them in the tables of their hearts. How much more then he the author of those laws, which have been made by his saints, endued further with the heavenly grace of his Spirit, and directed as much as might be with such instructions as his sacred word doth yield! Surely if we have unto those laws that dutiful regard which their dignity doth require, it will not greatly need that we should be exhorted to live in obedience unto them. If they have God himself for their author, contempt which is offered unto them cannot choose but redound unto him. The safest and unto God the most acceptable way of framing our lives therefore is, with all humility, lowliness, and singleness of heart, to study, which way our willing obedience both unto God and man may be yielded even to the utmost of that which is due.

That neither God's being the author of laws, nor his committing them to Scripture, nor the continuance of the end for which they were instituted, is any reason sufficient to prove that they are unchangeable.

X. Touching the mutability of laws that concern the regiment and polity of the Church; changed they are, when either altogether abrogated, or in part repealed, or augmented with farther additions. Wherein we are to note, that this question about the changing of laws concerneth only such laws as are positive, and do make that now good or evil by being commanded or forbidden, which otherwise of itself were not simply the one or the other. Unto such laws it is expressly sometimes added, how long they are to continue in force. If this be no where exprest, then have we no light to direct our judgments concerning the changeableness or immutability of them, but by considering the nature and quality of such laws. The nature of every law must be judged of by the end for which it was made, and by the aptness of things therein prescribed unto the same end. It may so fall out that the reason why some laws of God were given is neither opened nor possible to be gathered by wit of man. As why God should forbid Adam that one tree, there was no way for Adam ever to have certainly understood. And at Adam's ignorance of this point Satan took advantage, urging the more securely a false cause because the true was unto Adam unknown. Why the Jews were forbidden to plough their ground with an ox and an ass, why to clothe themselves with mingled attire of wool and linen[28], both it was unto them and to us it remaineth obscure. Such laws perhaps cannot be abrogated saving only by whom they were made: because the intent of them being known unto none but the author, he alone can judge how long it is requisite they should endure. But if the reason why things were instituted may be known, and being known do appear manifestly to be of perpetual necessity; then are those things also perpetual, unless they cease to be effectual unto that purpose for which they were at the first instituted. Because when a thing doth cease to be available unto the end which gave it being, the continuance of it must then of necessity appear superfluous. And of this we cannot be ignorant, how sometimes that hath done great good, which afterwards, when time hath changed the ancient course of things, doth grow to be either very hurtful, or not so greatly profitable and necessary. If therefore the end for which a law provideth be perpetually necessary, and the way whereby it provideth perpetually also most apt, no doubt but that every such law ought for ever to remain unchangeable.

[2.] Whether God be the author of laws by authorizing that power of men whereby they are made, or by delivering them made immediately from himself, by word only, or in writing also, or howsoever; notwithstanding the authority of their Maker, the mutability of that end for which they are made doth also make them changeable. The law of ceremonies came from God: Moses had commandment to commit it unto the sacred records of Scripture, where it continueth even unto this very day and

[25] Rom. viii. 14. [26] John i. 9.
[27] Rom. i. 19; ii. 15.

[28] Deut. xxii. 10, 11. [Spencer (de Legg. Hebræor. lib. ii. c. 31, 33.) conjectures, but without direct evidence, that these were prohibitions of Sabæan ceremonies.]

hour: in force still as the Jew surmiseth, because God himself was author of it, and for us to abolish what he hath established were presumption most intolerable. But (that which they in the blindness of their obdurate hearts are not able to discern) sith the end for which that law was ordained is now fulfilled, past and gone; how should it but cease any longer to be, which hath no longer any cause of being in force as before? "That which necessity of some "special time doth cause to be enjoined "bindeth no longer than during that time, "but doth afterwards become free [29]."

Which thing is also plain even by that law which the Apostles assembled at the council of Jerusalem did from thence deliver unto the Church of Christ, the preface whereof to authorize it was, "To the holy "Ghost and to us it hath seemed good [30]:" which style they did not use as matching themselves in power with the Holy Ghost, but as testifying the Holy Ghost to be the author, and themselves but only utterers of that decree. This law therefore to have proceeded from God as the author thereof no faithful man will deny. It was of God, not only because God gave them the power whereby they might make laws, but for that it proceeded even from the Holy motion and suggestion of that secret divine Spirit, whose sentence they did but only pronounce. Notwithstanding, as the law of ceremonies delivered unto the Jews, so this very law which the Gentiles received from the mouth of the Holy Ghost, is in like respect abrogated by decease of the end for which it was given.

[3.] But such as do not stick at this point, such as grant that what hath been instituted upon any special cause needeth not to be observed [31], that cause ceasing, do notwithstanding herein fail; they judge the laws of God only by the author and main end for which they were made, so that for us to change that which he hath established, they hold it execrable pride and presumption, if so be the end and purpose for which God by that mean provideth be permanent. And upon this they ground those ample disputes concerning orders and offices, which being by him appointed for the government of his Church, if it be necessary always that the Church of Christ be governed, then doth the end for which God provided remain still; and therefore in those means which he by law did establish as being fittest unto that end, for us to alter any thing is to lift up ourselves against God, and as it were to countermand him. Wherein they mark not that laws are instruments to rule by, and that instruments are not only to be framed according unto the general end for which they are provided, but even according unto that very particular, which riseth out of the matter whereon they have to work. The end wherefore laws were made may be permanent, and those laws nevertheless require some alteration, if there be any unfitness in the means which they prescribe as tending unto that end and purpose. As for example, a law that to bridle theft doth punish thieves with a quadruple restitution hath an end which will continue as long as the world itself continueth. Theft will be always, and will always need to be bridled. But that the mean which this law provideth for that end [32], namely the punishment of quadruple restitution, that this will be always sufficient to bridle and restrain that kind of enormity no man can warrant. Insufficiency of laws doth sometimes come by want of judgment in the makers. Which cause cannot fall into any law termed properly and immediately divine, as it may and doth into human laws often. But that which hath been once most sufficient may wax otherwise by alteration of time and place; that punishment which hath been sometime forcible to bridle sin may grow afterwards too weak and feeble.

[4.] In a word, we plainly perceive by the difference of those three laws which the Jews received at the hands of God, the moral, ceremonial, and judicial, that if the end for which and the matter according whereunto God maketh his laws continue always one and the same, his laws also do the like; for which cause the moral law cannot be altered: secondly, that whether the matter whereon laws are made continue or continue not, if their end have once ceased, they cease also to be of force; as in the law ceremonial it fareth: finally, that albeit the end continue, as in that law of theft specified and in a great part of those ancient judicials it doth; yet forasmuch as there is not in all

[29] "Quod pro necessitate temporis statutum est, "cessante necessitate, debet cessare pariter quod "urgebat." i. q. 1. Quod pro necessit. [i. e. Decr. Gratiani, pars 1. causa 1. qu. 1. c. 41. in Corp. Jur. Canon. 116.]

[30] Acts xv. 28.

[31] Counterp. p. 8. [Cosin in his "Answer to "the Abstract," had produced the change of time in celebrating the Eucharist, from the evening after supper, to the morning before the first meal, as an instance of the authority left with the Church to vary matters of discipline. The author of the Counter-poison replies, "As it is a mere circum-"stance of time, so the alteration hath ground in "the Scripture, because one and the same time is "not always kept. Acts iii. 42; xx. 7, 11, &c. "Neither can that be said to be according to the "institution, which *being done upon a particular* "*cause* (as all divines agree) *should not be ob-*"*served where that cause ceaseth.*" T. C. ii. 465. "Neither any man, nor all men in the world, could "have put down the temporal ministeries of Apos-"tles, Evangelists, &c. which the Lord ordained, "unless the Lord himself had withdrawn them."]

[32] [Exod. xxii. 1; 2 Sam. xii. 6.]

respects the same subject or matter remaining for which they were first instituted, even this is sufficient cause of change: and therefore laws, though both ordained of God himself, and the end for which they were ordained continuing, may notwithstanding cease, if by alterations of persons or times they be found insufficient to attain unto that end. In which respect why may we not presume that God doth even call for such change or alteration as the very condition of things themselves doth make necessary?

[5.] They which do therefore plead the authority of the law-maker as an argument, wherefore it should not be lawful to change that which he hath instituted, and will have this the cause why all the ordinances of our Saviour are immutable; they which urge the wisdom of God as a proof, that whatsoever laws he hath made they ought to stand, unless himself from heaven proclaim them disannulled, because it is not in man to correct the ordinance of God; may know, if it please them to take notice thereof, that we are far from presuming to think that men can better any thing which God hath done, even as we are from thinking that men should presume to undo some things of men, which God doth know they cannot better. God never ordained any thing that could be bettered. Yet many things he hath that have been changed, and that for the better. That which succeedeth as better now when change is requisite, had been worse when that which now is changed was instituted. Otherwise God had not then left this to choose that, neither would now reject that to choose this, were it not for some new-grown occasion making that which hath been better worse. In this case therefore men do not presume to change God's ordinance, but they yield thereunto requiring itself to be changed.

[6.] Against this it is objected, that to abrogate or innovate the Gospel of Christ if men or angels should attempt, it were most heinous and cursed sacrilege. And the Gospel (as they say) containeth not only doctrine instructing men how they should believe, but also precepts concerning the regiment of the Church. Discipline therefore is "a part of the Gospel[33];" and God being the author of the whole Gospel, as well of discipline as of doctrine, it cannot be but that both of them "have a common cause." So that as we are to believe for ever the articles of evangelical doctrine, so the precepts of discipline we are in like sort bound for ever to observe.

[7.] Touching points of doctrine, as for example, the Unity of God, the Trinity of Persons, salvation by Christ, the resurrection of the body, life everlasting, the judgment to come, and such like, they have been since the first hour that there was a Church in the world, and till the last they must be believed. But as for matters of regiment, they are for the most part of another nature. To make new articles of faith and doctrine no man thinketh it lawful; new laws of government what commonwealth or church is there which maketh not either at one time or another? "The rule of "faith[34]," saith Tertullian, "is but one, and "that alone immoveable and impossible to "be framed or cast anew." The law of outward order and polity not so[35]. There is no reason in the world wherefore we should esteem it as necessary always to do, as always to believe, the same things; seeing every man knoweth that the matter of faith is constant, the matter contrariwise of action daily changeable, especially the matter of action belonging unto church polity. Neither can I find that men of soundest judgment have any otherwise taught, than that articles of belief, and things which all men must of necessity do to the end they may be saved, are either expressly set down in Scripture, or else plainly thereby to be gathered. But touching things which belong to discipline and outward polity, the Church hath authority to make canons, laws, and decrees, even as we read that in the Apostles' times it did[36]. Which kind of laws (forasmuch as they are not in themselves necessary to salvation) may after they are made be also changed as the difference of times or places shall require. Yea, it is not denied I am sure by themselves, that certain things in discipline are of that nature, as they may be varied by times, places, persons, and other the like circumstances. Whereupon I demand, are those changeable points of discipline commanded in the word of God or no? If they be not commanded and yet

[33] "We offer to shew the discipline to be a part "of the Gospel, and therefore to have a common "cause; so that in the repulse of the discipline "the Gospel receives a check." And again, "I "speak of the discipline as of a part of the Gospel, "and therefore neither under nor above the Gos-"pel, but the Gospel." T. C. lib. ii. p. 1, 4. [These latter words are in p. 5, but in p. 4 are the following: "The discipline being, as it is pro-"pounded, and offered to be proved, a part of the "Gospel, must needs arm the Lord against the "refuser."]

[34] Tert. de. Veland. Virg. c. 1.

[35] Mart. [i. e. Peter Martyr] in 1 Sam. xiv. ["Positum sit, licere Ecclesiæ scribere sibi aut "canones, aut leges, aut decreta, aut sanctiones, "aut quocunque ea velis nomine appellari. Est "enim Ecclesia cœtus, et regi debet verbo Dei, "præsertim quod attinet ad salutem ipsius, et cul-"tum Dei. Sed sunt alia, quæ tantum pertinent "ad externam disciplinam... Istarum legum finis "esse debet ædificatio et εὐταξία. Quoniam autem "necessariæ non sunt, pro temporum et locorum "ratione mutari possunt."]

[36] Acts xv.

may be received in the Church, how can their former position stand, condemning all things in the Church which in the word are not commanded? If they be commanded and yet may suffer change, how can this latter stand, affirming all things immutable which are commanded of God? Their distinction touching matters of substance and of circumstance, though true, will not serve. For be they great things or be they small, if God have commanded them in the Gospel, and his commanding them in the Gospel do make them unchangeable, there is no reason we should more change the one than we may the other. If the authority of the maker do prove unchangeableness in the laws which God hath made, then must all laws which he hath made be necessarily for ever permanent, though they be but of circumstance only and not of substance. I therefore conclude, that neither God's being author of laws for government of his Church, nor his committing them unto Scripture, is any reason sufficient wherefore all churches should for ever be bound to keep them without change.

[8.] But of one thing we are here to give them warning by the way. For whereas in this discourse we have oftentimes profest that many parts of discipline or church polity are delivered in Scripture, they may perhaps imagine that we are driven to confess their discipline to be delivered in Scripture, and that having no other means to avoid it, we are fain to argue for the changeableness of laws ordained even by God himself, as if otherwise theirs of necessity should take place, and that under which we live be abandoned. There is no remedy therefore but to abate this error in them, and directly to let them know, that if they fall into any such conceit, they do but a little flatter their own cause. As for us, we think in no respect so highly of it. Our persuasion is, that no age ever had knowledge of it but only ours; that they which defend it devised it; that neither Christ nor his Apostles at any time taught it, but the contrary. If therefore we did seek to maintain that which most advantageth our own cause, the very best way for us and the strongest against them were to hold even as they do, that in Scripture there must needs be found some particular form of church polity which God hath instituted, and which for that very cause belongeth to all churches, to all times [37]. But with any such partial eye to respect ourselves, and by cunning to make those things seem the truest which are the fittest to serve our purpose, is a thing which we neither like nor mean to follow. Wherefore that which we take to be generally true concerning the mutability of laws, the same we have plainly delivered, as being persuaded of nothing more than we are of this, that whether it be in matter of speculation or of practice, no untruth [38] can possibly avail the patron and defender long, and that things most truly are likewise most behovefully spoken.

XI. This we hold and grant for truth, that those very laws which of their own nature are changeable, be notwithstanding uncapable of change, if he which gave them, being of authority so to do, forbid absolutely to change them; neither may they admit alteration against the will of such a law-maker. Albeit therefore we do not find any cause why of right there should be necessarily an immutable form set down in holy Scripture; nevertheless if indeed there have been at any time a church polity so set down, the change whereof the sacred Scripture doth forbid, surely for men to alter those laws which God for perpetuity hath established were presumption most intolerable.

Whether Christ have forbidden all change of those laws which are set down in Scripture.

[2.] To prove therefore that the will of Christ was to establish laws so permanent and immutable that in any sort to alter them cannot but highly offend God, thus they reason. First [39], if Moses, being but a servant in the house of God, did therein establish laws of government for perpetuity,

[37] "Disciplina est Christianæ Ecclesiæ Politia, "a Deo ejus recte administrandæ causa constitu- "ta, ac propterea ex ejus verbo petenda, et ob "eandem causam omnium ecclesiarum communis "et omnium temporum." Lib. de Eccles. Discip. in Anal. [See also p. 9, Cartwright's Translation.]

[38] Ἐοίκασιν οὖν οἱ ἀληθεῖς τῶν λόγων οὐ μόνον πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι χρησιμώτατοι εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν βίον. Συνῳδοὶ γὰρ ὄντες ἔργοις, πιστεύονται. Arist. Ethic. lib. x. cap. 1.

[39] Heb. iii. 6. "Either that commendation of "the son before the servant is a false testimony, or "the son ordained a permanent government in the "Church. If permanent, then not to be changed. "What then do they, that [not only] hold it may "be changed at the magistrate's pleasure, but ad- "vise the magistrate by his positive laws to pro- "claim, that it is his will, that if there shall be a "church within his dominions, he will maim and "deform the same?" M. M. [Martin Marprelate, "Ha' ye any work for a Cooper?"] p. 16. "He that "was as faithful as Moses, left as clear instruction "for the government of the Church: but Christ "was as faithful as Moses: Ergo." Demonst. of Discip. cap. i. [p. 3. See also Theses Martinianæ, 5th Thesis. "If Christ did not ordain a church "government which at the pleasure of man can- "not be changed, then he is inferior unto Moses: "for the government placed by him might no man "alter, and thereto might no man add any thing. "Heb. iii. 2, 3." Eccl. Disc. fol. 7. "Ne illum "aliqua parte prophetici muneris spoliemus, aut "servum, quantumvis fidelem, unigenito Filio, et "tanquam Eliezerum Isaaco in paterna domo præ- "feramus." Counterpoison, p. 9. Penry's Appellation to the High Court of Parliament, p. 18.]

laws which they that were of the household might not alter; shall we admit into our thoughts, that the Son of God hath in providing for this his household declared himself less faithful than Moses? Moses delivering unto the Jews such laws as were durable, if those be changeable which Christ hath delivered unto us, we are not able to avoid it, but (that which to think were heinous impiety) we of necessity must confess even the Son of God himself to have been less faithful than Moses. Which argument shall need no touchstone to try it by but some other of the like making. Moses erected in the wilderness a tabernacle which was moveable from place to place; Solomon a sumptuous and stately temple which was not moveable: therefore Solomon was faithfuller than Moses, which no man endued with reason will think. And yet by this reason it doth plainly follow.

He that will see how faithful the one or the other was, must compare the things which they both did unto the charge which God gave each of them. The Apostle in making comparison between our Saviour and Moses attributeth faithfulness unto both, and maketh this difference between them: Moses *in*, but Christ *over* the house of God; Moses in that house which was *his by charge and commission*, though to govern it, yet to govern it *as a servant;* but Christ over this house as being *his own entire possession.*

[3.] Our Lord and Saviour doth make protestation, "I have given unto them the "words which thou gavest me [40]." Faithful therefore he was, and concealed not any part of his Father's will. But did any part of that will require the immutability of laws concerning church polity? They answer, Yea. For else God should less favor us than the Jews [41]. God would not have their church guided by any laws but his own. And seeing this did so continue even till Christ, now to ease God of that care, or rather to deprive the Church of his patronage, what reason have we? Surely none to derogate any thing from the ancient love which God hath borne to his Church. An heathen philosopher [42] there is, who considering how many things beasts have which men have not, how naked in comparison of them, how impotent, and how much less able we are to shift for ourselves a long time after we enter into this world, repiningly concluded hereupon, that nature being a careful mother for them, is towards us a hard-hearted stepdame. No, we may not measure the affection of our gracious God towards his by such differences. For even herein shineth his wisdom, that though the ways of his providence be many, yet the end which he bringeth all at the length unto is one and the selfsame.

[4.] But if such kind of reasoning were good, might we not even as directly conclude the very same concerning laws of secular regiment? Their own words are these: "In the ancient church of the Jews, "God did command and Moses commit "unto writing all things pertinent as well "to the civil as to the ecclesiastical state [43]." God gave them laws of civil regiment, and would not permit their commonweal to be governed by any other laws than his own. Doth God less regard our temporal estate in this world, or provide for it worse than for theirs? To us notwithstanding he hath not as to them delivered any particular form of temporal regiment, unless perhaps we think, as some do, that the grafting of the Gentiles [44] and their incorporating into Israel [45] doth import that we ought to be subject unto the rites and laws of their whole polity. We see then how weak such disputes are, and how smally they make to this purpose.

[5.] That Christ did not mean to set down particular positive laws for all things in such sort as Moses did, the very different manner of delivering the laws of Moses and the laws of Christ doth plainly shew. Moses had commandment to gather the ordinances of God together distinctly, and orderly to set them down according unto their several kinds, for each public duty and office the laws that belong thereto, as appeareth in the books themselves, written of purpose for that end. Contrariwise the laws of Christ we find rather mentioned by occasion in the writings of the Apostles, than any solemn thing directly written to comprehend them in legal sort.

[6.] Again, the positive laws which Moses gave, they were given for the greatest part with restraint to the land of Jewry: "Be-"hold," saith Moses, "I have taught you "ordinances and laws, as the Lord my God

[40] John xvii. 8.

[41] "Either God hath left a prescript form of "government now, or else he is less careful under "the New Testament than under the Old." Demonst. of Dis. cap. i. [T. C. i. 62. ap. Whitg. Def. 304.]

[42] [Philemon, Fragm. Incert. xliii. ed. Cler.
πολύ γ' ἐστὶ πάντων ζῶον ἀθλιώτατον
ἄνθρωπος, εἴ τις ἐξετάζοι κατὰ τρόπον.
τὸν γὰρ βίον περίεργον εἰς τὰ πάντ' ἔχων,
ἀπορεῖ τὰ πλεῖστα ἐπὶ τέλους, πονεῖ τ' ἀεί.
καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ἡ γῆ θηρίοις
ἐκοῦσα παρέχει τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν τροφὴν,
αὐτὴ πορίζουσ', οὐ λαβοῦσα· πάνυ μόλις
ὥσπερ τῇ κατὰ χρέος κεφάλαιον ἐκτίει
τὸ σπέρμα, τοὺς τόκους ἀνευρίσκουσ' ἀεὶ
πρόφασίν τιν' αὐχμῶν, ἢ πάγην, ἵν' ἀποστερῇ.]

[43] Ecclesiast. Disc. lib. i. fol. 5. "In vetere "ecclesia Judæorum omnia quæ ad regendum non "modo civilem sed etiam ecclesiasticum statum "[pertinent]....diligenter descripta sunt, et a Deo "præcepta, a Mose literis commendata."]

[44] Rom. xi. 17.

[45] Ephes. ii. 12—16.

" commanded me, that ye should do even so " within the land whither ye go to possess " it [46]." Which laws and ordinances positive he plainly distinguisheth afterward from the laws of the Two Tables which were moral [47]. " The Lord spake unto you " out of the midst of the fire; ye heard the " voice of the words, but saw no similitude, " only a voice. Then he declared unto you " his Covenant which he commanded you " to do, the Ten Commandments, and wrote " them upon two tables of stone. And the " Lord commanded me that same time, that " I should teach you ordinances and laws " which ye should observe in the land " whither ye go to possess it." The same difference is again set down in the next chapter following. For rehearsal being made of the Ten Commandments, it followeth immediately [48], " These words the Lord " spake unto all your multitude in the mount " out of the midst of the fire, the cloud, and " the darkness, with a great voice, and " added no more; and wrote them upon " two tables of stone, and delivered them " unto me." But concerning other laws the people gave their consent to receive them at the hands of Moses [49]: " Go thou near, " and hear all that the Lord our God saith, " and declare thou unto us all that the Lord " our God saith unto thee, and we will hear " it and do it." The people's alacrity herein God highly commendeth with most effectual and hearty speech [50]: " I have heard " the voice of the words of this people; they " have spoken well. O that there were such " an heart in them to fear me, and to keep " all my commandments always, that it " might go well with them and with their " children for ever! Go, say unto them, " 'Return you to your tents;' but stand thou " here with me, and I will tell thee all the " commandments and the ordinances and " the laws which thou shalt teach them, that " they may do them in the land which I " have given them to possess." From this latter kind the former are plainly distinguished in many things. They were not both at one time delivered, neither both after one sort, nor to one end. The former uttered by the voice of God himself in the hearing of six hundred thousand men; the former written with the finger of God; the former termed by the name of a Covenant; the former given to be kept without either mention of time how long, or of place where. On the other side, the latter given after, and neither written by God himself, nor given unto the whole multitude immediately from God, but unto Moses, and from him to them both by word and writing; the latter termed Ceremonies, Judgments, Ordinances, but no where Covenants; finally, the observation of the latter restrained unto the land where God would establish them to inhabit.

The laws positive are not framed without regard had to the place and persons for the which they are made. If therefore Almighty God in framing their laws had an eye unto the nature of that people, and to the country where they were to dwell; if these peculiar and proper considerations were respected in the making of their laws, and must be also regarded in the positive laws of all other nations besides: then seeing that nations are not all alike, surely the giving of one kind of positive laws unto one only people, without any liberty to alter them, is but a slender proof, that therefore one kind should in like sort be given to serve everlastingly for all.

[7.] But that which most of all maketh for the clearing of this point is, that the Jews [51], who had laws so particularly determining and so fully instructing them in all affairs what to do, were notwithstanding continually inured with causes exorbitant, and such as their laws had not provided for. And in this point much more is granted us than we ask, namely, that for one thing which we have left to the order of the Church, they had twenty which were undecided by the express word of God; and that as their ceremonies and sacraments were multiplied above ours, even so grew the number of those cases which were not determined by any express word. So that if we may devise one law, they by this reason might devise twenty; and if their devising so many were not forbidden, shall their example prove us forbidden to devise as much as one law for the ordering of the Church? We might not devise no not one, if their example did prove that our Saviour had utterly forbidden all alteration of his laws; inasmuch as there can be no law devised, but needs it must either take away from his, or add thereunto more or less, and so make some kind of alteration. But of this so large a grant we are content not to take advantage. Men are oftentimes in a sudden passion more liberal than they would be if they had leisure to take advice. And therefore so bountiful words of course and frank speeches we are contented to let pass, without turning them unto advantage with too much rigour.

[8.] It may be they had rather be listened unto, when they commend the kings of

[46] Deut. iv. 5.
[47] Deut. iv. 12—14.
[48] Deut. v. 22.
[49] Deut. v. 27.
[50] Deut. v. 28—31.

[51] " Whereas you say, that they (the Jews) had " nothing but what was determined by the law, " and we have many things undetermined and " left to the order of the church; I will offer, for " one that you shall bring that we have left to the " order of the Church, to shew you that they had " twenty which were undecided by the express " word of God." T. C. lib. i. p. 35. [22.]

Israel "which attempted nothing in the gov-"ernment of the Church without the express word of God[52];" and when they urge[53] that God left nothing in his word "undescribed," whether it concerned the worship of God or outward polity, nothing unset down, and therefore charged them strictly to keep themselves unto that, without any alteration. Howbeit, seeing it cannot be denied, but that many things there did belong unto the course of their public affairs, wherein they had no express word at all to shew precisely what they should do; the difference between their condition and ours in these cases will bring some light unto the truth of this present controversy. Before the fact of the son of Shelomith, there was no law which did appoint any certain punishment for blasphemers[54]. That wretched creature being therefore deprehended in that impiety, was held in ward, till the mind of the Lord were known concerning his case. The like practice is also mentioned upon occasion of a breach of the Sabbath day. They find a poor silly creature gathering sticks in the wilderness, they bring him unto Moses and Aaron and all the congregation, they lay him in hold, because it was not declared what should be done with him, till God had said unto Moses, "This man shall die the death[55]." The law required to keep the Sabbath; but for the breach of the Sabbath what punishment should be inflicted it did not appoint. Such occasions as these are rare. And for such things as do fall scarce once in many ages of men, it did suffice to take such order as was requisite when they fell. But if the case were such as being not already determined by law were notwithstanding likely oftentimes to come in question, it gave occasion of adding laws that were not before. Thus it fell out in the case of those men polluted[56], and of the daughters of Zelophehad[57], whose causes Moses having brought before the Lord, received laws to serve for the like in time to come. The Jews to this end had the Oracle of God, they had the Prophets: and by such means God himself instructed them from heaven what to do, in all things tha did greatly concern their state and were not already set down in the Law. Shall we then hereupon argue even against our own experience and knowledge? Shall we seek to persuade men that of necessity it is ith us as it was with them; that because God is ours in all respects as much as th [illegible] therefore either no such way of direct[illegible] hath been at any time, or if it hath been it doth still continue in the Church; or if the same do not continue, that yet it must be at the least supplied by some such mean as pleaseth us to account of equal force? A more dutiful and religious way for us were to admire the wisdom of God, which shineth in the beautiful variety of all things, but most in the manifold and yet harmonious dissimilitude of those ways, whereby his Church upon earth is guided from age to age, throughout all generations of men.

[9.] The Jews were necessarily to continue till the coming of Christ in the flesh, and the gathering of nations unto him. So much the promise made unto Abraham[58] did import. So much the prophecy of Jacob at the hour of his death did foreshew[59]. Upon the safety therefore of their very outward state and condition for so long, the after good of the whole world and the salvation of all did depend. Unto their so long safety, for two things it was necessary to provide; namely, the preservation of their state against foreign resistance, and the continuance of their peace within themselves.

Touching the one, as they received the promise of God to be the rock of their defence, against which whoso did violently rush should but bruise and batter themselves; so likewise they had his commandment in all their affairs that way to seek direction and counsel from him. Men's consultations are always perilous. And it falleth out many times that after long deliberation those things are by their wit even resolved on, which by trial are found most opposite to public safety. It is no impossible thing for states, be they never so well established, yet by oversight in some one act or treaty between them and their potent opposites utterly to cast away themselves for ever. Wherefore lest it should so fall out to them upon whom so much did depend, they were not permitted to enter into war, nor conclude any league of peace, nor to wade through any act of moment between them and foreign states, unless the Oracle of God or his Prophets were first consulted with.

And lest domestical disturbance should waste them within themselves, because there was nothing unto this purpose more effectual, than if the authority of their laws and governors were such, as none might presume to take exception against it, or to shew disobedience unto it, without incurring the hatred and detestation of all men that had any spark of the fear of God; therefore he gave them even their positive laws from heaven, and as oft as occasion required chose in like sort rulers also to lead and govern them. Notwithstanding some desperately impious

[52] T. C. in the table to his second book.

[53] "If he will needs separate the worship of God "from the external polity, yet as the Lord set forth "the one, so he left nothing undescribed in the "other." T. C. lib. ii. p. 446.

[54] Levit. xxiv. 12.

[55] Numb. xv. 33—35.

[56] Numb. ix.

[57] Numb. xxvii.

[58] Gen. xviii. 18.

[59] Gen. xlix. 10.

there were, which adventured to try what harm it could bring upon them, if they did attempt to be authors of confusion, and to resist both governors and laws. Against such monsters God maintained his own by fearful execution of extraordinary judgment upon them.

By which means it came to pass, that although they were a people infested and mightily hated of all others throughout the world, although by nature hard-hearted, querulous, wrathful, and impatient of rest and quietness; yet was there nothing of force either one way or other to work the ruin and subversion of their state, till the time before-mentioned was expired. Thus we see that there was not no cause of dissimilitude in these things between that one only people before Christ, and the kingdoms of the world since.

[10.] And whereas it is further alleged[60] that albeit "in civil matters and things pertaining to this present life God hath used "a greater particularity with them than "amongst us, framing laws according to "the quality of that people and country; "yet the leaving of us at greater liberty in "things civil is so far from proving the like "liberty in things pertaining to the kingdom "of heaven, that it rather proves a straiter "bond. For even as when the Lord would "have his favor more appear by temporal "blessings of this life towards the people "under the Law than towards us, he gave "also politic laws most exactly, whereby "they might both most easily come into "and most steadfastly remain in possession "of those earthly benefits: even so at this "time, wherein he would not have his favour so much esteemed by those outward "commodities, it is required, that as his "care in prescribing laws for that purpose "hath somewhat fallen in leaving them to "men's consultations which may be deceived, so his care for conduct and government of the life to come should (if it were possible) rise, in leaving less to the order "of men than in times past." These are but weak and feeble disputes for the inference of that conclusion which is intended. For saving only in such consideration as hath been shewed, there is no cause wherefore we should think God more desirous to manifest his favour by temporal blessings towards them than towards us. Godliness had unto them, and it hath also unto us, the promises both of this life and the life to come. That the care of God hath fallen in earthly things, and therefore should rise as much in heavenly; that more is left unto men's consultations in the one, and therefore less must be granted in the other; that God, having used a greater particularity with them than with us for matters pertaining unto this life, is to make us amends by the more exact delivery of laws for government of the life to come: these are proportions, whereof if there be any rule, we must plainly confess that which truth is, we know it not. God which spake unto them by his Prophets, hath unto us by his only-begotten Son; those mysteries of grace and salvation which were but darkly disclosed unto them, have unto us most clearly shined. Such differences between them and us the Apostles of Christ have well acquainted us withal. But as for matter belonging to the outward conduct or government of the Church, seeing that even in sense it is manifest that our Lord and Saviour hath not by positive laws descended so far into particularities with us as Moses with them, neither doth by extraordinary means, oracles, and prophets, direct us as them he did in those things which rising daily by new occasions are of necessity to be provided for; doth it not hereupon rather follow, that although not to them, yet to us there should be freedom and liberty granted to make laws?

[11.] Yea, but the Apostle St. Paul doth fearfully charge Timothy[61], even "in the "sight of God who quickeneth all, and of "Jesus Christ who witnessed that famous "confession before Pontius Pilate[62], to keep "what was commanded him safe and sound "till the appearance of our Lord Jesus "Christ[63]." This doth exclude all liberty of changing the laws of Christ, whether by abrogation or addition or howsoever. For in Timothy the whole Church of Christ receiveth charge concerning her duty; and that charge is to keep the Apostle's com-

[60] T. C. lib. ii. p. 440.

[61] [See Eccl. Disc. fol. 10. "Sed universum "hunc locum de disciplina a Deo profecta, et pro- "phetica immobili atque perpetua, et omnium ec- "clesiarum communi, gravissima illa Pauli ad "Timotheum de eadem conservanda obtestatione "concludamus. Qui quum discipulum suum om- "nem domus Dei, quæ est Ecclesia, administran- "dæ rationem docuisset, 'Denuncio,' inquit, 'tibi, "in conspectu Dei illius qui vivificat omnia, et "Jesu Christi, qui præclaram illam confessionem "Pontio Pilato professus est, ut hæc mandata sine "labe et sine reprehensione custodies usque ad "apparitionem Domini nostri Jesu Christi:' &c. "quæ gravissimis verbis Apostolus persecutus est. "Unde primo colligimus, disciplinæ quam ea epis- "tola Paulus tradidisset, Deum omnipotentem auc- "torem esse, et servatorem nostrum Jesum Chris- "tum: ut qui ejusdem violatæ ultores et vindices "significantur. Tum constantem esse atque im- "mutabilem, quæ nulla hominum neque gratia va- "riari, neque auctoritate frangi debeat: cum non "solum ἐντολὴ καὶ παραγγελία appelletur, sed ju- "beatur etiam ἄσπιλος καὶ ἀνεπίλημπτος conserva- "ri. Postremo non certi alicujus temporis præ- "ceptum esse, sed perpetuum, et quod ad omnia "Ecclesiæ tempora pertinet: quum tam diserte "præceptum sit, ut usque in adventum Domini "nostri Jesu Christi conservetur."]

[62] John xviii. 36, 37. [63] 1 Tim. iv. 13, 14.

mandment; and his commandment did contain the laws that concern church government; and those laws he straitly requireth to be observed without breach or blame, till the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ.

In Scripture we grant every one man's lesson to be the common instruction of all men, so far forth as their cases are like; and that religiously to keep the Apostle's commandments in whatsoever they may concern us we all stand bound. But touching that commandment which Timothy was charged with, we swerve undoubtedly from the Apostle's precise meaning, if we extend it so largely that the arms thereof shall reach unto all things which were commanded him by the Apostle. The very words themselves do restrain themselves unto some one especial commandment among many. And therefore it is not said, "Keep the ordinances, laws, and constitutions, which "thou hast received," but τὴν ἐντολὴν, "that "great commandment which doth principally concern thee and thy calling;" that commandment which Christ did so often inculcate unto Peter[64]; that commandment unto the careful discharge whereof they of Ephesus are exhorted, "Attend "to yourselves, and to all the flock wherein "the Holy Ghost hath placed you Bishops, "to feed the Church of God, which he hath "purchased by his own blood[65];" finally, that commandment which unto the same Timothy is by the same Apostle even in the same form and manner afterwards again urged, "I charge thee in the sight of God and "the Lord Jesus Christ, which will judge the "quick and dead at his appearance and in "his kingdom, *preach the word of God*[66]." When Timothy was instituted into that office, then was the credit and trust of this duty committed unto his faithful care. The doctrine of the Gospel was then given him, "as the precious talent or treasure of Jesus "Christ[67]; then received he for performance of this duty the special gift of the "Holy Ghost[68]." "To keep this commandment immaculate and blameless" was to teach the Gospel of Christ without mixture of corrupt and unsound doctrine, such as a number did even in those times intermingle with the mysteries of Christian belief. "Till the appearance of Christ to keep it so," doth not import the time wherein it should be kept, but rather the time whereunto the final reward for keeping it was reserved: according to that of St. Paul concerning himself, "I have kept the faith; for the re"sidue there is laid up for me a crown of "righteousness, which the Lord the righte"ous shall in that day render unto me[69]." If they that labour in this harvest should respect but the present fruit of their painful travel, a poor encouragement it were unto them to continue therein all the days of their life. But their reward is great in heaven; the crown of righteousness which shall be given them in that day is honourable. The fruit of their industry then shall they reap with full contentment and satisfaction, but not till then. Wherein the greatness of their reward is abundantly sufficient to countervail the tediousness of their expectation. Wherefore till then, they that are in labour must rest in hope. "O Timo"thy, keep that which is committed unto "thy charge; that great commandment "which thou hast received keep, till the ap"pearance of our Lord Jesus Christ."

In which sense although we judge the Apostle's words to have been uttered, yet hereunto we do not require them to yield, that think any other construction more sound. If therefore it be rejected, and theirs esteemed more probable which hold, that the last words do import perpetual observation of the Apostle's commandment imposed necessarily for ever upon the militant Church of Christ; let them withal consider, that then his commandment cannot so largely be taken, as to comprehend whatsoever the Apostle did command Timothy. For themselves do not all bind the Church unto some things whereof Timothy received charge, as namely unto that precept concerning the choice of widows[70]. So as they cannot hereby maintain that all things positively commanded concerning the affairs of the Church were commanded for perpetuity. And we do not deny that certain things were commanded to be though positive yet perpetual in the Church.

[12.] They should not therefore urge against us places that seem to forbid change, but rather such as set down some measure of alteration, which measure if we have exceeded, then might they therewith charge us justly; whereas now they themselves both granting, and also using liberty to change, cannot in reason dispute absolutely against all change. Christ delivered no inconvenient or unmeet laws: sundry of ours they hold inconvenient: therefore such laws they cannot possibly hold to be Christ's: being not his, they must of necessity grant them added unto his. Yet certain of those very laws so added they themselves do not judge unlawful; as they plainly confess both in matter of prescript attire and of rites appertaining to burial. Their own protestations are, that they plead against the inconvenience not the unlawfulness of popish apparel[71]; and against the incon-

[64] John xxi. 15.
[65] Acts xx. 28.
[66] 2 Tim. iv. 1.
[67] 1 Tim vi. 20. τὴν παραταθήκην.
[68] 1 Tim. iv. 14.
[69] 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.

[70] [1 Tim. v. 9. See T. C. i. 153. al. 191. Whitg. Def. 693.

[71] "My reasons do never conclude the unlawful"ness of these ceremonies of burial, but the in-

venience not the unlawfulness of ceremonies in burial. Therefore they hold it a thing not unlawful to add to the laws of Jesus Christ; and so consequently they yield that no law of Christ forbiddeth addition unto church laws.

[13.] The judgment of Calvin being alleged [72] against them, to whom of all men they attribute most [73]; whereas his words be plain, that for ceremonies and external discipline the Church hath power to make laws; the answer which hereunto they make is, that indefinitely the speech is true, and that so it was meant by him; namely, that some things belonging unto external discipline and ceremonies are in the power and arbitrament of the Church; but neither was it meant, neither is it true generally, that all external discipline and all ceremonies are left to the order of the Church, inasmuch as the sacraments of Baptism and the Supper of the Lord are ceremonies, which yet the Church may not therefore abrogate. Again, Excommunication is a part of external discipline, which might also be cast away, if all external discipline were arbitrary and in the choice of the Church.

By which their answer it doth appear, that touching the names of ceremony and external discipline they gladly would have us so understood, as if we did herein contain a great deal more than we do. The fault which we find with them is, that they overmuch abridge the Church of her power in these things. Whereupon they recharge us, as if in these things we gave the Church a liberty which hath no limits or bounds; as if all things which the name of discipline containeth were at the Church's free choice; so that we might either have church governors and government or want them, either retain or reject church censures as we list. They wonder at us as at men which think it so indifferent what the Church doth in matter of ceremonies, that it may be feared lest we judge the very Sacraments themselves to be held at the Church's pleasure.

No, the name of ceremonies we do not use in so large a meaning as to bring Sacraments within the compass and reach thereof, although things belonging unto the outward form and seemly administration of them are contained in that name, even as we use it. For the name of ceremonies we use as they themselves do, when they speak after this sort: "The doctrine and discipline of the Church, as the weightiest "things, ought especially to be looked unto; "but the ceremonies also, as mint and cummin, ought not to be neglected [74]." Besides in the matter of external discipline or regiment itself, we do not deny but there are some things whereto the church is bound till the world's end. So as the question is only how far the bounds of the Church's liberty do reach. We hold, that the power which the Church hath lawfully to make laws and orders for itself doth extend unto sundry things of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and such other matters, whereto their opinion is that the Church's authority and power doth not reach. Whereas therefore in disputing against us about this point, they take their compass a great deal wider than the truth of things can afford; producing reasons and arguments by way of generality, to prove that Christ hath set down all things belonging any way unto the form of ordering his Church, and hath absolutely forbidden change by addition or diminution, great or small: (for so their manner of disputing is:) we are constrained to make our defence, by shewing that Christ hath not deprived his Church so far of all liberty in making orders and laws for itself, and that they themselves do not think he hath so done. For are they able to shew that all

"convenience and inexpedience of them." T. C. lib. iii. p. 241. And in the table. "Of the incon- "venience, not of the unlawfulness, of popish ap- "parel and ceremonies in burial."

[72] [By Archbishop Whitgift: see Answer, p. 25—29, and Def. 109—113. The passage from Calvin is the following: "Quia Dominus.....quicquid "ad salutem necessarium erat, sacris suis oraculis "tum fideliter complexus est, tum perspicue enar- "ravit, in his solus magister est audiendus. Quia "autem in externa disciplina et ceremoniis non "volut sigillatim præscribere quid sequi debeamus, "quod istud pendere a temporum conditione præ- "videret, neque judicaret unam sæculis omnibus "formam convenire, confugere hic oportet ad gen- "erales, quas dedit, regulas; ut ad eas exigantur, "quæcunque ad ordinem et decorum præcipi ne- "cessitas Ecclesiæ postulabit." Instit. c. xiii. §. 31. ed. 1550, or lib. iv. c. x. §. 30, according to the present arrangement. All Whitgift's quotations from the Institution specify *chapter* and *section* only. The division of the work into books first took place in the edition of 1559: and Whitgift used an earlier copy. See Def. 391, 508.]

[73] "Upon the indefinite speaking of M. Calvin, "saying, 'ceremonies and external discipline,' "without adding 'all' or 'some,' you go about "subtilly to make men believe, that M. Calvin had "placed the whole external discipline in the power "and arbitrement of the Church. For if all ex- "ternal discipline were arbitrary, and in the choice "of the Church, excommunication also (which is "a part of it) might be cast away; which I think "you will not say." And in the very next words before: "Where you would give to understand "that ceremonies and external discipline are not "prescribed particularly by the word of God, and "therefore left to the order of the Church: you "must understand that all external discipline is "not left to the order of the Church, being partic- "ularly prescribed in the Scriptures; no more than "all ceremonies are left to the order of the Church, "'as the Sacrament of Baptism, and Supper of "the Lord." T. C. lib. i. p. 32. [and 33. al. 19. Whitgf. Def. 111.]

[74] T. C. lib. iii. p. 171.

particular customs, rites, and orders of reformed churches have been appointed by Christ himself? No: they grant that in matter of circumstance they alter that which they have received [75], but in things of substance they keep the laws of Christ without change. If we say the same in our own behalf (which surely we may do with a great deal more truth) then must they cancel all that hath been before alleged, and begin to inquire afresh, whether we retain the laws that Christ hath delivered concerning matters of substance, yea or no. For our constant persuasion in this point is as theirs, that we have no where altered the laws of Christ farther than in such particularities only as have the nature of things changeable according to the difference of times, places, persons, and other the like circumstances. Christ hath commanded prayers to be made, sacraments to be ministered, his Church to be carefully taught and guided. Concerning every of these somewhat Christ hath commanded which must be kept till the world's end. On the contrary side, in every of them somewhat there may be added, as the Church shall judge it expedient. So that if they will speak to purpose, all which hitherto hath been disputed of they must give over, and stand upon such particulars only as they can shew we have either added or abrogated otherwise than we ought, in the matter of church polity. Whatsoever Christ hath commanded forever to be kept in his Church, the same we take not upon us to abrogate; and whatsoever our laws have thereunto added besides, of such quality we hope it is as no law of Christ doth any where condemn.

[14.] Wherefore that all may be laid together and gathered into a narrow room: First, so far forth as the Church is the mystical body of Christ and his invisible spouse, it needeth no external polity. That very part of the law divine which teacheth faith and works of righteousness is itself alone sufficient for the Church of God in that respect. But as the Church is a visible society and body politic, laws of polity it cannot want [76].

[15.] Secondly: Whereas therefore it cometh in the second place to be inquired, what laws are fittest and best for the Church; they who first embraced that rigorous and strict opinion, which depriveth the Church of liberty to make any kind of law for herself, inclined as it should seem thereunto, for that they imagined all things which the Church doth without commandment of Holy Scripture subject to that reproof which the Scripture itself useth in certain cases [77] when divine authority ought alone to be followed. Hereupon they thought it enough for the cancelling of any kind of order whatsoever, to say, "The word of God teacheth "it not, it is a device of the brain of man, "away with it therefore out of the Church [78]." St. Augustine was of another mind, who speaking of fasts on the Sunday saith [79], "That he which would choose out that day "to fast on, should give thereby no small "offence to the Church of God, which had "received a contrary custom. For in these "things, whereof the Scripture appointeth "no certainty, the use of the people of God "or the ordinances of our fathers must serve "for a law. In which case if we will dispute, and condemn one sort by another's "custom, it will be but matter of endless "contention; where, forasmuch as the labour of reasoning shall hardly beat into "men's heads any certain or necessary "truth, surely it standeth us upon to take "heed, lest with the tempest of strife the "brightness of charity and love be dark-"ened."

If all things must be commanded of God which may be practised of his Church, I would know what commandment the Gileadites had to erect that altar which is spoken of in the book of Joshua [80]. Did not congruity of reason induce them thereunto, and suffice for defence of their fact? I would know what commandment the women of Israel had yearly to mourn and lament in the memory of Jephthah's daughter [81]; what commandment the Jews had to celebrate their feast of Dedication, never spoken of in the law, yet solemnized even by our Saviour himself [82]; what commandment finally they had for the ceremony of odours used about the bodies of the dead, after which custom notwithstanding (sith it was their custom) our Lord was contented that his own most precious body should be entombed [83]. Wherefore to reject all orders of the Church which men have established, is to think worse of the laws of men in this respect, than either the judgment of wise

[75] "We deny not but certain things are left to "the order of the Church, because they are of the "nature of those which are varied by times, pla-"ces, persons, and other circumstances, and so "could not at once be set down and established "for ever." T. C. lib. i. p. 27. [15.]

[76] [See above, ch. i.]

[77] Isa. xxix. 14; Col. ii. 22.

[78] [See above, ch. ii. 1.]

[79] August. Ep. 86. [al. 36. t. ii. 68. "Quisquis "hunc diem jejunio decernendum putaverit,..... "non parvo scandalo erit Ecclesiæ: nec immerito. "In his enim rebus de quibus nihil certi statuit "Scriptura divina, mos populi Dei, vel instituta "majorum pro lege tenenda sunt. De quibus si "disputare voluerimus, et ex aliorum consuetudine "alios improbare, orietur interminata luctatio: quæ "labore sermocinationis cum certa documenta nul-"la veritatis insinuet, utique cavendum est, ne "tempestate contentionis serenitatem caritatis ob-"nubilet."]

[80] Josh xxii. 10.

[81] Judges xi. 40.

[82] John x. 22.

[83] John xix. 40.

men alloweth, or the law of God itself will bear.

[16.] Howbeit they which had once taken upon them to condemn all things done in the Church and not commanded of God to be done, saw it was necessary for them (continuing in defence of this their opinion) to hold that needs there must be in Scripture set down a complete particular form of church polity, a form prescribing how all the affairs of the Church must be ordered, a form in no respect lawful to be altered by mortal men [84]. For reformation of which oversight and error in them, there were that thought it a part of Christian love and charity to instruct them better [85], and to open unto them the difference between matters of perpetual necessity to all men's salvation, and matters of ecclesiastical polity: the one both fully and plainly taught in holy Scripture, the other not necessary to be in such sort there prescribed; the one not capable of any diminution or augmentation at all by men, the other apt to admit both. Hereupon the authors of the former opinion were presently seconded by other wittier and better learned [86], who being loth that the form of church polity which they sought to bring in should be otherwise than in the highest degree accounted of, took [87] first an exception against the difference between church polity and matters of necessity unto salvation [88]; secondly, against the restraint of Scripture, which they say receiveth injury at our hands, when we teach that it teacheth not as well matters of polity as of faith and salvation [89]. Thirdly, Constrained hereby we have been therefore both to maintain that distinction, as a thing not only true in itself, but by them likewise so acknowledged, though unawares [90]; Fourthly, and to make manifest that from Scripture we offer not to derogate the least thing that truth thereunto doth claim, inasmuch as by us it is willingly confest, that the Scripture of God is a storehouse abounding with inestimable treasures of wisdom and knowledge in many kinds, over and above things in this one kind barely necessary; yea, even that matters of ecclesiastical polity are not therein omitted, but taught also, albeit not so taught as those other things before-mentioned [91]. For so perfectly are those things taught, that nothing can ever need to be added, nothing ever cease to be necessary; these on the contrary side, as being of a far other nature and quality, not so strictly nor everlastingly commanded in Scripture, but that unto the complete form of church polity much may be requisite which the Scripture teacheth not, and much which it hath taught become unrequisite, sometime because we need not use it, sometime also because we cannot. In which respect for mine own part, although I see that certain reformed churches, the Scottish especially and French, have not that which best agreeth with the sacred Scripture [92], I mean the government that is by Bishops, inasmuch as both those churches are fallen under a different kind of regiment; which to remedy it is for the one altogether too late, and too soon for the other during their present affliction and trouble [93]: this their defect and imperfection I had rather lament in such case than exagitate, considering that men oftentimes without any fault of their own may be driven to want that kind of polity or regiment which is best, and to content themselves with that, which either the irremediable error of former times, or the necessity of the present hath cast upon them.

[17.] Fifthly, Now because that position first-mentioned, which holdeth it necessary

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[84] [1 Admon. to the Parl. fol. 1. ap. Whitg. Def. 76. "Seeing that nothing in this mortal life is "more diligently to be sought for, and carefully to "be looked unto, than the restitution of true reli- "gion, and reformation of God's Church: it shall "be your parts (dearly beloved) in this present par- "liament assembled, as much as in you lieth to "promote the same, and to employ your whole la- "bour and study not only in abandoning all popish "remnants both in ceremonies and regiment, but "also in bringing in and placing in God's Church "those things only, which the Lord himself in his "word commandeth."]

[85] [Vide Whitgift's Answer to the Admonition, p. 20—29.]

[86] [By this it should seem that Hooker did not consider Cartwright himself as one of the authors of the Admonition.]

[87] [See above, ch. ii. 2.]

[88] [T. C. 1 Reply, p. 14.]

[89] [T. C. ibid.]

[90] [In ch. iii.]

[91] [In ch. iv.]

[92] [Saravia, De diversis Ministrorum Gradibus, Prol. ad. Lect. "De hoc novo Ecclesiæ regendæ "modo idem censeo, quod alii de Episcoporum re- "gimine judicant; nempe quod sit humanus et "ferendus, ubi alius melior obtineri non potest: et "contra ille qui improbatur tanquam humanus "mihi videtur esse divinus; utpote qui tam in "Veteri quam in Novo Testamento a Deo sit in- "stitutus." Sutcliffe, False Semblant of counterfeit Discipline detected, p. 8. "We say, that "so much as Christ hath appointed to be observed, "as that there be pastors to teach and a certain "government, and such like discipline, is diligent- "ly to be kept. Where He hath left it free, there "the governors of the Church, i. e. Christian prin- "ces and bishops may set orders and see the same "executed: and the orders appointed by Christ, "and canons and customs of the Church, we call "ecclesiastical discipline: and this we account to "be changeable so far forth as is not by Christ "commanded to be kept."]

[93] [The first part of Hooker's work was licensed to the press, March 9, 1592-3. The affliction meant is therefore the civil war in France, not the secession from protestantism of Henry IV: which was not made known till after June that year. Davila, lib. xiii. p. 697. comp. p. 692. Venice, 1692.]

that all things which the Church may lawfully do in her own regiment be commanded in holy Scripture, hath by the later defenders thereof been greatly qualified; who, though perceiving it to be over extreme, are notwithstanding loth to acknowledge any oversight therein, and therefore labour what they may to salve it by construction; we have for the more perspicuity delivered what was thereby meant at the first [94]: sixthly, how injurious a thing it were unto all the churches of God for men to hold it in that meaning [95]: seventhly, and how imperfect their interpretations are who so much labour to help it, either by dividing commandments of Scripture into two kinds, and so defending that all things must be commanded, if not in special yet in general precepts [96]; eighthly, or by taking it as meant, that in case the Church do devise any new order, she ought therein to follow the direction of Scripture only, and not any star-light of man's reason [97]. Ninthly, both which evasions being cut off, we have in the next place declared after what sort the Church may lawfully frame to herself laws of polity, and in what reckoning such positive laws both are with God and should be with men [98]. Tenthly, furthermore, because to abridge the liberty of the Church in this behalf, it hath been made a thing very odious, that when God himself hath devised some certain laws and committed them to sacred Scripture, man by abrogation, addition, or any way, should presume to alter and change them; it was of necessity to be examined, whether the authority of God in making, or his care in committing those his laws unto Scripture, be sufficient arguments to prove that God doth in no case allow they should suffer any such kind of change [99]. Eleventhly, the last refuge for proof that divine laws of Christian church polity may not be altered by extinguishment of any old or addition of new in that kind, is partly a marvellous strange discourse, that Christ (unless he should shew himself not so faithful as Moses, or not so wise as Lycurgus and Solon [1]) must needs have set down in holy Scripture some certain complete and unchangeable form of polity [2]; and partly a coloured show of some evidence where change of that sort of laws may seem expressly forbidden, although in truth nothing less be done [3].

[18.] I might have added hereunto their more familiar and popular disputes, as, The Church is a city, yea the city of the great King; and the life of a city is polity: The Church is the house of the living God; and what house can there be without some order for the government of it? In the royal house of a prince there must be officers for government, such as not any servant in the house but the prince whose the house is shall judge convenient. So the house of God must have orders for the government of it, such as not any of the household but God himself hath appointed. It cannot stand with the love and wisdom of God to leave such order untaken as is necessary for the due government of his Church. The numbers, degrees, orders, and attire of Solomon's servants did shew his wisdom; therefore he which is greater than Solomon hath not failed to leave in his house such orders for government thereof, as may serve to be a looking-glass for his providence, care, and wisdom, to be seen in [4]. That little spark of the light of nature which remaineth in us may serve us for the affairs of this life. "But as in all other matters "concerning the kingdom of heaven, so "principally in this which concerneth the "very government of that kingdom, needful it is we should be taught of God. As "long as men are persuaded of any order "that it is only of men, they presume of "their own understanding, and they think "to devise another not only as good, but "better than that which they have received. "By severity of punishment this presumption and curiosity may be restrained. But "that cannot work such cheerful obedience "as is yielded where the conscience hath "respect to God as the author of laws and "orders. This was it which countenanced "the laws of Moses, made concerning outward polity for the administration of holy "things. The like some lawgivers of the "heathens did pretend, but falsely; yet "wisely discerning the use of this persua-

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[94] [In ch. v.]
[95] [In ch. vi.]
[96] [In ch. vii.]
[97] [In ch. viii.]
[98] [In ch. ix.]
[99] [In ch. x.]

[1] "Nisi reip. suæ statum omnem constituerit, "magistratus ordinarit, singulorum munera potes-"tatemque descripserit, quæ judiciorum forique "ratio habenda, quomodo civium finiendæ lites: "non solum minus Ecclesiæ Christianæ providit "quam Moses olim Judiacæ, sed quam a Lycur-"go, Solone, Numa, civitatibus suis prospectum "sit." Lib. de Ecclesiast. Discip. [fol. 8, or p. 10 of T. C.'s translation.]

[2] [In ch. xi. 1—8.]

[3] Ch. xi. 9.]

[4] Eccl. Disc. fol. 143. "Christianæ Ecclesiæ, "tanquam domus Dei (ut a Paulo appellatur) *οἰκο-*"*νομίαν* qui attentius et accuratius consideraverit, "animadvertet profecto incredibilem quandam il-"lam in omnibus ejus partibus et divinam sapien-"tiam, ac tanto quidem illa Salomonis in sacra "historia magis admirabilem, quanto sapientior "Salomone fuerit qui omnem hujus domus ordi-"nem rationemque descripsit. Sive enim mini-"strum ordines, sive accubitus, sive varium pro cu-"jusque dignitate ornatum et habitum considere-"mus, quod ad Ecclesiæ non modo salutem con-"servandam, sed etiam dignitatem illustrandam "ornandamque aut prudenter excogitari, aut cum "judicio atque ratione disponi collocarique potuerit: "quid in hac *οἰκονομίᾳ* requiratur?"]

" sion. For the better obedience' sake there-
" fore it was expedient that God should be
" author of the polity of his Church."

[19.] But to what issue doth all this come? A man would think that they which hold out with such discourses were of nothing more fully persuaded than of this, that the Scripture hath set down a complete form of church polity, universal, perpetual, altogether unchangeable. For so it would follow, if the premises were sound and strong to such effect as is pretended. Notwithstanding, they which have thus formally maintained argument in defence of the first oversight, are by the very evidence of truth themselves constrained to make this in effect their conclusion, that the Scripture of God hath many things concerning church polity; that of those many some are of greater weight, some of less; that what hath been urged as touching immutability of laws, it extendeth in truth no farther than only to laws wherein things of greater moment are prescribed. Now those things of greater moment, what are they? Forsooth[5], " doctors, pastors, lay-elders, elderships
" compounded of these three; synods, con-
" sisting of many elderships; deacons,
" women-church-servants or widows; free
" consent of the people unto actions of
" greatest moment, after they be by churches
" or synods orderly resolved." All " this
" form" of polity (if yet we may term that a form of building, when men have laid a few rafters together, and those not all of the soundest neither) but howsoever, all this form they conclude is prescribed in such sort that to add to it any thing as of like importance (for so I think they mean) or to abrogate of it any thing at all, is unlawful. In which resolution if they will firmly and constantly persist, I see not but that concerning the points which hitherto have been disputed of, they must agree that they have molested the Church with needless opposition, and henceforward as we said before betake themselves wholly unto the trial of particulars, whether every of those things which they esteem as principal, be either so esteemed of, or at all established for perpetuity in holy Scripture; and whether any particular thing in our church polity be received other than the Scripture alloweth of, either in greater things or in smaller.

[20.] The matters wherein church polity is conversant are the public religious duties of the Church, as the administration of the word and sacraments, prayers, spiritual censures, and the like. To these the Church standeth always bound. Laws of polity, are laws which appoint in what manner these duties shall be performed.

In performance whereof because all that are of the Church cannot jointly and equally work, the first thing in polity required is a difference of persons in the Church, without which difference those functions cannot in orderly sort be executed. Hereupon we hold that God's clergy are a state, which hath been and will be as long as there is a Church upon earth, necessary by the plain word of God himself; a state whereunto the rest of God's people must be subject as touching things that appertain to their soul's health. For where polity is, it cannot but appoint some to be leaders of others, and some to be led by others. " If
" the blind lead the blind, they both per-
" ish[6]." It is with the clergy, if their persons be respected, even as it is with other men; their quality many times far beneath that which the dignity of their place requireth. Howbeit according to the order of polity, they being the "lights of the world[7]," others (though better and wiser) must that way be subject unto them.

Again, forasmuch as where the clergy are any great multitude, order doth necessarily require that by degrees they be distinguished; we hold there have ever been and ever ought to be in such case at leastwise two sorts of ecclesiastical persons, the one subordinate unto the other; as to the Apostles in the beginning, and to the Bishops always since, we find plainly both in Scripture and in all ecclesiastical records, other ministers of the word and sacraments have been.

Moreover, it cannot enter into any man's conceit to think it lawful, that every man which listeth should take upon him charge in the Church; and therefore a solemn admittance is of such necessity, that without it there can be no church polity.

A number of particularities there are, which make for the more convenient being of these principal and perpetual parts in ecclesiastical polity, but yet are not of such constant use and necessity in God's Church. Of this kind are, times and places appointed for the exercise of religion; specialties belonging to the public solemnity of the word, the sacraments, and prayer; the enlargement or abridgment of functions ministerial depending upon those two principals beforementioned; to conclude, even whatsoever doth by way of formality and circumstance concern any public action of the Church. Now although that which the Scripture hath of things in the former kind be for ever permanent: yet in the latter both much of that which the Scripture teacheth is not always needful; and much the Church of God shall always need which the Scripture teacheth not.

So as the form of polity by them set down for perpetuity is three ways faulty:

[5] The Defence of Godly Ministers against D. Bridges, p. 133.

[6] Luke vi. 39.

[7] Matt. v. 14.

faulty in omitting some things which in Scripture are of that nature, as namely the difference that ought to be of pastors when they grow to any great multitude: faulty in requiring doctors, deacons, widows, and such like, as things of perpetual necessity by the law of God, which in truth are nothing less: faulty also in urging some things by Scripture immutable, as their lay-elders, which the Scripture neither maketh immutable nor at all teacheth, for any thing either we can as yet find or they have hitherto been able to prove. But hereof more in the books that follow.

[21.] As for those marvellous discourses whereby they adventure to argue that God must needs have done the thing which they imagine was to be done; I must confess I have often wondered at their exceeding boldness herein. When the question is whether God have delivered in Scripture (as they affirm he hath) a complete, particular, immutable form of church polity, why take they that other both presumptuous and superfluous labour to prove he should have done it; there being no way in this case to prove the deed of God saving only by producing that evidence wherein he hath done it? But if there be no such thing apparent upon record, they do as if one should demand a legacy by force and virtue of some written testament, wherein there being no such thing specified, he pleadeth that there it must needs be, and bringeth arguments from the love or goodwill which always the testator bore him; imagining, that these or the like proofs will convict a testament to have that in it which other men can no where by reading find. In matters which concern the actions of God, the most dutiful way on our part is to search what God hath done, and with meekness to admire that, rather than to dispute what he in congruity of reason ought to do. The ways which he hath whereby to do all things for the greatest good of his Church are more in number than we can search, other in nature than that we should presume to determine which of many should be the fittest for him to choose, till such time as we see he hath chosen of many some one; which one we then may boldly conclude to be the fittest, because he hath taken it before the rest. When we do otherwise, surely we exceed our bounds; who and where we are we forget; and therefore needful it is that our pride in such cases be controlled, and our disputes beaten back with those demands of the blessed Apostle, "How unsearchable are his judgments, and "his ways past finding out! Who hath "known the mind of the Lord, or who was "his counsellor[8]?"

[8] Rom. xi. 33, 34.

THE FOURTH BOOK.

CONCERNING THEIR THIRD ASSERTION, THAT OUR FORM OF CHURCH POLITY IS CORRUPTED WITH POPISH ORDERS, RITES, AND CEREMONIES, BANISHED OUT OF CERTAIN REFORMED CHURCHES, WHOSE EXAMPLE THEREIN WE OUGHT TO HAVE FOLLOWED.

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THE MATTER CONTAINED IN THIS FOURTH BOOK.

I. How great use Ceremonies have in the Church.
II. The first thing they blame in the kind of our Ceremonies is, that we have not in them ancient apostolical simplicity, but a greater pomp and stateliness.
III. The second, that so many of them are the same which the Church of Rome useth; and the reasons which they bring to prove them for that cause blame-worthy.
IV. How when they go about to expound what Popish Ceremonies they mean, they contradict their own arguments against Popish Ceremonies.
V. An answer to the argument whereby they would prove, that sith we allow the customs of our fathers to be followed, we therefore may not allow such customs as the Church of Rome hath, because we cannot account of them which are of that Church as of our fathers.
VI. To their allegation, that the course of God's own wisdom doth make against our conformity with the Church of Rome in such things.
VII. To the example of the eldest Churches which they bring for the same purpose.
VIII. That it is not our best polity (as they pretend it is) for establishment of sound religion, to have in these things no agreement with the Church of Rome being unsound.
IX. That neither the Papists upbraiding us as furnished out of their store, nor any hope which in that respect they are said to conceive, doth make any more against our ceremonies than the former allegations have done.
X. The grief which they say godly brethren conceive at such ceremonies as we have common with the Church of Rome.
XI. The third thing for which they reprove a great part of our ceremonies is, for that as we have them from the Church of Rome, so that Church had them from the Jews.
XII. The fourth, for that sundry of them have been (they say) abused unto idolatry, and are by that mean become scandalous.
XIII. The fifth, for that we retain them still, notwithstanding the example of certain Churches reformed before us, which have cast them out.
XIV. A declaration of the proceedings of the Church of England for the establishment of things as they are.

I. Such was the ancient simplicity and softness of spirit which sometimes prevailed in the world, that they whose words were even as oracles amongst men, seemed evermore loth to give sentence against any thing publicly received in the Church of God, except it were wonderful apparently evil; for that they did not so much incline to that severity which delighteth to reprove the least things it seeth amiss, as to that charity which is unwilling to behold any thing that duty bindeth it to reprove. The state of this present age, wherein zeal hath drowned charity, and skill meekness, will not now suffer any man to marvel, whatsoever he shall hear reproved by whomsoever. Those rites and ceremonies of the Church therefore, which are the selfsame now that they were when holy and virtuous men maintained them against profane and deriding adversaries, her own children have at this day in derision. Whether justly or no, it shall then appear, when all things are heard which they have to allege against the outward received orders of this church. Which inasmuch as themselves do compare unto "mint and commin[1]," granting them to be no part of those things which in the matter of polity are weightier, we hope that for small things their strife will neither be earnest nor long.

How great use Ceremonies have in the Church.

[2.] The sifting of that which is objected against the orders of the Church in particular, doth not belong unto this place. Here we are to discuss only those general exceptions, which have been taken at any time against them.

First therefore to the end that their nature and the use whereunto they serve may

[1] Matt. xxiii. 23. "The doctrine and discipline "of the Church, as the weightiest things, ought "especially to be looked unto: but the ceremonies "also, as 'mint and cummin,' ought not to be "neglected." T. C. l. iii. p. 171.

plainly appear, and so afterwards their quality the better be discerned; we are to note, that in every grand or main public duty which God requireth at the hands of his Church, there is, besides that matter and form wherein the essence thereof consisteth, a certain outward fashion whereby the same is in decent sort administered. The substance of all religious actions is delivered from God himself in few words. For example's sake in the sacraments[2]. "Unto the element let the word be added, "and they both do make a sacrament," saith St Augustine. Baptism is given by the element of water, and that prescript form of words which the Church of Christ doth use; the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is administered in the elements of bread and wine, if those mystical words be added thereunto. But the due and decent form of administering those holy sacraments doth require a great deal more.

[3.] The end which is aimed at in setting down the outward form of all religious actions is the edification of the Church. Now men are edified, when either their understanding is taught somewhat whereof in such actions it behoveth all men to consider, or when their hearts are moved with any affection suitable thereunto; when their minds are in any sort stirred up unto that reverence, devotion, attention, and due regard, which in those cases seemeth requisite. Because therefore unto this purpose not only speech but sundry sensible means besides have always been thought necessary, and especially those means which being object to the eye, the liveliest and the most apprehensive sense of all other, have in that respect seemed the fittest to make a deep and a strong impression: from hence have risen not only a number of prayers, readings, questionings, exhortings, but even of visible signs also; which being used in performance of holy actions, are undoubtedly most effectual to open such matter, as men when they know and remember carefully, must needs be a great deal the better informed to what effect such duties serve. We must not think but that there is some ground of reason even in nature, whereby it cometh to pass that no nation under heaven either doth or ever did suffer public actions which are of weight, whether they be civil and temporal or else spiritual and sacred, to pass without some visible solemnity: the very strangeness whereof and difference from that which is common, doth cause popular eyes to observe and to mark the same. Words, both because they are common, and do not so strongly move the fancy of man, are for the most part but slightly heard: and therefore with singular wisdom it hath been provided, that the deeds of men which are made in the presence of witnesses should pass not only with words, but also with certain sensible actions, the memory whereof is far more easy and durable than the memory of speech can be.

The things which so long experience of all ages hath confirmed and made profitable, let not us presume to condemn as follies and toys, because we sometimes know not the cause and reason of them. A wit disposed to scorn whatsoever it doth not conceive, might ask wherefore Abraham should say to his servant, "Put thy hand under my "thigh and swear[3]:" was it not sufficient for his servant to shew the religion of an oath by naming the Lord God of heaven and earth, unless that strange ceremony were added? In contracts, bargains, and conveyances, a man's word is a token sufficient to express his will. Yet "this was the "ancient manner in Israel concerning re- "deeming and exchanging, to establish all "things; a man did pluck off his shoe and "gave it his neighbour; and this was a "sure witness in Israel[4]." Amongst the Romans in their making of a bondman free, was it not wondered wherefore so great ado should be made? The master to present his slave in some court, to take him by the hand, and not only to say in the hearing of the public magistrate, "I will that this man "become free," but after these solemn words uttered, to strike him on the cheek, to turn him round, the hair of his head to be shaved off, the magistrate to touch him thrice with a rod, in the end a cap and a white garment to be given him. To what purpose all this circumstance[5]? Amongst the Hebrews how strange and in outward appearance almost against reason, that he which was minded to make himself a perpetual servant, should not only testify so much in the presence of the judge, but for a visible token thereof have also his ear bored through with an awle[6]! It were an infinite labour to prosecute these things so far as they might be exemplified both in civil and religious actions. For in both they have their necessary use and force. "The "sensible things which religion hath hal- "lowed, are resemblances framed according "to things spiritually understood, where- "unto they serve as a hand to lead, and a "way to direct[7]."

[2] [In Joan. Tract. 80. §. 3. t. iii. pars ii. 703. "'Jam vos mundi estis propter verbum quod locu- "tus sum vobis." Quare non ait, 'mundi estis "propter baptismum quo loti estis,' nisi quia et in "aqua verbum mundat? Detrahe verbum, et "quid est aqua nisi aqua? Accedit verbum ad "elementum, et fit sacramentum, etiam ipsum "tanquam visibile verbum."]

[3] Gen. xxiv. 2.

[4] Ruth iv. 7.

[5] [See Persius, Sat. V. 75, &c. Festus, voc. "manumitti." Isidor. Orig. ix. 4.]

[6] Exod. xxi. 6.

[7] Τὰ μὲν αἰσθητῶς ἱερὰ τῶν νοητῶν ἀπεικονίσματα,

[4.] And whereas it may peradventure be objected, that to add to religious duties such rites and ceremonies as are significant, is to institute new Sacraments [8]; sure I am they will not say that Numa Pompilius did ordain a sacrament, a significant ceremony he did ordain, in commanding the priests "to execute the work of their divine service "with their hands as far as to the fingers "covered; thereby signifying that fidelity "must be defended, and that men's right "hands are the sacred seat thereof [9]." Again we are also to put them in mind, that themselves do not hold all significant ceremonies for sacraments, insomuch as imposition of hands they deny to be a sacrament, and yet they give thereunto a forcible signification; for concerning it their words are these: "The party ordained by this cere-"mony was put in mind of his separation to "the work of the Lord, that remembering "himself to be taken as it were with the "hand of God from amongst others, this "might teach him not to account himself "now his own, nor to do what himself list-"eth, but to consider that God hath set him "about a work, which if he will discharge "and accomplish, he may at the hands of "God assure himself of reward; and if oth-"erwise, of revenge [10]." Touching significant ceremonies, some of them are sacraments, some as sacraments only. Sacraments are those which are signs and tokens of some general promised grace, which always really descendeth from God unto the soul that duly receiveth them; other significant tokens are only as Sacraments, yet no Sacraments: which is not our distinction, but theirs. For concerning the Apostles' imposition of hands these are their own words; "manuum signum hoc et quasi Sa-"cramentum usurparunt;" "they used this "sign, or as it were sacrament [11]."

II. Concerning rites and ceremonies there may be fault, either in the kind or in the number and multitude of them. The first thing blamed about the kind of ours is, that in many things we have departed from the ancient simplicity of Christ and his Apostles; we have embraced more outward stateliness, we have those orders in the exercise of religion, which they who best pleased God and served him most devoutly never had. For it is out of doubt that the first state of things was best, that in the prime of Christian religion faith was soundest, the Scriptures of God were then best understood by all men, all parts of godliness did then most abound; and therefore it must needs follow, that customs, laws, and ordinances devised since are not so good for the Church of Christ, but the best way is to cut off later inventions, and to reduce things unto the ancient state wherein at the first they were [12]. Which rule or canon we hold to be either uncertain or at leastwise unsufficient, if not both [13].

The first thing they blame in the kind of our ceremonies is that we have not in them ancient apostolical simplicity, but a greater pomp and stateliness.

[2.] For in case it be certain, hard it cannot be for them to shew us, where we shall find it so exactly set down, that we may say without all controversy, "these were the "orders of the Apostles' times, these wholly "and only, neither fewer nor more than "these." True it is that many things of this nature be alluded unto, yea many things declared, and many things necessarily collected out of the Apostles' writings. But is it necessary that all the orders of the Church which were then in use should be contained in their books? Surely no. For if the tenor of their writings be well observed, it shall unto any man easily appear, that no more of them are there touched than were needful to be spoken of, sometimes by one occasion and sometimes by another. Will they allow then of any other records besides? Well assured I am they are far enough from acknowledging that the Church ought to keep any thing as apostolical, which is not found in the Apostles' writings, in what other records soever it be found. And therefore whereas St. Augustine affirmeth that those things which the whole Church of Christ doth hold, may well be thought to be apostolical although they be not found written [14]; this his judgment they utterly condemn. I will not here stand in defence of St. Augustine's opinion, which is, that such things are indeed apostolical,

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καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰ χειραγωγία καὶ ὁδός. Dionys. p. 121. [de Eccl. Hierarch. c. 2. nº. 3. §. 2. t. i. 255. Antverp. 1634.]

[8] [See Beza's Letter to Grindall in Adm. 5. "They sinned righte greevously, as often as they "brought any Sacramentalles (that is to say, any "ceremonies to import signification of spiritual "things) into the Church of God."]

[9] "Manu ad digitos usque involuta rem divinam "facere, significantes fidem tutandam, sedemque "ejus etiam in dextris sacratam esse." Liv. lib. i. [c. 21.]

[10] Eccles. disc. fol. 51. ["Designatus hac cere-"monia monebatur se ad opus Domini separari, "et e reliquo populo ad illam procurationem Dei "ipsius manu quasi decerpi atque delibari: ut jam "non amplius se sui juris esse sciret, ut agat quod "velit, sed a Deo ad opus suum adhibitum, cujus "illum perfecti atque absoluti remunerato rem, "contempti autem et neglecti ultorem atque vin-"dicem habiturus esset."] [11] Fol. 52.

[12] Lib. Eccles. Disc. et T. C. lib. iii. p. 181.

[13] [See before, Preface, iv. 4.]

[14] Tom. vii. de Bapt. contra Donatist. lib. v. cap. 23. [t. ix. 156. "Apostoli nihil exinde præcepe-"runt: sed consuetudo illa quæ opponebatur Cy-"priano ab eorum traditione exordium sumpsisse "credenda est, sicut sunt multa quæ universa "tenet Ecclesia, et ob hoc ab Apostolis præcepta "bene creduntur, quanquam scripta non reperian-"tur."] T. C. l. i. p. 31. [18.] "If this judgment "of St. Augustine be a good judgment and sound,

but yet with this exception; unless the decree of some general council have haply caused them to be received [15]: for of positive laws and orders received throughout the whole Christian world, St. Augustine could imagine no other fountain save these two. But to let pass St. Augustine; they who condemn him herein must needs confess it a very uncertain thing what the orders of the Church were in the Apostles' times, seeing the Scriptures do not mention them all, and other records thereof besides they utterly reject. So that in tying the Church to the orders of the Apostles' times, they tie it to a marvellous uncertain rule; unless they require the observation of no orders but only those which are known to be apostolical by the Apostles' own writings. But then is not this their rule of such sufficiency, that we should use it as a touchstone to try the orders of the Church by for ever.

[3.] Our end ought always to be the same; our ways and means thereunto not so. The glory of God and the good of His Church was the thing which the Apostles aimed at, and therefore ought to be the mark whereat we also level. But seeing those rites and orders may be at one time more which at another are less available unto that purpose, what reason is there in these things to urge the state of one only age as a pattern for all to follow? It is not I am right sure their meaning, that we should now assemble our people to serve God in close and secret meetings; or that common brooks or rivers should be used for places of Baptism; or that the Eucharist should be ministered after meat; or that the custom of church feasting should be renewed; or that all kind of standing provision for the ministry should be utterly taken away, and their estate made again dependent upon the voluntary devotion of men. In these things they easily perceive how unfit that were for the present, which was for the first age convenient enough. The faith, zeal, and godliness of former times is worthily had in honour; but doth this prove that the orders of the Church of Christ must be still the selfsame with theirs, that nothing may be which was not then, or that nothing which then was may lawfully since have ceased? They who recall the Church unto that which was at the first, must necessarily set bounds and limits unto their speeches. If any thing have been received repugnant unto that which was first delivered, the first things in this case must stand, the last give place unto them. But where difference is without repugnancy, that which hath been can be no prejudice to that which is.

[4.] Let the state of the people of God when they were in the house of bondage, and their manner of serving God in a strange land, be compared with that which Canaan and Jerusalem did afford, and who seeth not what huge difference there was between them? In Egypt it may be they were right glad to take some corner of a poor cottage, and there to serve God upon their knees, peradventure covered in dust and straw sometimes. Neither were they therefore the less accepted of God, but he was with them in all their afflictions, and at the length by working of their admirable deliverance did testify, that they served him not in vain. Notwithstanding in the very desert they are no sooner possest of some little thing of their own, but a tabernacle is required at their hands. Being planted in the land of Canaan, and having David to be their king, when the Lord had given him rest from all his enemies, it grieved his religious mind to consider the growth of his own estate and dignity, the affairs of religion continuing still in their former manner: "Behold now "I dwell in an house of cedar-trees, and the "ark of God remaineth still within cur-"tains [16]." What he did purpose it was the pleasure of God that Solomon his son should perform, and perform it in manner suitable unto their present, not their ancient estate and condition. For which cause Solomon writeth unto the king of Tyrus, "The house "which I build is great and wonderful, for "great is our God above all gods [17]." Whereby it clearly appeareth that the orders of the Church of God may be acceptable unto him, as well being framed suitable to the greatness and dignity of later, as when they keep the reverend simplicity of ancienter times. Such dissimilitude therefore between us and the Apostles of Christ in the order of some outward things is no argument of default.

III. Yea, but we have framed ourselves to the customs of the church of Rome; our orders and ceremonies are papistical. It is espied that our church founders were not so careful as in this matter they should have been, but contented themselves with such discipline as they took from the church of Rome [18]. Their error we ought to reform by abolishing all popish orders. There must be no commu-

Our orders and ceremonies blamed, in that so many of them are the same which the Church of Rome useth.

"then there be some things commanded of God "which are not in the Scriptures; and therefore "there is no sufficient doctrine contained in Scrip-"ture whereby we may be saved. For all the "commandments of God and of the Apostles are "needful for our salvation."

[15] Vide Ep. 118. [al. 54. t. ii. 124. A.]

[16] 2 Sam. vii. 2.

[17] 2 Chron. ii. 5.

[18] Eccles. Disc. fol. 12. ["Video architectos "Ecclesiæ nostræ in ea restauranda soli doctrinæ "intentos, de disciplina non laborasse, et talem fere "qualem a Papistis acceperint retinere."] T. C. lib. i. p. 131. [102. Whitg. Def. 474."]

nion nor fellowship with Papists, *neither in doctrine, ceremonies, nor government.* It is not enough that we are divided from the church of Rome by the single wall of doctrine, retaining as we do part of their ceremonies and almost their whole government[19]; but government or ceremonies or whatsoever it be which is popish, away with it. This is the thing they require in us, the utter relinquishment of all things popish.

Wherein to the end we may answer them according unto their plain direct meaning, and not take advantage of doubtful speech, whereby controversies grow always endless; their main position being this, that "nothing should be placed in the Church "but what God in his word hath command-"ed[20]," they must of necessity hold all for popish which the church of Rome hath over and besides this. By popish orders, ceremonies and government, they must therefore mean in every of these so much as the church of Rome hath embraced without commandment of God's word: so that whatsoever such thing we have, if the church of Rome hath it also, it goeth under the name of those things that are popish, yea although it be lawful, although agreeable to the word of God. For so they plainly affirm, saying[21], "Although the forms and "ceremonies which they" (the church of Rome) "used were not unlawful, and that "they contained nothing which is not "agreeable to the word of God, yet not-"withstanding neither the word of God, nor "reason, nor the examples of the eldest "churches both Jewish and Christian do "permit us to use the same forms and cere-"monies, being neither commanded of God, "neither such as there may not as good as "they, and rather better, be established." The question therefore is, whether we may follow the church of Rome in those orders, rites, and ceremonies, wherein we do not think them blameable, or else ought to devise others, and to have no conformity with them, no not so much as in these things. In this sense and construction therefore as they affirm, so we deny, that whatsoever is popish we ought to abrogate.

[2.] Their arguments to prove that generally all popish orders and ceremonies ought to be clean abolished, are in sum these: "[22] First, whereas we allow the judgment "of St. Augustine, that touching those "things of this kind which are not comman-"ded or forbidden in the Scripture, we are "to observe the custom of the people of "God and decree of our forefathers[23]; how "can we retain the customs and constitu-"tions of the papists in such things, who "were neither the people of God nor our "forefathers?" Secondly[24], "although the "forms and ceremonies of the church of "Rome were not unlawful, neither did con-"tain any thing which is not agreeable to "the word of God, yet neither the word of "God, nor the examples of the eldest "churches of God, nor reason, do per-"mit us to use the same, *they being here-"tics and so near about us*, and their or-"ders being neither commanded of God, "nor yet such but that as good or rather "better may be established." It is against the word of God to have conformity with the church of Rome in such things, as appeareth in that "the wisdom of God hath "thought it a good way to keep his people "from infection of idolatry and supersti-"tion, by severing them from idolaters in out-"ward ceremonies, and therefore hath for-"bidden them to do things which are in "themselves very lawful to be done." And further, "whereas the Lord was careful to "sever them by ceremonies from other na-"tions, yet was he not so careful to sever "them from any as from the Egyptians "amongst whom they lived, and from those "nations which were next neighbours unto "them, because from them was the greatest "fear of infection." So that following the course which the wisdom of God doth teach[25], "it were more safe for us to con-"form our indifferent ceremonies to the "Turks which are far off, than to the pa-"pists which are so near."

Touching the example of the eldest churches of God; in one council it was decreed, "that[26] Christians should not deck

[19] T. C. i. 20. [al. 8, 9. ap. Def. 54. "Judge "whether they be more joined with the Papists "which would have no communion with them, "neither in ceremonies, nor doctrine, nor govern-"ment; or they which forsaking their doctrine re-"tain part of their ceremonies and almost all their "government: that is, they that separate them-"selves by three walls or by one."]

[20] T. C. i. 25. [al. 13. Def. 76. from Answ. 20.]

[21] T. C. lib. i. p. 131. [102.]

[22] T. C. lib. i. p. 30. [17.]

[23] [Ep. 36. 2. t. ii. 68.]

[24] T. C. lib. i. p. 131. [102.]

[25] T. C. lib. i, p. 132. [103. and Eccl. Disc. fol. 100. "A quibus nos tanto magis recedere et ab-"horrere debueramus, quanto gravius periculum "nobis ab illis quam ab aliis hæreticis, quod inter "eos versamur, immineat. Qua ratione etiam "Dominus in Cananæos atrocius quam in reliquos "idololatras sæviri voluit."]

[26] Tom. ii. [Ed. Surii.] Braca. 73. [Capitula Martini Episc. Bracar. A. D. 572. in Concil. t. v. 913. "Non liceat iniquas observationes agere "Kalendarum, et otiis vacare gentilibus, neque "lauro aut viriditate arborum cingere domos. "Omnis hæc observatio paganismi est." This is not a decree of either of the councils of Braga, but one of a collection of oriental canons made by Martin archbishop of Braga (the reformer of the Gallician church from Arianism) and sent to the archbishop of Lugo, then the second see in the province, and to his provincial council. The oriental original of the seventy-third canon does not appear.]

" their houses with bay leaves and green " boughs, because the Pagans did use so to " do; and that they should not rest from " their labours those days that the Pagans " did; that they should not keep the first " day of every month as they did. [27] Ano- " ther council decreed that Christians should " not celebrate feasts on the birthdays of " the martyrs, because it was the manner " of the heathen." " 'O!' saith Tertullian, " better is the religion of the heathen: for " they use no solemnity of the Christians, " neither the Lord's day [28], neither the Pen- " tecost; and if they knew them they would " have nothing to do with them: for they " would be afraid lest they should seem " Christians; but we are not afraid to be " called heathen [29]." " The same Tertul- lian would not have Christians to sit after they have prayed, because the idolaters did so [30]. Whereby it appeareth, that both of particular men and of councils, in making or abolishing of ceremonies, heed hath been taken that the Christians should not be like the idolaters, no not in those things which of themselves are most indifferent to be used or not used.

The same conformity is not less opposite unto reason; first inasmuch as " contraries " must be cured by their contraries, and " therefore popery being anti-christianity is " not healed, but by establishment of orders " thereunto opposite. The way to bring a " drunken man to sobriety is to carry him " as far from excess of drink as may be. " To rectify a crooked stick we bend it on " the contrary side, as far as it was at the " first on that side from whence we draw it, " and so it cometh in the end to a middle " between both, which is perfect straight- " ness [31]. Utter inconformity therefore with " the church of Rome in these things is the " best and surest policy which the Church " can use. While we use their ceremonies " they take occasion to blaspheme, saying " that our religion cannot stand by itself, " unless it lean upon the staff of their cere- " monies. They hereby conceive great " hope of having the rest of their popery in " the end, which hope causeth them to be " more frozen in their wickedness. Neither " is it without cause that they have this " hope, considering that which Master Bu- " cer noteth upon the eighteenth of St. " Matthew [32], that where these things have " been left, popery hath returned; but on " the other part in places which have been " cleansed of these things, it hath not yet " been seen that it hath had any entrance [33]. " None make such clamours for these cere- " monies, as the papists and those whom " they suborn; a manifest token how much " they triumph and joy in these things. " They breed grief of mind in a number, " that are godly-minded and have anti- " christianity in such detestation, that their " minds are martyred with the very sight " of them in the Church [34]. Such godly " brethren we ought not thus to grieve with " unprofitable ceremonies, yea, ceremonies " wherein there is not only no profit, but " also danger of great hurt, that may grow " to the Church by infection, which popish " ceremonies are means to breed [35]."

This in effect is the sum and substance of that which they bring by way of opposi-

[27] Con. Afric. cap. 27. [" Illud etiam petend- " um," (scil. ab imperatoribus) " ut quæ contra " præcepta divina convivia multis in locis exer- " centur, quæ ab errore gentili attracta sunt, (ita " ut nunc a Paganis Christiani ad hæc celebranda " agantur, ex qua re temporibus Christianorum " imperatorum persecutio altera fieri occulta videa- " tur) vetari talia jubeant, et de civitatibus et de " possessionibus imposita pœna prohiberi: max- " ime, cum etiam in natalibus beatissimorum mar- " tyrum per nonnullas civitates, et in ipsis locis " sacris, talia committere non reformident. Qui- " bus diebus etiam (quod pudoris est dicere) salta- " tiones, sceleratissimas per vicos atque plateas ex- " ercent, ut matronalis honor, et innumerabilium " fœminarum pudor, devote venientium ad sacra- " tissimum diem, injuriis lascivientibus appetatur; " ut etiam ipsius sanctæ religionis pœne fugiatur " accessus." Concil. ii. 1649. The exact date of this canon seems to be uncertain: but it clearly refers not to Christians having feasts of their own as the Gentiles had, but to the danger they were in of being tempted to join with the Gentiles in *their* feasts, especially when happening on our sacred days. It is one of several canons, which imply a kind of evil something similar to what Christians living in India now experience.

The following is the summary of it given by Aristænus. Τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ συμπόσια πανέσθω, διὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀσχημοσυνήν, καὶ τὸ πόλλοὺς ἀφέλκεσθαι Χριστιάνῶν, καὶ ἐν ἡμέραις μνήμης μαρτύρων γίνεσθαι. Beveridge, Synodicon. i. 598.]

[28] Lib. de Idololatria, [c. 14. " O melior fides " nationum in suam sectam: quæ nullam solenni- " tatem Christianorum sibi vindicat, non Domini- " cum diem, non Pentecosten: etiam si nossent, " nobiscum non communicassent; timerent enim, " ne Christiani viderentur; nos, ne Ethnici pro- " nunciemur, non veremur."] He seemeth to mean the feast of Easter-day, celebrated in the memory of our Saviour's resurrection, and for that cause termed the Lord's day.

[29] [T. C. i. 103.]

[30] Lib. de Anima. [a mistake in Cartwright's reference, for " de Oratione." c. 16. (The error is noted by Whitgift, Def. 480.) " Quum perinde " faciant nationes, adoratis sigillaribus suis resi- " dendo, vel propterea in nobis reprehendi meretur, " quod apud idola celebratur."]

[31] [Abridged from T. C. i. 103.]

[32] [P. 144. ed. 1553. "His certe hodie debemus " ut in multis locis ubi diu prædicatum Evangeli- " um fuit, adversa sint restituta omnia: quum id " nusquam, ubi serio et pure prædicato Christo " etiam ad ipsius verbum reformatæ ceremoniæ " sunt, accidisse videamus."]

[33] T. C. lib. iii. p. 178.

[34] Ibid. p. 179. [35] Ibid. p. 180.

tion against those orders which we have common with the Church of Rome; these are the reasons wherewith they would prove our ceremonies in that respect worthy of blame.

IV. Before we answer unto these things, we are to cut off that whereunto they from whom these objections proceed do oftentimes fly for defence and succor, when the force and strength of their arguments is elided. For the ceremonies in use amongst us being in no other respect retained, saving only for that to retain them is to our seeming good and profitable, yea, so profitable and so good, that if we had either simply taken them clean away, or else removed them so as to place in their stead others, we had done worse: the plain and direct way against us herein had been only to prove, that all such ceremonies as they require to be abolished are retained by us to the hurt of the Church, or with less benefit than the abolishment of them would bring. But forasmuch as they saw how hardly they should be able to perform this, they took a more compendious way, traducing the ceremonies of our church under the name of being popish. The cause why this way seemed better unto them was, for that the name of popery is more odious than very paganism amongst divers of the more simple sort, so as whatsoever they hear named popish, they presently conceive deep hatred against it, imagining there can be nothing contained in that name but needs it must be exceeding detestable. The ears of the people they have therefore filled with strong clamour: "The Church of England is fraught with "popish ceremonies: they that favour the "cause of reformation maintain nothing but "the sincerity of the Gospel of Jesus Christ: "all such as withstand them fight for the "laws of his sworn enemy, uphold the filthy "relics of Antichrist, and are defenders of "that which is popish." These are the notes wherewith are drawn from the hearts of the multitude so many sighs; with these tunes their minds are exasperated against the lawful guides and governors of their souls; these are the voices that fill them with general discontentment, as though the bosom of that famous church wherein they live were more noisome than any dungeon. But when the authors of so scandalous incantations are examined, and called to account how can they justify such their dealings; when they are urged directly to answer, whether it be lawful for us to use any such ceremonies as the church of Rome useth, although the same be not commanded in the word of God; being driven to see that the use of some such ceremonies must of necessity be granted lawful, they go about to make us believe that they are just of the same opinion, and that they only think such ceremonies are not to be used when they are unprofitable, or "when as "good or better may be established [36]." Which answer is both idle in regard of us, and also repugnant to themselves.

That whereas they who blame us in this behalf, when reason evicteth that all such ceremonies are not to be abolished, make answer, that when they condemn popish ceremonies, their meaning is of ceremonies unprofitable, or ceremonies, instead whereof as good or better may be devised: they cannot hereby get out of the briars, but contradict and gainsay themselves; inasmuch as their usual manner is to prove that ceremonies uncommanded of God and yet used in the church of Rome; are *for this very cause* unprofitable to us, and not so good as others in their place would be.

[2.] It is in regard of us very vain to make this answer, because they know that what ceremonies we retain common unto the church of Rome, we therefore retain them, for that we judge them to be profitable, and to be such that others instead of them would be worse. So that when they say that we ought to abrogate such Romish ceremonies as are unprofitable, or else might have other more profitable in their stead, they trifle and they beat the air about nothing which toucheth us; unless they mean that we ought to abrogate all Romish ceremonies which in their judgment have either no use or less use than some other might have. But then must they shew some commission, whereby they are authorized to sit as judges, and we required to take their judgment for good in this case. Otherwise their sentences will not be greatly regarded, when they oppose their *methinketh* unto the orders of the Church of England: as in the question about surplices one of them doth [37]; "If "we look to the colour, black methinketh is "more decent; if to the form, a garment "down to the foot hath a great deal more "comeliness in it." If they think that we ought to prove the ceremonies commodious which we have retained, they do in this point very greatly deceive themselves. For in all right and equity, that which the Church hath received and held so long for good, that which public approbation hath ratified, must carry the benefit of presumption with it to be accounted meet and convenient. They which have stood up as yesterday to challenge it of defect, must prove their challenge. If we being defendants do answer, that the ceremonies in question are godly, comely, decent, profita-

[36] T. C. iii. p. 171. "What an open untruth is "it, that this is one of our principles, not to be "lawful to use the same ceremonies which the "papists did; when as I have both before de-"clared the contrary, and even here have express-"ly added, that they are not to be used when as "good or better may be established!"

[37] Eccles. Discip. fol. 100. [in Cartwright's Transl. 124. "Si de colore agitur, mihi quidem "magis decorus niger color videtur; si autem de "forma, talaris vestis honestior."]

ble for the Church; their reply is childish and unorderly, to say that we demand the thing in question [38], and shew the poverty of our cause, the goodness whereof we are fain to beg that our adversaries would grant. For on our part this must be the answer, which orderly proceeding doth require. The burden of proving doth rest on them. In them it is frivolous to say, we ought not to use bad ceremonies of the church of Rome, and presume all such bad as it pleaseth themselves to dislike, unless we can persuade them the contrary.

[3.] Besides, they are herein opposite also to themselves. For what one thing is so common with them, as to use the custom of the church of Rome for an argument to prove, that such and such ceremonies cannot be good and profitable for us, inasmuch as that church useth them? Which usual kind of disputing sheweth, that they do not disallow only those Romish ceremonies which are unprofitable, but count all unprofitable which are Romish; that is to say, which have been devised by the church of Rome or which are used in that church and not prescribed in the word of God. For this is the only limitation which they can use suitable unto their other positions. And therefore the cause which they yield, why they hold it lawful to retain in doctrine and in discipline some things as good, which yet are common to the church of Rome, is for that those good things are "perpetual "commandments, in whose place no other "can come;" but ceremonies are changeable [39]. So that their judgment in truth is, that whatsoever by the word of God is not unchangeable in the church of Rome, that church's using is a cause why reformed churches ought to change it, and not to think it good or profitable. And lest we seem to father any thing upon them more than is properly their own, let them read even their own words, where they complain, "that we are thus constrained to be like "unto the Papists in Any their ceremonies;" yea, they urge that this cause, although it were "alone, ought to move them to whom "that belongeth to do them away, *forasmuch as they are their ceremonies*;" and that the Bishop of Salisbury doth justify this their complaint [40]. The clause is untrue which they add concerning the Bishop of Salisbury [41]; but the sentence doth shew that we do them no wrong in setting down the state of the question between us thus: Whether we ought to abolish out of the church of England all such orders, rites, and ceremonies as are established in the church of Rome, and are not prescribed in the word of God. For the affirmative whereof we are now to answer such proofs of theirs as have been before alleged.

V. Let the church of Rome be what it will, let them that are of it be the people of God and our fathers in the Christian faith, or let them be otherwise; hold them for catholics or hold them for heretics; it is not a thing either one way or other in this present question greatly material. Our conformity with them in such things as have been proposed is not proved as yet unlawful by all this. St. Augustine [42] hath said, yea and we have al-

That our allowing the customs of our fathers to be followed is no proof that we may not allow some customs which the church of Rome hath, although we do not account of them as of our fathers.

[38] T. C. lib. iii. p. 176. "As for your often re-"peating that the ceremonies in question are god-"ly, comely, and decent; it is your old wont of "demanding the thing in question, and an un-"doubted argument of your extreme poverty."

[39] T. C. iii. 174.

[40] "And that this complaint of ours is just in "that we are thus constrained to be like unto the "papists in any of their ceremonies, and that this "cause only ought to move them to whom that "belongeth, to do them away, *forasmuch as they "are their ceremonies;* the reader may further see in "the Bishop of Salisbury, who brings divers proofs "thereof." T. C. lib. iii. p. 177. [It may be worth observing that the Italics are Cartwright's own.]

[41] [Cartwright's margin refers to Apol. Part i. c. 2. div. 8. by mistake for div. 9. "They cry out... "that we have rashly and presumptuously disannul-"led the old ceremonies which have been well al-"lowed by our fathers and forefathers many hun-"dred years past, both by good customs, and also "in ages of more purity." On which Harding's remark is, "Concerning ceremonies: if ye shew "us not the use of chrism in your churches; if the "sign of the cross be not borne before you in pro-"cessions, and otherwheres used; if holy water be "abolished; if lights at the Gospel and Commu-"nion be not had; if peculiar vestments for Dea-"cons, Priests, Bishops, be taken away; and "many such other the like: judge ye, whether ye "have duly kept the old ceremonies of the Church." Jewel replies, "Verily M. Harding, we hate not "any of all these things. For we know they are "the creatures of God. But you have so misused "them, or rather so defiled and berayed them with "your superstitions, and so have with the same "mocked and deceived God's people, that we can "no longer continue them without great con-"science." This passage it will be seen, refers to the ceremonies omitted, and not to those retained in the English church. Concerning the latter, although it is well known that he would not have disapproved of further concessions, (see his letters to Bullinger in Strype, Ann. 1. i. 262. ii. 544.) yet it is equally certain that his views were not founded on the puritan principle of absolute unlawfulness in the use of things once abused. For in the very same year (1565–6) that he last wrote to Bullinger as above, he had refused his intimate friend, Humphrey, institution to a benefice in the diocese of Sarum, because Humphrey would not pledge himself to wear the habits. Strype, Park. i. 369, and Ann. 1. ii. 133. Wordsworth, E. B. iv. 63. How far he differed with the Puritans on Church government may be seen by a paper of his in Whitg. Def. 423. and in Strype, Whitg. iii. 21. 1 App. No. x.]

[42] [See above, b. iii. c. xi. 13.]

lowed his saying, "That the custom of the "people of God and the decrees of our "forefathers are to be kept, touching those "things whereof the Scripture hath neither "one way nor other given us any charge." What then? Doth it here therefore follow, that they being neither the people of God nor our forefathers, are for that cause in nothing to be followed? This consequent were good if so be it were granted, that only the custom of the people of God and the decrees of our forefathers are in such case to be observed. But then should no other kind of latter laws in the Church be good; which were a gross absurdity to think. St. Augustine's speech therefore doth import, that where we have no divine precept, if yet we have the custom of the people of God or a decree of our forefathers, this is a law and must be kept. Notwithstanding it is not denied, but that we lawfully may observe the positive constitutions of our own churches, although the same were but yesterday made by ourselves alone. Nor is there any thing in this to prove that the church of England might not by law receive orders, rites, or customs from the church of Rome, although they were neither the people of God nor yet our forefathers. How much less when we have received from them nothing, but that which they did themselves receive from such, as we cannot deny to have been the people of God, yea such, as either we must acknowledge for our own forefathers or else disdain the race of Christ?

VI. The rites and orders wherein we follow the church of Rome are of no other kind than such as the church of Geneva itself doth follow them in. We follow the church of Rome in more things; yet they in some things of the same nature about which our present controversy is: so that the difference is not in the kind, but in the number of rites only, wherein they and we do follow the church of Rome. The use of wafer-cakes, the custom of godfathers and godmothers in baptism, are things not commanded nor forbidden in Scripture, things which have been of old and are retained in the church of Rome even at this very hour. Is conformity with Rome in such things a blemish unto the church of England, and unto churches abroad an ornament? Let them, if not for the reverence they owe unto this church, in the bowels whereof they have received I trust that precious and blessed vigour, which shall quicken them to eternal life, yet at the leastwise for the singular affection which they do bear towards others, take heed how they strike, lest they wound whom they would not. For undoubtedly it cutteth deeper than they are aware of, when they plead that even such ceremonies of the church of Rome, as contain in them nothing which is not of itself agreeable to the word of God, ought nevertheless to be abolished; and that neither the word of God, nor reason, nor the examples of the eldest churches do permit the church of Rome to be therein followed.

That the course which the wisdom of God doth teach maketh not against our conformity with the church of Rome in such things.

[2.] Heretics they are, and they are our neighbours. By us and amongst us they lead their lives. But what then? therefore no ceremony of theirs lawful for us to use? We must yield and will that none are lawful, if God himself be a precedent against the use of any. But how appeareth it that God is so? Hereby they say it doth appear, in that[42] "God severed his people "from the heathens, but especially from the "Egyptians, and such nations as were "nearest neighbors unto them[43], by for-"bidding them to do those things which "were in themselves very lawful to be done, "yea, very profitable some, and incommo-"dious to be forborne; such things it pleas-"ed God to forbid them, only because those "heathens did them, with whom conformity "in the same things might have bred infec-"tion. Thus in shaving, cutting[44], apparel-"wearing[45], yea in sundry kinds of meats al-"so, swine's flesh, conies, and such like[46], they "were forbidden to do so and so, because the "Gentiles did so. And the end why God "forbad them such things was to sever "them for fear of infection by a great and "an high wall from other nations, as St. "Paul teacheth[47]." The cause of more careful separation from the nearest nations was the greatness of danger to be especially by them infected. Now papists are to us as those nations were unto Israel. Therefore if the wisdom of God be our guide, we cannot allow conformity with them, no not in any such indifferent ceremony.

[3.] Our direct answer hereunto is, that for any thing here alleged we may still doubt, whether the Lord in such indifferent ceremonies, as those whereof we dispute, did frame his people of set purpose unto any utter dissimilitude, either with Egyptians or with any other nation else. And if God did not forbid them all such indifferent ceremonies, then our conformity with the church of Rome in some such is not hitherto as yet disproved, although papists were unto us as those heathens were unto Israel. "After the doings of the land "of Egypt, wherein you dwelt, ye shall not "do, saith the Lord; and after the manner "of the land of Canaan, whither I will bring

[42] T. C. lib. i. p. 89, 131. [See also p. 67.]
[43] Lev. xviii. 3.
[44] Lev. xix. 27.
[45] Levit. xix. 19; Deut. xxii. 11.
[46] Deut. xiv. 7; Lev. xi.
[47] Ephes. ii. 14.

"you, shall ye not do, neither walk in their "ordinances: do after my judgments and "keep my ordinances to walk therein: I am "the Lord your God [48]." The speech is indefinite, "ye shall not be like them:" it is not general, "ye shall not be like them in "any thing, or like to them in any thing in- "different, or like unto them in any indiffer- "ent ceremony of theirs." Seeing therefore it is not set down how far the bounds of his speech concerning dissimilitude should reach, how can any man assure us, that it extendeth farther than to those things only, wherein the nations there mentioned were idolatrous, or did against that which the law of God commandeth? Nay, doth it not seem a thing very probable, that God doth purposely add, "Do after my judg- "ments," as giving thereby to understand that his meaning in the former sentence was but to bar similitude in such things, as were repugnant unto the ordinances, laws, and statutes which he had given? Egyptians and Canaanites are for example's sake named unto them, because the customs of the one they had been, and of the other they should be best acquainted with. But that wherein they might not be like unto either of them, was such peradventure as had been no whit less unlawful, although those nations had never been. So that there is no necessity to think, that God for fear of infection by reason of nearness for- bade them to be like unto the Canaanites or the Egyptians, in those things which otherwise had been lawful enough.

For I would know what one thing was in those nations, and is here forbidden, being indifferent in itself, yet forbidden only be- cause they used it. In the laws of Israel we find it written, "Ye shall not cut round "the corners of your heads, neither shalt "thou tear the tufts of thy beard [49]." These things were usual amongst those nations, and in themselves they are indifferent. But are they indifferent being used as signs of immoderate and hopeless lamentation for the dead? In this sense it is that the law forbiddeth them. For which cause the very next words following are, "Ye shall not cut "your flesh for the dead, nor make any "print of a mark upon you: I am the "Lord [50]." The like in Leviticus, where speech is of mourning for the dead; "They "shall not make bald parts upon their "head, nor shave off the locks of their "beard, nor make any cutting in their "flesh [51]." Again in Deuteronomy, "Ye "are the children of the Lord your God; "ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make you "baldness between your eyes for the "dead [52]." What is this but in effect the same which the Apostle doth more plainly express, saying, "Sorrow not as they do "who have no hope [53]?" The very light of nature itself was able to see herein a fault; that which those nations did use, hav- ing been also in use with others, the ancient Roman laws do forbid [54]. That shaving therefore and cutting which the law doth mention was not a matter in itself indiffer- ent, and forbidden only because it was in use amongst such idolaters as were neigh- bours to the people of God; but to use it had been a crime, though no other people or nation under heaven should have done it saving only themselves.

As for those laws concerning attire: "There shall no garment of linen and "woollen come upon thee [55];" as also those touching food and diet, wherein swine's flesh together with sundry other meats are forbidden [56]; the use of these things had been indeed of itself harmless and indiffer- ent; so that hereby it doth appear, how the law of God forbad in some special consider- ation such things as were lawful enough in themselves. But yet even here they like- wise fail of that they intend. For it doth not appear that the consideration in regard whereof the law forbiddeth these things was because those nations did use them. Likely enough it is that the Canaanites used to feed as well on sheep's as on swine's flesh; and therefore if the forbidding of the latter had no other reason than dissi- militude with that people, they which of their own heads allege this for reason can shew I think some reason more than we are able to find why the former was not also forbidden. Might there not be some other mystery in this prohibition than they think of? Yes, some other mystery there was in it by all likelihood. For what reason is there which should but induce, and therefore much less enforce us to think, that care of dissimilitude between the people of God and the heathen nations about them, was any more the cause of forbidding them to put on garments of sundry stuff, than of charg- ing them withal not to sow their fields with meslin [57]; or that this was any more the cause of forbidding them to eat swine's flesh, than of charging them withal not to eat the flesh of eagles, hawks, and the like [58]?

[48] Levit. xviii. 3.
[49] Levit. xix. 27.
[50] Levit. xix. 28.
[51] Levit. xxi. 5.
[52] Deut. xiv. 1.
[53] 1 Thess. iv. 13.
[54] [Cic. Tusc. Quæst. ii. 23. "Ingemiscere non- "nunquam viro concessum est, idque raro; ejula- "tus ne mulieri quidem: et hic nimirum est lessus, "quem duodecim tabulæ in funeribus adhiberi ve- "tuerunt."]
[55] Levit. xix. 19; Deut. xxii. 11.
[56] Deut. xiv. 7; Levit. xi.
[57] Levit. xix. 19. ["*Meslin*: mixt corn, as wheat "and rye." Johnson, quoting Tusser:

"If work for the Thresher ye mind for to have,
"Of wheat and of meslin unthreshed go save."]

[58] Deut. xiv; Levit. xi.

Wherefore, although the church of Rome were to us, as to Israel the Egyptians and Canaanites were of old; yet doth it not follow that the wisdom of God without respect doth teach us to erect between us and them a partition-wall of difference [59], in such things indifferent as have been hitherto disputed of.

VII. Neither is the example of the eldest churches a whit more available to this purpose. Notwithstanding some fault undoubtedly there is in the very resemblance of idolaters [60]. Were it not some kind of blemish to be like unto infidels and heathens, it would not so usually be objected; men would not think it any advantage in the causes of religion to be able therewith justly to charge their adversaries as they do. Wherefore to the end that it may a little more plainly appear, what force this hath and how far the same extendeth, we are to note how all men are naturally desirous that they may seem neither to judge nor to do amiss; because every error and offence is a stain to the beauty of nature, for which cause it blusheth thereat, but glorieth in the contrary. From thence it riseth, that they which disgrace or depress the credit of others do it either in both or in one of these. To have been in either directed by a weak and unperfect rule argueth imbecility and imperfection. Men being either led by reason or by imitation of other men's example, if their persons be odious whose example we choose to follow, as namely if we frame our opinions to that which condemned heretics think, or direct our actions according to that which is practised and done by them; it lieth as an heavy prejudice against us, unless somewhat mightier than their bare example did move us, to think or do the same things with them. Christian men therefore having besides the common light of all men so great help of heavenly direction from above, together with the lamps of so bright examples as the Church of God doth yield, it cannot but worthily seem reproachful for us to leave both the one and the other, to become disciples unto the most hateful sort that live, to do as they do, only because we see their example before us and have a delight to follow it. Thus we may therefore safely conclude, that it is not evil simply to concur with the heathens either in opinion or in action; and that conformity with them is only then a disgrace, when either we follow them in that they think and do amiss, or follow them generally in that they do without other reason than only the liking we have to the pattern of their example; which liking doth intimate a more universal approbation of them than is allowable.

That the example of the eldest churches is not herein against us.

[2.] Faustus the Manichee therefore objecting against the Jews, that they forsook the idols of the Gentiles, but their temples and oblations and altars and priesthoods and all kinds of ministry of holy things they exercised even as the Gentiles did, yea more superstitiously a great deal; against the Catholic Christians likewise, that between them and the heathens there was in many things little difference: "From them," saith Faustus, "ye have learned to hold that one "only God is the author of all; their sacrifi- "ces ye have turned into feasts of charity, "their idols into martyrs whom ye honour "with the like religious offices unto theirs; "the ghosts of the dead ye appease with "wine and delicates; the festival days "of the nations ye celebrate together with "them; and of their kind of life ye have "verily changed nothing [61]:" St. Augustine's defence in behalf of both is, that touching matters of action, Jews and Catholic Christians were free from the Gentiles' faultiness, even in those things which were objected as tokens of their agreement with Gentiles [62]; and concerning their consent in opinion, they did not hold the same with Gentiles because Gentiles had so taught, but because heaven and earth had so witnessed the same to be truth, that neither the one sort could err in being fully persuaded thereof, nor the other but err in case they should not consent with them [63].

[3.] In things of their own nature indifferent, if either councils or particular men have at any time with sound judgment misliked conformity between the Church of God and infidels, the cause thereof hath been somewhat else than only affectation of dissimilitude. They saw it necessary so

[59] Ephes. ii. 14.

[60] "The councils, although they did not observe "themselves always in making of decrees this "rule, yet have kept this consideration continual- "ly in making of their laws, that they would have "Christians differ from others in their ceremonies." T. C. lib. i. p. 132.

[61] August. cont. Faust. Manich. lib. xx. cap. 4. [t. viii. 334. "Schisma aut nihil immutare debet "ab eo unde factum est, aut non multum: ut puta "vos, qui desciscentes a gentibus, monarchiæ "opinionem primo vobiscum divulsistis, id est, "ut omnia credatis ex Deo: sacrificia vero eorum "vertistis in agapes, idola in martyres, quos votis "similibus colitis: defunctorum umbras vino pla- "catis et dapibus: solennes gentium dies cum ipsis "celebratis, ut kalendas, et solstitia: de vita certe "eorum mutastis nihil."]

[62] [Ibid. §. 23. "Si usus quarundam rerum "similis videtur nobis esse cum gentibus, sicut cibi "et potus, tectorum, vestimentorum, &c..... "longe tamen aliter his rebus utitur, qui ad alium "finem usum earum refert; et aliter qui ex his Deo "gratias agit, de quo prava et falsa non credit."]

[63] [Ibid. §. 19. "Discat ergo Faustus,.....mon- "archiæ opinionem non ex gentibus nos habere; "sed gentes non usque adeo ad falsos Deos esse "delapsos, ut opinionem amitterent unios veri Dei. "ex quo est omnis qualiscunque natura."]

to do in respect of some special accident, which the Church being not always subject unto hath not still cause to do the like. For example, in the dangerous days of trial, wherein there was no way for the truth of Jesus Christ to triumph over infidelity but through the constancy of his saints, whom yet a natural desire to save themselves from the flame might peradventure cause to join with Pagans in external customs, too far using the same as a cloak to conceal themselves in, and a mist to darken the eyes of infidels withal: for remedy hereof those laws it might be were provided, which forbad that Christians should deck their houses with boughs as the Pagans did use to do[64], or rest those festival days whereon the Pagans rested, or celebrate such feasts as were, though not heathenish, yet such as the simpler sort of heathens might be beguiled in so thinking them.

[4.] As for Tertullian's judgment concerning the rites and orders of the Church, no man having judgment can be ignorant how just exceptions may be taken against it[65]. His opinion touching the Catholic Church was as unindifferent as touching our church the opinion of them that favour this pretended reformation is. He judged all them who did not Montanize to be but carnally minded, he judged them still over abjectly to fawn upon the heathens, and to curry favour with infidels. Which as the catholic church did well provide that they might not do indeed, so Tertullian over often through discontentment carpeth injuriously at them as though they did it, even when they were free from such meaning.

[5.] But if it were so, that either the judgment of these councils before alleged, or of Tertullian himself against the Christians, are in no such consideration to be understood as we have mentioned; if it were so that men are condemned as well of the one as of the other, only for using the ceremonies of a religion *contrary* unto their own, and that *this cause* is such as ought to prevail no less with us than with them: shall it not follow that seeing there is still between our religion and Paganism the selfsame *contrariety*, therefore we are still no less rebukable, if we now deck our houses with boughs, or send new-year's gifts unto our friends, or feast on those days which the Gentiles then did, or sit after prayer as they were accustomed? For so they infer upon the premises, that as great difference as commodiously may be there should be in all outward ceremonies between the people of God and them which are not his people. Again they teach as hath been declared, that there is not as great a difference as may be between them, except the one do avoid whatsoever rites and ceremonies uncommanded of God the other doth embrace. So that generally they teach that the very difference of spiritual condition itself between the servants of Christ and others requireth such difference in ceremonies between them, although the one be never so far disjoined in time or place from the other.

[6.] But in case the people of God and Belial do chance to be neighbours, then as the danger of infection is greater, so the same difference they say is thereby made more necessary[66]. In this respect as the Jews were severed from the heathen, so most especially from the heathen nearest them. And in the same respect we, which ought to differ howsoever from the church of Rome, are now they say by reason of our nearness more bound to differ from them in ceremonies than from Turks. A strange kind of speech unto Christian ears, and such as I hope they themselves do acknowledge unadvisedly uttered. "We "are not so much to fear infection from "Turks as from papists." What of that? we must remember that by conforming rather ourselves in that respect to Turks, we should be spreaders of a worse infection into others than any we are likely to draw from papists by our conformity with them in ceremonies. If they did hate, as Turks do, the Christians; or as Canaanites did of old the Jewish religion even in gross; the circumstance of local nearness in them unto us might haply enforce in us a duty of greater separation from them than from those other mentioned. But forasmuch as papists are so much in Christ nearer unto us than Turks, is there any reasonable man, trow you, but will judge it meeter that our ceremonies of Christian religion should be popish than Turkish or heathenish? Especially considering that we were not brought to dwell amongst them, (as Israel in Canaan,) having not been of them. For even a very part of them we were. And when God did by his good Spirit put it into our hearts, first to reform ourselves, (whence grew our separation,) and then by all good

[64] "Also it was decreed in another council that "they should not deck their houses with bay-"leaves and green boughs, because the Pagans did "use so; and that they should not rest from their "labour those days that the Pagans did, that they "should not keep the first of every month as they "did." T. C. l. i. p. 132. [103.]

[65] "Tertullian saith, O, saith he, better is the "religion of the heathen; for they use no solemni-"ty of the Christians, neither the Lord's day, nei-"ther, &c. but we are not afraid to be called hea-"then." T. C. l. i. p. 132. [103.] "But having "shewed this in general to be the policy of God "first, and of his people afterward, to put as much "difference as can be commodiously between the "people of God and others which are not, I shall "not, &c." T. C. l. i. p. 133.

[66] [Decl. of Discipl. 134.]

means to seek also their reformation; had we not only cut off their corruptions but also estranged ourselves from them in things indifferent, who seeth not how greatly prejudicial this might have been to so good a cause, and what occasion it had given them to think (to their greater obduration in evil) that through a froward or wanton desire of innovation we did unconstrainedly those things for which conscience was pretended? Howsoever the case doth stand, as Judah had been rather to choose conformity in things indifferent with Israel when they were nearest opposites, than with the farthest removed Pagans; so we in the like case much rather with papists than with Turks. I might add further for more full and complete answer, so much concerning the large odds between the case of the eldest churches in regard of those heathens and ours in respect of the church of Rome, that very cavillation itself should be satisfied, and have no shift to fly unto.

That it is not our best policy for the establishment of sound religion, to have in these things no agreement with the church of Rome being unsound.

VIII. But that no one thing may detain us over long, I return to their reasons against our conformity with that church. That extreme dissimilitude which they urge upon us, is now commended as our best and safest policy for establishment of sound religion. The ground of which politic position is that "evils must "be cured by their contraries;" and therefore the cure of the Church infected with the poison of Antichristianity must be done by that which is thereunto as contrary as may be[67]. "A "medled estate of the orders of the Gos-"pel and the ceremonies of popery is not "the best way to banish popery[68]."

We are contrariwise of opinion, that he which will perfectly recover a sick and restore a diseased body unto health, must not endeavour so much to bring it to a state of simple contrariety, as of fit proportion in contrariety unto those evils which are to be cured. He that will take away extreme heat by setting the body in extremity of cold, shall undoubtedly remove the disease, but together with it the diseased too. The first thing therefore in skilful cures is the knowledge of the part affected; the next is of the evil which doth affect it; the last is not only of the kind but also of the measure of contrary things whereby to remove it.

[2.] They which measure religion by dislike of the church of Rome think every man so much the more sound, by how much he can make the corruptions thereof to seem more large. And therefore some there are, namely the Arians in reformed churches of Poland, which imagine the canker to have eaten so far into the very bones and marrow of the church of Rome, as if it had not so much as a sound belief, no not concerning God himself, but that the very belief of the Trinity were a part of antichristian corruption[69]; and that the wonderful providence of God did bring to pass that the bishop of the see of Rome should be famous for his triple crown; a sensible mark whereby the world might know him to be that mystical beast spoken of in the Revelation, to be that great and notorious Antichrist in no one respect so much as in this, that he maintaineth the doctrine of the Trinity. Wisdom therefore and skill is requisite to know, what parts are sound in that church, and what corrupted.

Neither is it to all men apparent which complain of unsound parts, with what kind of unsoundness every such part is possessed. They can say, that in doctrine, in discipline, in prayers, in sacraments, the church of Rome hath (as it hath indeed) very foul and gross corruptions; the nature whereof notwithstanding because they have not for the most part exact skill and knowledge to discern, they think that amiss many times which is not; and the salve of reformation they mightily call for, but where and what the sores are which need it, as they wot full little, so they think it not greatly material to search. Such men's contentment must be wrought by stratagem; the usual method of art is not for them.

[3.] But with those that profess more than ordinary and common knowledge of good from evil, with them that are able to put a difference between things naught and things indifferent in the church of Rome, we are yet at controversy about the manner of removing that which is naught: whether it may not be perfectly helped, unless that also which is indifferent be cut off with it, so far till no rite or ceremony remain which the church of Rome hath, being not found in the word of God. If we think this too extreme, they reply, that to draw men from great excess, it is not amiss though we use them unto somewhat less than is competent[70]; and that a crooked stick is not

[67] "Common reason also doth teach that contraries "are cured by their contraries. Now Christianity "and Antichristianity, the Gospel and Popery, be "contraries; and therefore Antichristianity must "be cured, not by itself, but by that which is (as "much as may be) contrary unto it." T. C. l. i. p. 134. [103.]

[68] [T. C. i. 103.]

[69] [See book V. c. xlii. 16.]

[70] "If a man would bring a drunken man to so-"briety, the best and nearest way is to carry him "as far from his excess in drink as may be; and "if a man could not keep a mean, it were better "to fault in prescribing less than he should drink, "than to fault in giving him more than he ought. "As we see, to bring a stick which is crooked to "be straight, we do not only bow it so far until it "come to be straight, but we bend it so far until "we make it so crooked of the other side as it was

straightened unless it be bent as far on the clean contrary side, that so it may settle itself at the length in a middle estate of evenness between both. But how can these comparisons stand them in any stead? When they urge us to extreme opposition against the church of Rome, do they mean we should be drawn unto it only for a time, and afterwards return to a mediocrity? or was it the purpose of those reformed churches, which utterly abolished all popish ceremonies, to come in the end back again to the middle point of evenness and moderation? Then have we conceived amiss of their meaning. For we have always thought their opinion to be, that utter inconformity with the church of Rome was not an extremity whereunto we should be drawn for a time, but the very mediocrity itself wherein they meant we should ever continue. Now by these comparisons it seemeth clean contrary, that howsoever they have bent themselves at first to an extreme contrariety against the Romish church, yet therein they will continue no longer than only till such time as some more moderate course for establishment of the Church may be concluded.

[4.] Yea, albeit this were not at the first their intent, yet surely now there is great cause to lead them unto it. They have seen that experience of the former policy, which may cause the authors of it to hang down their heads. When Germany had stricken off that which appeared corrupt in the doctrine of the church of Rome, but seemed nevertheless in discipline still to retain therewith very great conformity; France by that rule of policy which hath been before-mentioned, took away the popish orders which Germany did retain. But process of time hath brought more light into the world; whereby men perceiving that they of the religion in France have also retained some orders which were before in the church of Rome, and are not commanded in the word of God, there hath arisen a sect [71] in England, which following still the very selfsame rule of policy, seeketh to reform even the French reformation, and purge out from thence also dregs of popery. These have not taken as yet such root that they are able to establish any thing. But if they had, what would spring out of their stock, and how far the unquiet wit of man might be carried with rules of such policy, God doth know. The trial which we have lived to see, may somewhat teach us what posterity is to fear. But our Lord of his infinite mercy avert whatsoever evil our swervings on the one hand or on the other may threaten unto the state of his Church!

IX. That the church of Rome doth hereby take occasion to blaspheme, and to say, our religion is not able to stand of itself unless it lean upon the staff of their ceremonies [72], is not a matter of so great moment, that it did need to be objected, or doth deserve to receive an answer. The name of blasphemy in this place, is like the shoe of Hercules on a child's foot [73]. If the church of Rome do use any such kind of silly exprobration, it is no such ugly thing to the ear, that we should think the honour and credit of our religion to receive thereby any great wound. They which hereof make so perilous a matter do seem to imagine, that we have erected of late a frame of some new religion, the furniture whereof we should not have borrowed from our enemies, lest they relieving us might afterwards laugh and gibe at our poverty; whereas in truth the ceremonies which we have taken from such as were before us, are not things that belong to this or that sect, but they are the ancient rites and customs of the Church of Christ, whereof ourselves being a part, we have the selfsame interest in them which our fathers before us had, from whom the same are descended unto us. Again in case we had been so much beholding privately unto them, doth the reputation of one church stand by saying unto another, "I need thee not?" If some should be so vain and impotent as to mar a benefit with reproachful upbraiding, where at the least they suppose themselves to have bestowed some good turn; yet surely a wise body's part it were not, to put out his fire, because his fond and foolish neighbour, from whom he borrowed peradventure wherewith to kindle it, might haply cast him therewith in the teeth, saying, "Were it not for me thou wouldst "freeze, and not be able to heat thyself."

That we are not to abolish our ceremonies, either because papists upbraid us as having taken from them, or for that they are said hereby to conceive I know not what great hopes.

[2.] As for that other argument derived from the secret affection of papists, with whom our conformity in certain ceremonies is said to put them in great hope, that their whole religion in time will have re-entrance, and therefore none are so clamorous amongst us for the observation of these ceremonies, as papists and such as papists suborn to speak for them, whereby it clearly appeareth how much they rejoice, how

"before of the first side; to this end, that at the "last it may stand straight, and as it were in the "midway between both the crooks." T. C. lib. i. p. 132. [103.]

[71] [The Brownists or Barrowists.]

[72] "By using of these ceremonies, the Papists "take occasion to blaspheme, saying, that our re- "ligion cannot stand by itself, unless it lean upon "the staff of their ceremonies." T. C. lib. iii. p. 178. [and i. 52.]

[73] ["Herculis cothurnos aptare infanti." See Quintilian VI. 1. 3. and Erasm. Adag. Chil. iii. Cent. vi. Prov. 67.]

much they triumph in these things[74]; our answer hereunto is still the same, that the benefit we have by such ceremonies overweigheth even this also. No man which is not exceeding partial can well deny, but that there is most just cause wherefore we should be offended greatly at the church of Rome. Notwithstanding at such times as we are to deliberate for ourselves, the freer our minds are from all distempered affections, the sounder and better is our judgment. When we are in a fretting mood at the church of Rome, and with that angry disposition enter into any cogitation of the orders and rites of our church; taking particular survey of them, we are sure to have always one eye fixed upon the countenance of our enemies, and according to the blithe or heavy aspect thereof, our other eye sheweth some other suitable token either of dislike or approbation towards our own orders. For the rule of our judgment in such case being only that of Homer, "This is "the thing which our enemies would have[75]," what they seem contented with, even for that very cause we reject: and there is nothing but it pleaseth us much the better if we espy that it galleth them. Miserable were the state and condition of that church, the weighty affairs whereof should be ordered by those deliberations wherein such a humour as this were predominant. We have most heartily to thank God therefore, that they amongst us to whom the first consultations of causes of this kind fell, were men which aiming at another mark, namely the glory of God and the good of this his church, took that which they judged thereunto necessary, not rejecting any good or convenient thing only because the church of Rome might perhaps like it. If we have that which is meet and right, although they be glad, we are not to envy them this their solace; we do not think it a duty of ours to be in every such thing their tormentors.

[3.] And whereas it is said that popery for want of this utter extirpation hath in some places taken root and flourished again[76], but hath not been able to re-establish itself in any place after provision made against it by utter evacuation of all Romish ceremonies; and therefore as long as we hold any thing like unto them, we put them in some more hope than if all were taken away: as we deny not but this may be true, so being of two evils to choose the less, we hold it better that the friends and favourers of the church of Rome should be in some kind of hope to have a corrupt religion restored, than both we and they conceive just fear, lest under colour of rooting out popery, the most effectual means to bear up the state of religion be removed, and so a way made either for Paganism or for extreme barbarity to enter. If desire of weakening the hope of others should turn us away from the course we have taken; how much more the care of preventing our own fear withhold us from that we are urged unto? Especially seeing that our own fear we know, but we are not so certain what hope the rites and orders of our church have bred in the hearts of others.

For it is no sufficient argument thereof to say, that in maintaining and urging these ceremonies none are so clamorous as papists and they whom papists suborn[77]; this speech being more hard to justify than the former, and so their proof more doubtful than the thing itself which they prove. He that were certain that this is true, must have marked who they be that speak for ceremonies; he must have noted who amongst them doth speak oftenest, or is most earnest; he must have been both acquainted thoroughly with the religion of such, and also privy what conferences or compacts are passed in secret between them and others; which kinds of notice are not wont to be vulgar and common. Yet they which allege this would have it taken as a thing that needeth no proof, a thing which all men know and see.

And if so be it were granted them as true, what gain they by it? Sundry of them that be popish are eager in maintenance of ceremonies. Is it so strange a matter to find a good thing furthered by ill men of a sinister intent and purpose, whose forwardness is not therefore a bridle to such as favor the same cause with a better and sincerer meaning? They that seek, as they say, the removing of all popish orders out of the Church, and reckon the state of Bishops in the number of those orders, do (I doubt not) presume that the cause which they prosecute is holy. Notwithstanding it is their own ingenuous acknowledgment, that even this very cause, which they term so often by an excellency, "The Lord's cause," is "*gratissima*, most acceptable, unto some "which hope for prey and spoil by it, and

[74] "To prove the Papists' triumph and joy in "these things, I alleged further that there are none "which make such clamours for these ceremonies, "as the papists and those whom they suborn." T. C. lib. iii. q. 179.

[75] Ἦ κεν γηθήσαι Πρίαμος. Il. A. [v. 255.]

[76] "Thus they conceiving hope of having the "rest of their popery in the end, it causeth them to "be more frozen in their wickedness, &c. For "not the cause but the occasion also ought to be "taken away, &c. Although let the reader judge, "whether they have cause given to hope, that the "tail of popery yet remaining, they shall the easi-"lier hale in the whole body after: considering also "that Master Bucer noteth, that where these things "have been left, there popery hath returned; but "on the other part, in places which have been "cleansed of these dregs, it hath not been seen that "it hath had any entrance." T. C. lib. iii. p. 179. [and i. 52.]

[77] [T. C. i. 53. iii. 180.]

"that our age hath store of such, and that "such are the very sectaries of Dionysius "the famous atheist [78]." Now if hereupon we should upbraid them with irreligious, as they do us with superstitious favourers; if we should follow them in their own kind of pleading, and say, that the most clamorous for this pretended reformation are either atheists, or else proctors suborned by atheists; the answer which herein they would make unto us, let them apply unto themselves, and there an end. For they must not forbid us to presume our cause in defence of our church orders to be as good as theirs against them, till the contrary be made manifest to the world.

X. In the meanwhile sorry we are that any good and godly mind should be grieved [79] with that which is done. But to remedy their grief lieth not so much in us as in themselves. They do not wish to be made glad with the hurt of the Church: and to remove all out of the Church whereat they shew themselves to be sorrowful, would be, as we are persuaded, hurtful if not pernicious thereunto. Till they be able to persuade the contrary, they must and will I doubt not find out some other good means to cheer up themselves. Amongst which means the example of Geneva may serve for one. Have not they the old popish custom of using god-fathers and godmothers in Baptism? the old popish custom of administering the blessed sacrament of the holy Eucharist with wafer-cakes? These things the godly there can digest. Wherefore should not the godly here learn to do the like both in them and in the rest of the like nature? Some further mean peradventure it might be to assuage their grief, if so be they did consider the revenge they take on them which have been as they interpret it, the workers of their continuance in so great grief so long. For if the maintenance of ceremonies be a corrosive to such as oppugn them, undoubtedly to such as maintain them it can be no great pleasure, when they behold how that which they reverence is oppugned. And therefore they that judge themselves martyrs when they are grieved, should think withal what they are whom they grieve [80]. For we are still to put them in mind that the cause doth make no difference; for that it must be presumed as good at the least on our part as on theirs, till it be in the end decided who have stood for truth and who for error. So that till then the most effectual medicine and withal the most sound to ease their grief, must not be (in our opinion) the taking away of those things whereat they are grieved, but the altering of that persuasion which they have concerning the same.

The grief which they say godly brethren conceive in regard of such ceremonies as we have common with the church of Rome.

[2.] For this we therefore both pray and labour; the more because we are also persuaded, that it is but conceit in them to think, that those Romish ceremonies whereof we have hitherto spoken, are like leprous clothes, infectious unto the Church, or like soft and gentle poisons [81], the venom whereof being insensibly pernicious, worketh death, and yet is never felt working. Thus they say: but because they say it only, and the world hath not as yet had so great experience of their art in curing the diseases of the Church, that the bare authority of their word should persuade in a cause so weighty, they may not think much if it be required at their hands to shew, first, by what means so deadly infection can grow from similitude between us and the church of Rome in these things indifferent: secondly, for that it were infinite if the Church should provide against every such evil as may come to pass, it is not sufficient that they shew possibility of dangerous event,

[78] Eccles. Disc. f. 94. [p. 127. as translated by T. C. "Hæc.....oratio de episcoporum pompa "et affluentia minuenda.....gratissima nonnullis "est, qui suam causam agi putant, et jampridem "hæreditatem istam spe devorarint.....Habet enim "ætas nostra multos ejusmodi milites, multos Diony- "sios, qui Deo togam auream neque ad ætatem ne- "que ad hyemem commodam, sibi autem ad om- "nia utilissimam et commodissimam fore arbitran- "tur." Vide Cic. de Nat. Deor. iii. 34.]

[79] T. C. l. iii. p. 180. [and i. 53.] "There be "numbers which have Antichristianity in such de- "testation that they cannot without grief of mind "behold them." And afterwards, "such godly "brethren are not easily to be grieved, which they "seem to be when they are thus martyred in their "minds, for ceremonies which (to speak the best "of them) are unprofitable."

[80] [See a letter of Archdeacon Barfoot to Archbishop Whitgift in Strype, Ann. iii. 1. 350. (1584.) "Truly, my lord, the conformable ministry is very "much grieved thereat. And divers said plainly, "that if they had thought this would have been the "end, they would have joined with the other in "their recusancy, rather than have offered them- "selves to such reproachful speeches, as were giv- "en out of them by some of that faction. For "they told him, that there was a letter there in the "country sent from Mr. Field of London, [a great "Puritan,] to the ministers in those parts, recus- "ants, exhorting them to stand stoutly to the cause; "affirming the same not to be theirs, but the Lord's; "boldly assuring, that such as had subscribed had "made a *breach*, as he was informed Field termed "it. And therefore rashly judging of them, that "they never would do good hereafter, and slander- "ously terming them by the name of *branded* "*menne*. He assured his grace, there was great "grief conceived hereat." In a schedule of complaints from Suffolk Archdeaconry, 1586. "The "communion was received by many sitting, and "those that conformed to the Church called Time- "servers." Whitg. i. 497.]

[81] "Although the corruptions in them strike not "straight to the heart, yet as gentle poisons they "consume by little and little." T. C. lib. iii. p. 171.

unless there appear some likelihood also of the same to follow in us, except we prevent it. Nor is this enough, unless it be moreover made plain, that there is no good and sufficient way of prevention, but by evacuating clean, and by emptying the Church of every such rite and ceremony, as is presently called in question. Till this be done, their good affection towards the safety of the Church is acceptable, but the way they prescribe us to preserve it by must rest in suspense.

[3.] And lest hereat they take occasion to turn upon us the speech of the prophet Jeremy used against Babylon, "Behold we "have done our endeavour to cure the dis- "eases of Babylon, but she through her "wilfulness doth rest uncured [82];" let them consider into what straits the church might drive itself in being guided by this their counsel. Their axiom is, that the sound believing Church of Jesus Christ may not be like heretical churches in any of those indifferent things, which men make choice of, and do not take by prescript appointment of the word of God. In the word of God the use of bread is prescribed, as a thing without which the Eucharist may not be celebrated; but as for the kind of bread it is not denied to be a thing indifferent. Being indifferent of itself, we are by this axiom of theirs to avoid the use of unleavened bread in that sacrament, because such bread the church of Rome being heretical useth. But doth not the selfsame axiom bar us even from leavened bread also, which the church of the Grecians useth; the opinions whereof are in a number of things the same for which we condemn the church of Rome, and in some things erroneous where the church of Rome is acknowledged to be sound; as namely, in the article about proceeding of the Holy Ghost? And lest here they should say that because the Greek church is farther off, and the church of Rome nearer, we are in that respect rather to use that which the church of Rome useth not: let them imagine a reformed church in the city of Venice, where a Greek church and a popish both are. And when both these are equally near, let them consider what the third shall do. Without either leavened or unleavened bread, it can have no sacrament; the word of God doth tie it to neither; and their axiom doth exclude it from both. If this constrain them, as it must, to grant that their axiom is not to take any place save in those things only where the Church hath larger scope; it resteth that they search out some stronger reason than they have as yet alleged; otherwise they constrain not us to think that the Church is tied unto any such rule or axiom, no not then when she hath the widest field to walk in, and the greatest store of choice.

[82] Jer. li. 9.

XI. Against such ceremonies generally as are the same in the church of England and of Rome, we see what hath been hitherto alleged. Albeit therefore we do not find the one church's having of such things to be sufficient cause why the other should not have them: nevertheless, in case it may be proved, that amongst the number of rites and orders common unto both, there are particulars, the use whereof is utterly unlawful in regard of some special bad and noisome quality; there is no doubt but we ought to relinquish such rites and orders, what freedom soever we have to retain the other still. As therefore we have heard their general exception against all those things, which being not commanded in the word of God, were first received in the church of Rome, and from thence have been derived into ours; so it followeth that now we proceed unto certain kinds of them, as being excepted against not only for that they are in the church of Rome, but are besides either Jewish, or abused unto idolatry, and so grown scandalous.

Their exception against such ceremonies as we have received from the church of Rome, that Church having taken them from the Jews.

[2.] The church of Rome, they say, being ashamed of the simplicity of the gospel, did almost out of all religions take whatsoever had any fair and gorgeous show [83], borrowing in that respect from the Jews sundry of their abolished ceremonies. Thus by foolish and ridiculous imitation, all their massing furniture almost they took from the Law, lest having an altar and a priest, they should want vestments for their stage [84]; so that whatsoever we have in common with the church of Rome, if the same be of this kind we ought to remove it. "Con- "stantine the emperor speaking of the keep- "ing of the feast of Easter, saith, 'That it "is an unworthy thing to have any thing "common with that most spiteful company "of the Jews [85].' And a little after he saith, "'That it is most absurd and against rea- "son, that the Jews should vaunt and glo- "ry that the Christians could not keep "those things without their doctrine.' And "in another place it is said after this "sort; 'It is convenient so to order the "matter, 'that we have nothing common

[83] Eccles. Disc. fol. 98. [in T. C.'s transl. p. 131, 2.] and T. C. lib. iii. p. 181. "Many of these po- "pish ceremonies faulty by reason of the pomp in "them; where they should be agreeable to the "simplicity of the gospel of Christ crucified."

[84] [Eccl. Disc. ibid.]

[85] T. C. lib. i. p. 132. [103.] Euseb. de Vit. Const. lib. iii. c. 18. [Μηδὲν τοίνυν ἔστω ὑμῖν κοῖνον μετὰ τοῦ ἔχθιστου τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔχλου. ... ἐστι γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀτοπώτατον, ἐκείνους αὐχεῖν ὡς ἄρα παρεκτὸς τῆς αὐτῶν διδασκαλίας ταῦτα φυλάττειν οὐκ εἰῆμεν ἱκανοί.]

"with that nation [86]". The council of Laodicea, which was afterwards confirmed by "the sixth general council [87], decreed 'that "the Christians should not take unleavened "bread of the Jews, or communicate with "their impiety [88].'"

[3.] For the easier manifestation of truth in this point, two things there are which must be considered: namely, the causes wherefore the Church should decline from Jewish ceremonies; and how far it ought so to do. One cause is that the Jews were the deadliest and spitefullest enemies of Christianity that were in the world, and in this respect their orders so far forth to be shunned, as we have already set down in handling the matter of heathenish ceremonies. For no enemies being so venomous against Christ as Jews, they were of all others most odious, and by that mean least to be used as fit church patterns for imitation. Another cause is the solemn abrogation of the Jews' ordinances; which ordinances for us to resume, were to check our Lord himself which hath disannulled them. But how far this second cause doth extend, it is not on all sides fully agreed upon. And touching those things whereunto it reacheth not, although there be small cause wherefore the church should frame itself to the Jews' example in respect of their persons which are most hateful: yet God himself having been the author of their laws, herein they are (notwithstanding the former consideration) still worthy to be honoured, and to be followed above others, as much as the state of things will bear.

[4.] Jewish ordinances had some things natural, and of the perpetuity of those things no man doubteth. That which was positive we likewise know to have been by the coming of Christ partly necessary not to be kept, and partly indifferent to be kept or not. Of the former kind circumcision and sacrifice were. For this point Stephen was accused, and the evidence which his accusers brought against him in judgment was, "This man ceaseth not to speak blasphe-"mous words against this holy place and "the Law, for we have heard him say that "this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this "place, and shall change the ordinances "that Moses gave us [89]." True it is that this doctrine was then taught, which unbelievers condemning for blasphemy did therein commit that which they did condemn. The Apostles notwithstanding from whom Stephen had received it, did not so teach the abrogation, no not of those things which were necessarily to cease, but that even the Jews being Christian, might for a time continue in them. And therefore in Jerusalem the first Christian bishop not circumcised was Mark; and he not bishop till the days of Adrian the emperor, after the overthrow of Jerusalem: there having been fifteen bishops before him which were all of the circumcision [90].

The Christian Jews did think at the first not only themselves but the Christian Gentiles also bound, and that necessarily to observe the whole Law. There went forth certain of the sect of Pharisees which did believe, and they coming unto Antioch, taught that it was necessary for the Gentiles to be circumcised, and to keep the law of Moses [91]. Whereupon there grew dissension, Paul and Barnabas disputing against them. The determination of the council held at Jerusalem concerning this matter was finally this; "Touching the "Gentiles which believe, we have written "and determined that they observe no such "thing [92]." Their protestation by letters is, "Forasmuch as we have heard that cer-"tain which departed from us have troubled "you with words, and cumbered your minds, "saying, Ye must be circumcised and keep "the Law; know that we gave them no "such commandment [93]." Paul therefore continued still teaching the Gentiles, not only that they were not bound to observe the laws of Moses, but that the observation of those laws, which were necessarily to be abrogated, was in them altogether unlawful. In which point his doctrine was misreported, as though he had every where preached this, not only concerning the Gentiles, but also touching the Jews. Wherefore coming unto James and the rest of the clergy at Jerusalem, they told him plainly of it, saying, "Thou seest, brother, how "many thousand Jews there are which be-"lieve, and they are all zealous of the Law. "Now they are informed of thee, that thou "teachest all the Jews which are amongst "the Gentiles to forsake Moses, and sayest "that they ought not to circumcise their "children, neither to live after the cus-"tom [94]." And hereupon they give him council to make it apparent in the eyes of all men, that those flying reports were untrue,

[86] Socrat. lib. i. c. 9. [Τοῦτο οὕτως ἐπανορθοῦσθαι προσῆκεν, ὡς μηδὲν μετὰ τοῦ τῶν πατροκτόνων τε καὶ κυριοκτόνων ἐκείνων ἔθνους εἶναι κοῖνον.]

[87] [Or rather by the council called Quinisextum. vid. Labb. Conc. vi. 1124, 1146.]

[88] Tom. i. Concil. Laod. Can. 38. [i. 1503. οὐ δεῖ παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἄζυμα λαμβάνειν, ἢ κοινωνεῖν ταῖς ἀσεβείαις αὐτῶν.]

[89] Acts vi. 13, 14.

[90] Vide Niceph. lib. iii. cap. 25. [Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Ἰούδας πεντεκαιδέκατος· οὗς ἐξ ἐθνῶν μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν διαδέχεται Μάρκος· τοσοῦτοι μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἐς τὸν εἰρημένον Ἰούδαν ἐπίσκοποι ἐκ περιτομῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις γεγόνασιν.] et Sulpit. Sever. p. 149. in edit. Plant. ["Tum Hierosolymæ non nisi ex circumci-"sione habebat Ecclesia Sacerdotem," p. 364. ed. Horn. 1665.]

[91] Acts xv.

[92] Acts xxi. 25.

[93] Acts xv. 24.

[94] Acts xxi. 20.

and that himself being a Jew kept the Law even as they did.

In some things therefore we see the Apostles did teach, that there ought not to be conformity between the Christian Jews and Gentiles. How many things this law of inconformity did comprehend, there is no need we should stand to examine. This general is true, that the Gentiles were not made conformable unto the Jews, in that which was necessarily to cease at the coming of Christ.

[5.] Touching things positive, which might either cease or continue as occasion should require, the Apostles tendering the zeal of the Jews, thought it necessary to bind even the Gentiles for a time to abstain as the Jews did, "from things offered unto "idols, from blood, from strangled [95]." These decrees were every where delivered unto the Gentiles to be straitly observed and kept [96]. In the other matters, where the Gentiles were free, and the Jews in their own opinion still tied the Apostles' doctrine unto the Jew was, "condemn not the Gen-"tile;" unto the Gentile, "despise not the "Jew [97]." The one sort they warned to take heed, that scrupulosity did not make them rigorous, in giving unadvised sentence against their brethren which were free; the other, that they did not become scandalous, by abusing their liberty and freedom to the offence of their weak brethren which were scrupulous. From hence therefore two conclusions there are which may evidently be drawn; the first, that whatsoever conformity of positive laws the Apostles did bring in between the churches of Jews and Gentiles, it was in those things only which might either cease or continue a shorter or longer time, as occasion did most require; the second, that they did not impose upon the churches of the Gentiles any part of the Jews' ordinances with bond of necessary and perpetual observation, (as we all both by doctrine and practice acknowledge,) but only in respect of the conveniency and fitness for the present state of the Church as then it stood. The words of the council's decree concerning the Gentiles are, "It "seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us, "to lay upon you no more burden saving "only those things of necessity, abstinence "from idol-offerings, from strangled and "blood, and from fornication [98]." So that in other things positive which the coming of Christ did not necessarily extinguish the Gentiles were left altogether free.

[6.] Neither ought it to seem unreasonable that the Gentiles should necessarily be bound and tied to Jewish ordinances, so far forth as that decree importeth. For to the Jew, who knew that their difference from other nations which were aliens and strangers from God, did especially consist in this that God's people had positive ordinances given to them of God himself, it seemed marvellous hard, that the Christian Gentiles should be incorporated into the same commonwealth with God's own chosen people, and be subject to no part of his statutes, more than only the law of nature, which heathens count themselves bound unto. It was an opinion constantly received amongst the Jews, that God did deliver unto the sons of Noah seven precepts: namely, first, to live in some form of regiment under public laws; secondly, to serve and call upon the name of God; thirdly, to shun idolatry; fourthly, not to suffer effusion of blood; fifthly, to abhor all unclean knowledge in the flesh; sixthly, to commit no rapine; seventhly, and finally, not to eat of any living creature whereof the blood was not first let out [99]. If therefore the Gentiles would be exempt from the law of Moses, yet it might seem hard they should also cast off even those things positive which were observed before Moses, and which were not of the same kind with laws that were necessarily to cease. And peradventure hereupon the council saw it expedient to determine, that the Gentiles should, according unto the third, the seventh, and the fifth, of those precepts, abstain from things sacrificed unto idols, from strangled and blood, and from fornication. The rest the Gentiles did of their own accord observe, nature leading them thereto.

[7.] And did not nature also teach them to abstain from fornication? No doubt it did. Neither can we with reason think, that as the former two are positive, so likewise this, being meant as the Apostle doth otherwise usually understand it [1]. But very

[95] Acts xv. 28, 29.
[96] Acts xvi. 4.
[97] Rom. xiv. 10.
[98] [Acts xv. 28.]

[99] Lib. qui Seder Olam inscribitur. [Or "The "World's Order," being a summary of events and dates from the creation to the war of Bar Cochab, supposed to have been written about A. D. 130. Wolf. Bibl. Hebr. i. 491. ed. 1715. The passage cited is cap. 5. p. 16. ed. Meyer, Amstelæd. 1669. "From the Red sea they journeyed unto Marah... "There were given unto Israel ten precepts;" [Exod. xv. 23, 25.] "seven of them, concern-"ing which commandment had been given to the "Sons of Noah.] 1. דינין [the judgments]: 2. השם "ברכת [the malediction of the Name (of God):] 3. "עבודת אלילים [more usually עבודת זרה "strange "worship,"] "the worship of idols,"]: 4. דמים "שפיכות [the shedding of blood]: 5. גלוי עריות "[the discovery of nakedness]: 6. הנול [rapine] 7. "אבר מן החי [(partaking of) any member of a liv-"ing creature.] Israel added unto these at that "time the Sabbath, and (דינין) judgments," (on the difference between this and the first precept see Selden, De Jure Nat. et Gent. ap. Heb. vii. 5. p. 809. "and the honouring of parents." The whole passage is quoted and illustrated by Selden, lib. i. c. 10. p. 123.]

[1] Heb. xiii. 4; 1 Cor. v. 11; Gal. v. 19.

marriage within a number of degrees being not only by the law of Moses, but also by the law of the sons of Noah (for so they took it) an unlawful discovery of nakedness; this discovery of nakedness by unlawful marriages such as Moses in the law reckoneth up [2], I think it for mine own part more probable to have been meant in the words of that canon, than fornication according unto the sense of the law of nature. Words must be taken according to the matter whereof they are uttered. The Apostles command to abstain from blood. Construe this meaning according to the law of nature, and it will seem that homicide only is forbidden. But construe it in reference to the law of the Jews about which the question was, and it shall easily appear to have a clean other sense, and in any man's judgment a truer, when we expound it of eating and not of shedding blood. So if we speak of fornication, he that knoweth no law but only the law of nature, must needs make thereof a narrower construction, than he which measureth the same by a law, wherein sundry kinds even of conjugal copulation are prohibited as impure, unclean, unhonest. St. Paul himself doth term incestuous marriage fornication [3]. If any do rather think that the Christian Gentiles themselves, through the loose and corrupt custom of those times, took simple fornication for no sin, and were in that respect offensive unto believing Jews, which by the Law had been better taught; our proposing of another conjecture is unto theirs no prejudice [4].

[8.] Some things therefore we see there were, wherein the Gentiles were forbidden to be like unto the Jews; some things wherein they were commanded not to be unlike. Again, some things also there were, wherein no law of God did let but that they might be either like or unlike, as occasion should require. And unto this purpose Leo saith [5], "Apostolical ordinance "(beloved,) knowing that our Lord Jesus "Christ came not into this world to undo "the law, hath in such sort distinguished "the mysteries of the Old Testament, that "certain of them it hath chosen out to benefit evangelical knowledge withal, and "for that purpose appointed that those "things which before were Jewish might "now be Christian customs." The cause why the Apostles did thus conform the Christians as much as might be according to the pattern of the Jews, was to rein them in by this mean the more, and to make them cleave the better.

[9.] The Church of Christ hath had in no one thing so many and so contrary occasions of dealing as about Judaism: some having thought the whole Jewish Law wicked and damnable in itself; some not condemning it as the former sort absolutely, have notwithstanding judged it either sooner necessary to be abrogated, or further unlawful to be observed than truth can bear; some of scrupulous simplicity urging perpetual and universal observation of the Law of Moses necessary, as the Christian Jews at the first in the Apostles' times; some as heretics, holding the same no less even after the contrary determination set down by consent of the Church at Jerusalem; finally some being herein resolute through mere infidelity, and with open professed enmity against Christ, as unbelieving Jews.

To control slanderers of the Law and Prophets, such as Marcionites and Manichees were, the Church in her liturgies hath intermingled with readings out of the New Testament lessons taken out of the Law and Prophets; whereunto Tertullian alluding, saith of the Church of Christ [6], "It intermingleth with evangelical and "apostolical writings the Law and the Pro-"phets; and from thence it drinketh in that "faith, which with water it sealeth, clotheth "with the Spirit, nourisheth with the Eu-"charist, with martyrdom setteth forward." They would have wondered in those times to hear, that any man being not a favourer of heresy should term this by way of disdain, "mangling of the Gospels and Epis-"tles [7]."

[10.] They which honour the law as an image of the wisdom of God himself, are notwithstanding to know that the same had an end in Christ. But what? Was the Law so abolished with Christ, that after his ascension the office of Priests became immediately wicked, and the very name hate-

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[2] Lev. xviii. [3] 1 Cor. v. 1.

[4] [Selden in the work above cited (which is throughout an elaborate commentary on the seven Noachical precepts) approves this construction of the word πορνεία: though he does not think that the council of Jerusalem was referring to those precepts: lib. vii. c. 12, p. 845.]

[5] Leo in Jejun. Mens. Sept. Ser. 9. [vii. c. 1. "Apostolica institutio, dilectissimi, quæ Dom. Je-"sum Christum ad hoc venisse in hunc mundum "noverat, ut legem non solveret sed impleret, ita "Veteris Testamenti decreta distinxit, ut quædam "ex eis sicut erant condita evangelicæ eruditioni "profutura decerperet, et quæ dudum fuerant con-"suetudinis Judaicæ fierent observantiæ Chris-"tianæ."]

[6] Tertull. de Præscript. advers. Hæret. [c. 36. "Unum Deum novit Creatorem universitatis, et "Christum Jesum ex Virgine Maria Filium Dei "Creatoris, et carnis resurrectionem: legem et pro-"phetas cum evangelicis et apostolicis literis mis-"cet, et inde potat fidem: eam aqua signat, Sanc-"to Spiritu vestit, eucharistia pascit, martyrio ex-"hortatur."]

[7] T. C. lib. iii. p. 171. "What an abusing also "is it to affirm the mangling of the Gospels and "Epistles to have been brought into the Church by "godly and learned men!"

ful, as importing the exercise of an ungodly function[8]? No, as long as the glory of the Temple continued, and till the time of that final desolation was accomplished, the very Christian Jews did continue with their sacrifices and other parts of legal service. That very Law therefore which our Saviour was to abolish, did not *so soon* become unlawful to be observed as some imagine; nor was it afterwards unlawful *so far*, that the very name of Altar, of Priest, of Sacrifice itself, should be banished out of the world. For though God do now hate sacrifice, whether it be heathenish or Jewish, so that we cannot have the same things which they had but with impiety; yet unless there be some greater let than the only evacuation of the Law of Moses, the names themselves may (I hope) be retained without sin, in respect of that proportion which things established by our Saviour have unto them which by him are abrogated. And so throughout all the writings of the ancient Fathers we see that the words which were do continue; the only difference is, that whereas before they had a literal, they now have a metaphorical use, and are as so many notes of remembrance unto us, that what they did signify in the letter is accomplished in the truth. And as no man can deprive the Church of this liberty, to use names whereunto the Law was accustomed, so neither are we generally forbidden the use of things which the Law hath; though it neither command us any particular rite, as it did the Jews a number, and the weightiest which it did command them are unto us in the Gospel prohibited.

[11.] Touching such as through simplicity of error did urge universal and perpetual observation of the Law of Moses at the first, we have spoken already. Against Jewish heretics and false apostles teaching afterwards the selfsame, St. Paul in every epistle commonly either disputeth or giveth warning. Jews that were zealous for the Law, but withal infidels in respect of Christianity, and to the name of Jesus Christ most spiteful enemies, did while they flourished no less persecute the Church than heathens. After their estate was overthrown, they were not that way so much to be feared. Howbeit, because they had their synagogues in every famous city almost throughout the world, and by that means great opportunity to withdraw from the Christian faith, which to do they spared no labour; this gave the church occasion to make sundry laws against them. As in the council of Laodicea[9], "The festival pres-
"ents which Jews or heretics use to send
"must not be received, nor holidays solem-
"nized in their company." Again, "from
"the Jews men ought not to receive their
"unleavened, nor to communicate with their
"impieties." Which council was afterwards indeed confirmed by the sixth general council. But what was the true sense or meaning both of the one and the other? Were Christians here forbidden to communicate in unleavened bread because the Jews did so being enemies of the Church[10]? He which attentively shall weigh the words will suspect, that they rather forbid communion with Jews, than imitation of them: much more, if with these two decrees be compared a third in the council of Constantinople, "Let no man either of the clergy
"or laity eat the unleavened of the Jews,
"nor enter into any familiarity with them,
"nor send for them in sickness, nor take
"physic at their hands, nor as much as go
"into the bath with them. If any do other-
"wise being a clergyman, let him be de-
"posed; if being a lay person, let excom-
"munication be his punishment[11]."

[12.] If these canons were any argument, that they which made them did utterly condemn similitude between the Christians and Jews in things indifferent appertaining unto religion, either because the Jews were enemies unto the Church, or else for that their ceremonies were abrogated; these reasons had been as strong and effectual against their keeping the feast of Easter on the same day the Jews kept theirs, and not according to the custom of the West church. For so they did from the first beginning till Constantine's time. For in these two things the East and West churches did interchangeably both confront the Jews and concur with them: the West church using unleavened bread, as the Jews in their passover did, but differing from them in the day whereon they kept the feast of Easter; contrariwise the East church celebrating the feast of Easter on the same day with the Jews, but not using the same kind of bread

[8] T. C. lib. i. p. 216. "Seeing that the office and
"function of priests was after our Saviour Christ's
"ascension naught and ungodly; the name where-
"by they were called, which did exercise that un-
"godly function, cannot be otherwise taken than
"in the evil part."

[9] Conc. Laod. Can. 37, 38. ["Non oportet a Ju-
"dæis vel hæreticis feriatica, quæ mittuntur acci-
"pere nec cum eis dies agere festos. Non oportet
"a Judæis azyma accipere, aut communicare im-
"pietatibus eorum." Conc. Reg. II. 116.] T. C.
"lib. i. p. 132. [163.]

[10] T. C. lib. iii. p. 176. ["What can be in itself
"more indifferent than these two, forbidden the
"Christians for that they were used of the enemies
"of the Church!"]

[11] Conc. Constantinop. vi. cap. 11. [Μηδεὶς τῶν ἐν ἱερατικῷ τάγματι ἢ λαϊκὸς τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἄζυμα ἐσθιέτω, ἢ τοιούτοις προσοικειούσθω, καὶ ἰατρείας παρ' αὐτῶν λαμβανέτω, ἢ ἐν βαλανείῳ παντελῶς τούτοις συλλουέσθω. Εἰ δέ τις τοῦτο πρᾶξαι ἐπιχείροιη, εἰ μὲν κληρικὸς εἴη, καθαιρείσθω· εἰ δὲ λαϊκὸς, ἀφοριζέσθω. xvi. 618.]

which they did. Now if so be the East church in using leavened bread had done ill [12], either for that the Jews were enemies to the Church, or because Jewish ceremonies were abrogated; how should we think but that Victor the bishop of Rome (whom all judicious men do in that behalf disallow) did well to be so vehement and fierce in drawing them to the like dissimilitude for the feast of Easter? [13] Again, if the West churches had in either of those two respects affected dissimilitude with the Jews in the feast of Easter, what reason had they to draw the Eastern church herein unto them, which reason did not enforce them to frame themselves unto it in the ceremony of leavened bread? Difference in rites should breed no controversy between one church and another; but if controversy be once bred, it must be ended. The feast of Easter being therefore litigious in the days of Constantine, who honoured of all other churches most the church of Rome, which church was the mother from whose breasts he had drawn that food which gave him nourishment to eternal life; sith agreement was necessary, and yet impossible unless the one part were yielded unto; his desire was that of the two the Eastern church should rather yield. And to this end he useth sundry persuasive speeches.

When Stephen the Bishop of Rome going about to shew what the Catholic Church should do, had alleged what the heretics themselves did, namely, that they received such as came unto them, and offered not to baptize them anew; St. Cyprian being of a contrary mind to him about the matter at that time in question, which was, "Whether heretics converted ought to be rebaptized, yea or no?" answered the allegation of Pope Stephen with exceeding great stomach, saying, "To this degree of wretchedness the church of God and Spouse of Christ is now come, that her ways she frameth to the example of heretics; that to celebrate the Sacraments which heavenly instruction hath delivered, light itself doth borrow from darkness, and Christians do that which Antichrists do [14]."

Now albeit Constantine have done that to further a better cause, which Cyprian did to countenance a worse, namely the rebaptization of heretics, and have taken advantage of the odiousness of the Jews, as Cyprian of heretics, because the Eastern church kept their feast of Easter always the fourteenth day of the month, as the Jews did, what day of the week soever it fell; or howsoever Constantine did take occasion in the handling of that cause to say, "It is unworthy to have any thing common "with that spiteful nation of the Jews [15]:" shall every motive argument used in such kind of conferences be made a rule for others still to conclude the like by, concerning all things of like nature, when as probable inducements may lead them to the contrary? Let both this and other allegations suitable unto it cease to bark any longer idly against that truth, the course and passage whereof it is not in them to hinder.

XII. But the weightiest exception, and of all the most worthy to be respected, is against such kind of ceremonies, as have been so grossly and shamefully abused in the church of Rome, that where they remain they are scandalous, yea, they cannot choose but be stumbling blocks, and grievous causes of offence. Concerning this point therefore we are first to note, what properly it is to be scandalous or offensive; secondly, what kind of ceremonies are such; and thirdly, when they are necessarily for remedy thereof to be taken away, and when not.

Their exception against such ceremonies as have been abused by the church of Rome, and are said in that respect to be scandalous.

[2.] The common conceit of the vulgar sort is, whensoever they see any thing which they mislike and are angry at, to

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[12] [So it stands in the original edition, p. 194. But it is most likely an oversight, the sense requiring "not done ill," or "done well;" which reading has been followed by all the editors except Mr. Hanbury. The correction appears to have been Spenser's: at least it occurs in the reprint of his edition, 1622.]

[13] [Euseb. v. 24.]

[14] Cypr. ad Pomp. cont. Stephan. [Ep. 74. §. 2. "Ad hoc enim malorum devoluta est Ecclesia Dei "et sponsa Christi, ut hæreticorum exempla secte- "tur, ut ad celebranda sacramenta cœlestis disci- "plinæ lux de tenebris mutueter, et id faciant "Christiani, quod Antichristi faciunt."]

[15] Socrat. Ecclesiast. Hist. lib. v. c. 22. "Pleri- "que in Asia minore antiquitus 14 die mensis, "nulla ratione diei Sabbati habita, hoc festum ob- "servarunt. Quod dum faciebant, cum aliis, qui "aliam rationem in eodem festo agendo sequeban- "tur, usque eo nequaquam dissenserunt, quoad "Victor episcopus Romanus, supra modum iracun- "dia inflammatus, omnes in Asia qui erant τεσσα- "ρεσκαιδεκάτηται appellati excommunicaverit. Ob "quod factum Irenæus episcopus Lugduni in Vic- "torem per epistolam graviter invectus est." Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. iii. cap. 18. "Quid præs- "tabilius, quidve augustius esse poterat, quam ut "hoc festum, per quod spem immortalitatis nobis "ostentatam habemus, uno modo et ratione apud "omnes integre sincereque observaretur? Ac pri- "mum omnium indignum plane videbatur, ut ri- "tum et consuetudinem imitantes Judæorum (qui, "quoniam suas ipsorum manus immani scelere pol- "luerunt, merito, ut scelestos decet, cæco animo- "rum errore tenentur irretiti) istud festum sanctis- "simum ageremus. In nostra enim situm est po- "testate, ut, illorum more rejecto, veriore ac magis "sincero instituto (quod quidem usque a prima "passionis die hactenus recoluimus) hujus festi "celebrationem ad posterorum seculorum memo- "riam propagemus. Nihil igitur sit nobis cum "Judæorum turba, omnium odiosa maxime."

think that every such thing is scandalous, and that themselves in this case are the men concerning whom our Saviour spake in so fearful manner, saying, "whosoever "shall scandalize or offend any one of these "little ones which believe in me"[16] (that is, as they construe it, whosoever shall anger the meanest and simplest artisan which carrieth a good mind, by not removing out of the Church such rites and ceremonies as displease him), "better he were drowned in the bottom of the sea." But hard were the case of the Church of Christ, if this were to scandalize. Men are scandalized when they are moved, led, and provoked unto sin. At good things evil men may take occasion to do evil; and so Christ himself was a rock of offence in Israel[17], they taking occasion at his poor estate and at the ignominy of his cross, to think him unworthy the name of that great and glorious Messias, whom the Prophets describe in such ample and stately terms. But that which we therefore term offensive because it inviteth men to offend, and by a dumb kind of provocation encourageth, moveth, or any way leadeth unto sin, must of necessity be acknowledged actively scandalous.

Now some things are so even by their very essence and nature, so that whersoever they are found they are not neither can be without this force of provocation unto evil; of which kind all examples of sin and wickedness are. Thus David was scandalous in that bloody act whereby he caused the enemies of God to be blasphemous[18]: thus the whole state of Israel scandalous, when their public disorders caused the name of God to be ill-spoken of amongst the nations[19]. It is of this kind that Tertullian meaneth: "Offence or scan- "dal, if I be not deceived (saith he), is, "when the example not of a good but of an "evil thing doth set men forward unto sin. "Good things can scandalize none save only "evil minds:" good things have no scandalizing nature in them.

[3.] Yet that which is of its own nature either good or at least not evil, may by some accident become scandalous at certain times and in certain places and to certain men; the open use thereof nevertheless being otherwise without danger. The very nature of some rites and ceremonies therefore is scandalous, as it was in a number of those which the Manichees did use, and is in all such as the law of God doth forbid. Some are offensive only through the agreement of men to use them unto evil, and not else; as the most of those things indifferent which the heathens did to the service of their false gods, which another, in heart condemning their idolatry, could not do with them in show and token of approbation without being guilty of scandal given. Ceremonies of this kind are either devised at the first unto evil, as the Eunomian heretics in dishonour of the blessed Trinity brought in the laying on of water but once[20], to cross the custom of the church which in baptism did it thrice; or else having had a profitable use they are afterwards interpreted and wrested to the contrary, as those heretics which held the Trinity to be three distinct not persons but natures, abused the ceremony of three times laying on water in baptism unto the strengthening of their heresy[21]. The element of water is in baptism necessary; once to lay it on or twice is indifferent. For which cause Gregory making mention thereof saith[22], "To dive "an infant either thrice or but once in bap- "tism, can be no way a thing reprovable; "seeing that both in three times washing the "Trinity of persons, and in one the Unity "of the Godhead may be signified." So that of these two ceremonies neither being hurtful in itself, both may serve unto good purpose; yet one was devised, and the other converted, unto evil.

[4.] Now whereas in the church of Rome certain ceremonies are said to have been shamefully abused unto evil, as the ceremony of crossing at baptism, of kneeling at the eucharist, of using wafer-cakes, and such like; the question is, whether for remedy of that evil wherein such ceremonies have

[16] Matt. xviii. 6.

[17] 1 Pet. ii. 8.

[18] 2 Sam. xii. 14.

[19] Rom. ii. 24; Ezek. xxxvi. 20; Tertull. lib. de Virgin. Veland. [c. 3. "Scandalum, nisi fallor, "non bonæ rei sed malæ exemplum est, ædificans "ad delictum. Bonæ res neminem scandalizant, "nisi malam mentem."]

[20] [Sozom. vi. 26. *φασὶ δέ τινες, πρῶτον τοῦτον Εὐνόμιον τολμῆσαι εἰσηγήσασθαι, ἐν μίᾳ καταδύσει χρῆναι ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν θείαν βάπτισιν, καὶ παραχαράξαι τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων εἰσέτι νῦν ἐν πᾶσι φυλαττομένην παράδοσιν.*]

[21] [Concil. Tolet. iv. Can. 6, t. v. p. 1706. "Propter vitandum schismatis scandalum, vel "hæretici dogmatis usum, simplam teneamus bap- "tismi mersionem; ne videantur apud nos, qui "tertio mergunt, hæreticorum approbare assertio- "nem dum sequuntur et morem."]

[22] Epist. ad Leandrum Hisp. [lib. i. ep. 43. "De trina vero mersione baptismatis nil respon- "deri verius potest quam ipsi sensistis: quia in "una fide nihil officit ecclesiæ consuetudo diversa. "Nos autem quod tertio mergimus, triduanæ se- "pulturæ sacramenta signamus, ut dum tertio in- "fans ab aquis educitur, resurrectio triduani tem- "poris exprimatur. Quod si quis forte etiam pro "summæ Trinitatis veneratione æstimet fieri, ne- "que ad hoc aliquid obsistit, baptizandum semel "in aquis mergere: quia dum in tribus subsisten- "tis una substantia est, reprehensibile esse nulla- "tenus potest, infantem in baptismate vel ter vel "semel mergere: quando et in tribus mersioni- "bus personarum Trinitas, et in una potest divini- "tatis singularitas designari." II. 532.]

been scandalous, and perhaps may be still unto some even amongst ourselves, whom the presence and sight of them may confirm in that former error whereto they served in times past, they are of necessity to be removed. Are these, or any other ceremonies we have common with the church of Rome, scandalous and wicked in their very nature? This no man objecteth. Are any such as have been polluted from their very birth, and instituted even at the first unto that thing which is evil? That which hath been ordained impiously at the first, may wear out that impiety in tract of time; and then what doth let but that the use thereof may stand without offence? The names of our months and of our days we are not ignorant from whence they came, and with what dishonour unto God they are said to have been devised at the first[23]. What could be spoken against any thing more effectual to stir hatred, than that which sometime the ancient Fathers in this case speak? Yet those very names are at this day in use throughout Christendom without hurt or scandal to any. Clear and manifest it is, that things devised by heretics, yea, devised of a very heretical purpose even against religion, and at their first devising worthy to have been withstood, may in time grow meet to be kept; as that custom, the inventors whereof were the Eunomian heretics. So that customs once established and confirmed by long use, being presently without harm, are not in regard of their corrupt original to be held scandalous.

[5.] But concerning those our ceremonies which they reckon for most popish, they are not able to avouch, that any of them was otherwise instituted than unto good, yea, so used at the first. It followeth then that they all are such, as having served to good purpose, were afterwards converted unto the contrary. And sith it is not so much as objected against us, that we retain together with them the evil wherewith they have been infected in the church of Rome, I would demand who they are whom we scandalize, by using harmless things unto that good end for which they were first instituted. Amongst ourselves that agree in the approbation of this kind of good use, no man will say that one of us is offensive and scandalous unto another. As for the favourers of the church of Rome, they know how far we herein differ and dissent from them; which thing neither we conceal, and they by their public writings also profess daily how much it grieveth them; so that of them there will not many rise up against us, as witnesses unto the indictment of scandal, whereby we might be condemned and cast, as having strengthened them in that evil wherewith they pollute themselves in the use of the same ceremonies. And concerning such as withstand the church of England herein, and hate it because it doth not sufficiently seem to hate Rome; they (I hope) are far enough from being by this mean drawn to any kind of popish error. The multitude therefore of them, unto whom we are scandalous through the use of abused ceremonies, is not so apparent, that it can justly be said in general of any one sort of men or other, we cause them to offend. If it be so, that now or then some few are espied, who having been accustomed heretofore to the rites and ceremonies of the church of Rome, are not so scoured of their former rust as to forsake their ancient persuasion which they have had, howsoever they frame themselves to outward obedience of laws and orders: because such may misconstrue the meaning of our ceremonies, and so take them as though they were in every sort the same they have been, shall this be thought a reason sufficient whereon to conclude that some law must necessarily be made to abolish all such ceremonies?

[6.] They answer, that there is no law of God which doth bind us to retain them. And St. Paul's rule is, that in those things from which without hurt we may lawfully abstain, we should frame the usage of our liberty with regard to the weakness and imbecility of our brethren. Wherefore unto them which stood upon their own defence saying, "All things are lawful unto me;" he replieth, "but all things are not expedient[23]" in regard of others. "All things "are clean, all meats are lawful; but evil "unto that man that eateth offensively. If "for thy meat's sake thy brother be grieved, "thou walkest no longer according to "charity. Destroy not him with thy meat "for whom Christ died. Dissolve not for "food's sake the work of God[24]. We that "are strong must bear the imbecility of the "impotent, and not please ourselves[25]." It was a weakness in the Christian Jews, and a maim of judgment in them, that they

[23] [Euseb. Emis.] Hom. xi. de Pasch. [p. 566. par. i. t. v. Biblioth. Patr. Colon.] "Idololatriæ "consuetudo in tantum homines occæcaverat, ut "Solis, Lunæ, Martis atque Mercurii, Jovis, Veneris, Saturni, et diversis elementorum ac dæmonum appellationibus dies vocitarent, et luci tenebrarum nomen imponerent." Beda de Ration. "Temp. cap. 4. [6.] "Octavus dies idem primus "est, ad quem reditur, indeque [*l.* coque] rursus "hebdomada inchoatur [*l.* semper orditur.] His "nomina a planetis Gentilitas indidit, habere se "credens a Sole spiritum, a Luna corpus, a Marte "sanguinem, a Mercurio ingenium et linguam, a "Jove temperantiam, a Venere voluptatem, a Saturno tarditatem." Isid. Hisp. lib. v. Etymol. cap. 30. [p. 938, ed. Gothofred.] "Dies dicti a "diis, quorum nomina Romani quibusdam sideribus sacraverunt."

[23] 1 Cor. vi. 12. [24] [Rom. xiv. 20, 15, 20.] [25] [Rom. xv. 1.]

thought the Gentiles polluted by the eating of those meats which themselves were afraid to touch for fear of transgressing the law of Moses; yea, hereat their hearts did so much rise, that the Apostle had just cause to fear, lest they would rather forsake Christianity than endure any fellowship with such as made no conscience of that which was unto them abominable. And for this cause mention is made of destroying the weak by meats, and of dissolving the work of God [26], which was his Church, a part of the living stones whereof were believing Jews. Now those weak brethren before-mentioned are said to be as the Jews were, and our ceremonies which have been abused in the church of Rome to be as the scandalous meats, from which the Gentiles are exhorted to abstain in the presence of Jews, for fear of averting them from Christian faith. Therefore, as charity did bind them to refrain from that for their brethren's sake, which otherwise was lawful enough for them; so it bindeth us for our brethren's sake likewise to abolish such ceremonies, although we might lawfully else retain them.

[7.] But between these two cases there are great odds. For neither are our weak brethren as the Jews, nor the ceremonies which we use as the meats which the Gentiles used. The Jews were known to be generally weak in that respect; whereas contrariwise the imbecility of ours is not common unto so many, that we can take any such certain notice of them. It is a chance if here and there some one be found; and therefore seeing we may presume men commonly otherwise, there is no necessity that our practice should frame itself by that which the Apostle doth prescribe to the Gentiles.

Again, their use of meats was not like unto our of ceremonies, that being a matter of private action in common life, where every man was free to order that which himself did; but this a public constitution for the ordering of the Church: and we are not to look that the Church should change her public laws and ordinances, made according to that which is judged ordinarily and commonly fittest for the whole, although it chance that for some particular men the same be found inconvenient [27]; especially when there may be other remedy also against the sores of particular inconveniences. In this case therefore where any private harm doth grow, we are not to reject instruction, as being an unmeet plaister to apply unto it; neither can we say, that he which appointeth teachers for physicians in this kind of evil, is "As if a man would "set one to watch a child all day long lest "he should hurt himself with a knife; "whereas by taking away the knife from "him, the danger is avoided, and the ser-"vice of the man better employed [28]." For a knife may be taken away from a child, without depriving them of the benefit thereof which have years and discretion to use it. But the ceremonies which children do abuse if we remove quite and clean, as it is by some required that we should, then are they not taken from children only, but from others also; which is as though because children may perhaps hurt themselves with knives, we should conclude, that therefore the use of knives is to be taken quite and clean even from men also.

[8.] Those particular ceremonies, which they pretend to be so scandalous, we shall in the next Book have occasion more thoroughly to sift, where other things also traduced in the public duties of the Church whereunto each of these appertaineth, are together with these to be touched, and such reasons to be examined as have at any time been brought either against the one or the other. In the meanwhile against the conveniency of curing such evils by instruction, strange it is that they should object the multitude of other necessary matters, wherein preachers may better bestow their time, than in giving men warning not to abuse ceremonies [29]: a wonder it is, that they should object this, which have so many years together troubled the Church with quarrels concerning these things, and are even to this very hour so earnest in them, that if they write or speak publicly but five words, one of them is lightly about the dangerous estate of the church of England in respect of abused ceremonies. How much happier had it been for this whole Church, if they which have raised contention therein about the abuse of rites and ceremonies, had considered in due time that there is indeed store of matters fitter and better a great deal for teachers to spend time and labour in! It is through their importunate and vehement asseverations, more than through any such experience which we have had of our own, that we are

[26] Rom. xiv; xv. 1.

[27] Vide Harmenop. [Harmenopuli Promptuarium Juris.] lib. i. tit. i. sect. 28. [*παραβαίνουσι γὰρ οἱ νομοθέται τὸ ἅπαξ ἢ τὸ δὶς γενομένον.* p. 20. ed. Gothofr.]

[28] T. C. lib. iii. p. 178. [156.]

[29] T. C. lib. iii. p. 177. "It is not so convenient "that the minister, having so many necessary "points to bestow his time in, should be driven to "spend it in giving warning of not abusing them, "of which (although they were used to the best) "there is no profit." [See also i. 56. ap. Whitg. Defence, 277. The words are, "A counsell not so "convenient, that the ministers and pastors, which "have so many necessary points to bestow their "time on, and to inform the people of, should be "driven to cut off their time appointed thereto, to "teach them not to abuse these things, which if "they use never so well, they can gain nothing."]

forced to think it possible for one or other now and then, at leastwise in the prime of the reformation of our church to have stumbled at some kind of ceremony: wherein forasmuch as we are contented to take this upon their credit, and to think it may be; sith also they further pretend the same to be so dangerous a snare to their souls that are at any time taken therein; they must give our teachers leave for the saving of those souls (be they never so few) to intermingle sometime with other more necessary things admonition concerning these not unnecessary. Wherein they should in reason more easily yield this leave, considering that hereunto we shall not need to use the hundredth part of that time, which themselves think very needful to bestow in making most bitter invectives against the ceremonies of the Church.

XIII. But to come to the last point of all; the church of England is grievously charged with forgetfulness of her duty, which duty had been to frame herself unto the pattern of their example that went before her in the work of reformation. [30] For "as the churches of "Christ ought to be most unlike the synagogue of Antichrist in their indifferent ceremonies; so they ought to "be most like one unto another, and for "preservation of unity to have as much as "possible may be all the same ceremonies. "And therefore St. Paul, to establish this "order in the church of Corinth, that they "should make their gatherings for the poor "upon the first day of the sabbath, (which "is our Sunday,) allegeth this for a reason [31], That he had so ordained in other "churches." Again, "As children of one "father and servants of one family, so all "churches should not only have one diet in "that they have one word, but also wear as "it were one livery in using the same ceremonies." Thirdly, "This rule did the "great council of Nice follow [32], when it "ordained, that where certain at the feast "of Pentecost did pray kneeling, they "should pray standing: the reason whereof "is added, which is, that one custom ought "to be kept throughout all churches. It is "true that the diversity of ceremonies ought "not to cause the churches to dissent one "with another; but yet it maketh most to "the avoiding of dissension, that there be "amongst them an unity not only in doctrine, but also in ceremonies. And therefore our form of service is to be amended, "not only for that it cometh too near that "of the Papists, but also because it is so "different from that of the reformed churches [33]." Being asked [34] to what churches ours should conform itself, and why other reformed churches should not as well frame themselves to ours; their answer is, "that "if there be any ceremonies which we have "better than others, they ought to frame "themselves to us; if they have better than "we, then we ought to frame ourselves to "them; if the ceremonies be alike commodious, the later churches should conform "themselves to the first, as the younger "daughter to the elder. For as St. Paul "in the members, where all other things are "equal, noteth it for a mark of honour "above the rest, that one is called before "another to the Gospel [35]; so is it for the "same cause amongst the churches. And "in this respect he pincheth the Corinths [36], "that not being the first which received the "Gospel, yet they would have their several "manners from other churches. Moreover, "where the ceremonies are alike commodious, the fewer ought to conform themselves unto the more. Forasmuch therefore as all the churches" (so far as they know which plead after this manner) "of "our confession in doctrine agree in the "abrogation of divers things which we retain, our church ought either to shew that "they have done evil, or else she is found "to be in fault that doth not conform herself in that, which she cannot deny to be "well abrogated [37]."

Our ceremonies excepted against, for that some churches reformed before ours have cast out those things, which we notwithstanding their example to the contrary do retain still.

[2.] In this axiom, that preservation of peace and unity amongst Christian churches should be by all good means procured, we join most willingly and gladly with them. Neither deny we but that to the avoiding of dissension it availeth much that there be amongst them an unity as well in ceremonies as in doctrine. The only doubt is about the manner of their unity; how far churches are bound to be uniform in their ceremonies, and what way they ought to take for that purpose.

[3.] Touching the one, the rule which they have set down is, that in ceremonies indifferent, all churches ought to be one of them unto another as like as *possibly* [38] they may be. Which *possibly* we cannot otherwise construe, than that it doth require them to be even as like as they may be without breaking any positive ordinance of God. For the ceremonies whereof we speak, being matter of positive law, they are indifferent, if God have neither himself commanded nor forbidden them, but left them unto the Church's discretion. So that

[30] T. C. lib. i. p. 133. [104.]

[31] 1 Cor. xvi. 1.

[32] Can. 20. The canon of that council which is here cited doth provide against kneeling at prayer on Sundays, or for fifty days after Easter on any day, and not at the feast of Pentecost only. [ii. 202, 226; iv. 450.]

[33] T. C. lib. i. p. 182, 183.

[34] [By Whitgift, Def. 481.]

[35] Rom. xvi. 5, 7.

[36] 1 Cor. xiv. 36.

[37] [T. C. iii. 183.]

[38] [T. C. i. 104.]

if as great uniformity be required as is possible in these things; seeing that the law of God forbiddeth not any one of them, it followeth that from the greatest unto the least they must be in every Christian church the same, except mere impossibility of so having it be the hinderance. To us this opinion seemeth over extreme and violent: we rather incline to think it a just and reasonable cause for any church, the state whereof is free and independent, if in these things it differ from other churches, only for that it doth not judge it so fit and expedient to be framed therein by the pattern of their example, as to be otherwise framed than they. That of Gregory unto Leander is a charitable speech and a peaceable [39]; "In "una fide nil officit ecclesiæ sanctæ consue-"tudo diversa:" "Where the faith of the "holy Church is one, a difference in cus-"toms of the Church doth no harm [40]." That of St. Augustine to Casulanus is somewhat more particular, and toucheth what kind of ceremoniès they are, wherein one church may vary from the example of another without hurt: "Let the faith of the "whole Church, how wide soever it have "spread itself, be always one, although the "unity of belief be famous for variety of "certain ordinances, whereby that which is "rightly believed suffereth no kind of let or "impediment [41]." Calvin goeth further, "As concerning rites in particular, let the "sentence of Augustine take place [42], which "leaveth it free unto all churches to receive "each their own custom. Yea sometime it "profiteth and is expedient that there be "difference, lest men should think that reli-"gion is tied to outward ceremonies. Al-"ways provided that there be not any emu-"lation, nor that churches delighted with "novelty affect to have that which others "have not [43]."

[4.] They which grant it true that the diversity of ceremonies in this kind ought not to cause dissension in churches, must either acknowledge that they grant in effect nothing by these words; or if any thing be granted, there must as much be yielded unto, as we affirm against their former strict assertion. For if churches be urged by way of duty to take such ceremonies as they like not of, how can dissension be avoided? Will they say that there ought to be no dissension, because such as be urged ought to like of that whereunto they are urged? If they say this, they say just nothing. For how should any church like to be urged of duty, by such as have no authority or power over it, unto those things which being indifferent it is not of duty bound unto them? Is it their meaning, that there ought to be no dissension, because, that which churches are not bound unto, no man ought by way of duty to urge upon them; and if any man do, he standeth in the sight of both God and men most justly blameable, as a needless disturber of the peace of God's Church, and an author of dissension? In saying this, they both condemn their own practice, when they press the church of England with so strict a bond of duty in these things; and they overthrow the ground of their practice, which is, that there ought to be in all kind of ceremonies uniformity, unless impossibility hinder it.

[5.] For proof whereof it is not enough to allege what St. Paul did about the matter of collections, or what noblemen do in the liveries of their servants, or what the council of Nice did for standing in time of prayer on certain days; because though St. Paul did will them of the church of Corinth [44] every man to lay up somewhat by him upon the Sunday, and to reserve it in store, till himself did come thither to send it unto the church of Jerusalem for relief of the poor there; signifying withal, that he had taken the like order with the churches of Galatia; yet the reason which he yieldeth of this order taken both in the one place and the other, sheweth the least part of his meaning to have been that whereunto his words are writhed. "Concerning collection for the "saints, (he meaneth them of Jerusalem,) "as I have given order to the church of "Galatia, so likewise do ye," saith the Apostle; "that is, in every first of the week "let each of you lay aside by himself, and "reserve according to that which God hath "blessed him with, that when I come col-"lections be not then to make; and that "when I am come, whom you shall choose, "them I may forthwith send away by let-

[39] Epist. lib. i. p. 41.

[40] Ep. 86. al. 36, c. 9.

[41] ["Sit ergo una fides universæ, quæ ubique "dilatatur, Ecclesiæ ... etiamsi ipsa fidei unitas "quibusdam diversis observationibus celebratur, "quibus nullo modo quod in fide verum est impe-"ditur." t. ii. 77.]

[42] [Ep. 54. t. ii. 124.]

[43] Respon. ad Med. ["Responsio ad versipel-"lem quendam Mediatorem, qui pacificandi specie "rectum Evangelii cursum in Gallia abrumpere "conatus est." "Quantum ad ritus particulares, "vigeat sane Angustini sententia; ut singulis ec-"clesiis liberum sit morem suum tenere; immo "interdum utile est, ne externis cærimoniis allige-"tur religio, aliquid esse varietatis: modo absit "æmulatio, nec alii ab aliis novitate illecti diver-"sum aliquid habere affectent." Tract. Theol. p. 414, Genev. 1597. The "versipellis Mediator" was Cassander, who in 1561 published a tract "De officio pii ac publicæ tranquillitatis vere "amantis viri in hoc religionis dissidio."]

[44] T. C. lib. i. p. 133. [104.] "And therefore "St. Paul, to establish this order in the church of "Corinth, that they should make their gatherings "for the poor upon the first day of the Sabbath, "(which is our Sunday,) allegeth this for a reason, "That he had so ordained in other churches."

"ters to carry your beneficence unto Jeru-"salem [45]." Out of which words to conclude the duty of uniformity throughout all churches in all manner of indifferent ceremonies will be very hard, and therefore best to give it over.

[6.] But perhaps they are by so much the more loth to forsake this argument, for that it hath, though nothing else, yet the name of Scripture, to give it some kind of countenance more than the next of livery coats afforded them [46]. For neither is it any man's duty to clothe all his children or all his servants with one weed, nor theirs to clothe themselves so, if it were left to their own judgments, as these ceremonies are left of God to the judgment of the Church. And seeing churches are rather in this case like divers families than like divers servants of one family; because every church, the state whereof is independent upon any other, hath authority to appoint orders for itself in things indifferent: therefore of the two we may rather infer, that as one family is not abridged of liberty to be clothed in friar's-grey for that another doth wear clay-colour, so neither are all churches bound to the selfsame indifferent ceremonies which it liketh sundry to use.

[7.] As for that canon in the council of Nice, let them but read it and weigh it well. The ancient use of the Church throughout all Christendom was for fifty days after Easter, (which fifty days were called Pentecost, though most commonly the last day of them which is Whitsunday be so called,) in like sort on all the Sundays throughout the whole year their manner was to stand at prayer; whereupon their meetings unto that purpose on these days had the name of Stations given them [47]. Of which custom Tertullian speaketh in this wise; "It "is not with us thought fit either to fast on "the Lord's day, or to pray kneeling. "The same immunity from fasting and "kneeling we keep all the time which is "between the feasts of Easter and Pente-"cost [48]." This being therefore an order generally received in the Church; when some began to be singular and different from all others, and that in a ceremony which was then judged very convenient for the whole church even by the whole, those few excepted which break out of the common pale: the council of Nice thought good to enclose them again with the rest, by a law made in this sort: "Because there are "certain which will needs kneel at the time "of prayer on the Lord's-day, and in the "fifty days after Easter; the holy synod "judging it meet that a convenient custom "be observed throughout all churches, hath "decreed that standing we make our "prayers to the Lord [49]." Whereby it plainly appeareth that in things indifferent, what the whole Church doth think convenient for the whole, the same if any part do wilfully violate, it may be reformed and inrailed again by that general authority whereunto each particular is subject; and that the spirit of singularity in a few ought to give place unto public judgment: this doth clearly enough appear, but not that all Christian churches are bound in every indifferent ceremony to be uniform; because where the whole hath not tied the parts unto one and the same thing, they being therein left each to their own choice, may either do as other do or else otherwise, without any breach of duty at all.

[8.] Concerning those indifferent things, wherein it hath been heretofore thought good that all Christian churches should be uniform, the way which they now conceive to bring this to pass was then never thought on. For till now it hath been judged, that seeing the Law of God doth not prescribe all particular ceremonies which the Church of Christ may use; and in so great variety of them as may be found out, it is not possible that the law of nature and reason should direct all churches unto the same things, each deliberating by itself what is most convenient; the way to establish the same things indifferent throughout them all must needs be the judgment of some judicial authority drawn into one only sentence, which may be a rule for every particular to follow. And because such authority over all churches is too much to be granted unto any one mortal man, there yet remaineth that which hath been always followed as the best, the safest, the most sincere and reasonable way; namely, the verdict of the whole church orderly taken, and set down in the assembly of some general council. But to maintain that all Christian churches ought for unity's sake to be uniform in all ceremonies, and then to teach that the way of bringing this to pass must be by mutual imitation, so that where

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[45] 1 Cor. xvi. 1.

[46] T. C. lib. i. p. 133. [104.] "So that as children "of one father, and servants of one master, he "will have all the churches not only have one diet "in that they have one word, but also wear as it "were one livery in using the same ceremonies."

[47] De Cor. Milit. c. 3. "[Die Dominico jejunium "nefas dicimus, vel de geniculis adorare. Eadem "immunitate a die pachæ in Pentecosten usque "gaudemus."]

[48] T. C. lib. i. p. 133. [104.] "This rule did the "great council of Nice follow, &c. Die Domini-"co et per omnem Pentecosten, nec de geniculis "adorare, et jejunium solvere, &c. De Coro. "Militis."

[49] [Ἐπειδή τινές εἰσιν ἐν τῃ κυριακῃ γόνυ κλίνοντες, καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς ἡμέραις· ὑπέρ τοῦ πάντα ἐν πάσῃ παροικίᾳ ὁμοίως παραφυλάττεσθαι, ἑστῶτας ἔδοξε τῃ ἁγίᾳ σύνοδῳ τὰς ἔυχας ἀποδίδοναι τῳ Θέῳ. Can. 20. apt. Routh, Script. Eccles. Opusc. 367.]

we have better ceremonies than others they shall be bound to follow us, and we them where theirs are better; how should we think it agreeeable and consonant unto reason? For sith in things of this nature there is such variety of particular inducements, whereby one church may be led to think that better which another church led by other inducements judgeth to be worse: (for example, the East church did think it better to keep Easter-day after the manner of the Jews, the West church better to do otherwise; the Greek church judgeth it worse to use unleavened bread in the Eucharist, the Latin church leavened; one church esteemeth it not so good to receive the Eucharist sitting as standing, another church not so good standing as sitting; there being on the one side probable motives as well as on the other) unless they add somewhat else to define more certainly what ceremonies shall stand for best, in such sort that all churches in the world shall know them to be the best, and so know them that there may not remain any question about this point, we are not a whit the nearer for that they have hitherto said.

[9.] They themselves, although resolved in their own judgments what ceremonies are best, yet foreseeing that such as they are addicted unto be not all so clearly and so incomparably best, but others there are or may be at leastwise, when all things are well considered, as good, knew not which way smoothly to rid their hands of this matter, without providing some more certain rule to be followed for establishment of uniformity in ceremonies, when there are divers kinds of equal goodness; and therefore in this case they say, that the later churches and the fewer should conform themselves unto the elder and the more[51]. Hereupon they conclude, that forasmuch as all the reformed churches (so far as they know), which are of our confession in doctrine, have agreed already in the abrogation of divers things which we retain; our church ought either to shew that they have done evil, or else she is found to be in fault for not conforming herself to those churches, in that which she cannot deny to be in them well abrogated. For the authority of the first churches (and those they account to be the first in this cause which were first reformed,) they bring the comparison of younger daughters conforming themselves in attire to the example of their elder sisters; wherein there is just as much strength of reason as in the livery-coats before mentioned. St. Paul, they say, noteth it for a mark of special honour, that Epænetus was the first man in all Achaia which did embrace the Christian faith[52]; after the same sort he toucheth it also as a special preeminence of Junia and Andronicus, that in Christianity they were his ancients[53]; the Corinthians he pinched with this demand, "Hath the word of God gone out from you, "or hath it lighted on you alone[54]?"

But what of all this? If any man should think that alacrity and forwardness in good things doth add nothing unto men's commendation, the two former speeches of St. Paul might lead him to reform his judgment. In like sort, to take down the stomach of proud conceited men, that glory as though they were able to set all others to school, there can be nothing more fit than some such words as the Apostle's third sentence doth contain; wherein he teacheth the church of Corinth to know, that there was no such great odds between them and the rest of their brethren, that they should think themselves to be gold and the rest to be but copper. He therefore useth speech unto them to this effect: "Men instructed "in the knowledge of Jesus Christ there "both were before you, and are besides "you in the world; ye neither are the foun-"tain from which first, nor yet the river "into which alone the word hath flowed." But although as Epænetus was the first man in all Achaia, so Corinth had been the first church in the whole world, that received Christ; the Apostle doth not shew that in any kind of things indifferent whatsoever this should have made their example a law unto all others. Indeed the example of sundry churches for approbation of one thing doth sway much; but yet still as having the force of an example only, and not of a law. They are effectual to move any church, unless some greater thing do hinder; but they bind none, no not though they be many, saving only when they are the major part of a general assembly, and then their voices being more in number must oversway their judgments who are fewer, because in such cases the greater half is the whole. But as they stand out single each of them by itself, their number can purchase them no such authority, that the rest of the churches being fewer should be therefore bound to follow them, and to relinquish as good ceremonies as theirs for theirs.

[10.] Whereas therefore it is concluded out of these so weak premises, that the retaining of divers things in the church of England, which other reformed churches have cast out, must needs argue that we do not well, unless we can shew that they have

[51] T. C. iib, iii. p. 183. "If the ceremonies be "alike commodious, the latter churches should "conform themselves to the first," &c. And again, "The fewer ought to conform themselves "unto the more."

[52] Rom. xvi. 5. [53] Rom. xvi. 7.
[54] 1 Cor. xiv. 36.

done ill[55]; what needed this wrest to draw out from us an accusation of foreign churches? It is not proved as yet that if they have done well our duty is to follow them, and to forsake our own course because it differeth from theirs, although indeed it be as well for us every way as theirs for them. And if the proofs alleged for confirmation hereof had been sound, yet seeing they lead no further than only to shew, that where we can have no better ceremonies theirs must be taken; as they cannot with modesty think themselves to have found out absolutely the best which the wit of men may devise, so liking their own somewhat better than other men's, even because they are their own, they must in equity allow us to be like unto them in this affection; which if they do, they ease us of that uncourteous burden, whereby we are charged either to condemn them or else to follow them. They grant we need not follow them, if our own ways already be better: and if our own be but equal, the law of common indulgence alloweth us to think them at the least half a thought the better because they are our own; which we may very well do, and never draw any indictment at all against theirs, but think commendably even of them also.

XIV. To leave reformed churches therefore and their actions for Him to judge of, in whose sight they are as they are; and our desire is that they may even in his sight be found such as we ought to endeavour by all means that our own may likewise be; somewhat we are enforced to speak by way of simple declaration concerning the proceedings of the church of England in these affairs, to the end that men whose minds are free from those partial constructions, whereby the only name of difference from some other churches is thought cause sufficient to condemn ours, may the better discern whether that we have done be reasonable, yea or no. The church of England being to alter her received laws concerning such orders, rites and ceremonies, as had been in former times an hinderance unto piety and religious service of God, was to enter into consideration first, that the change of laws, especially concerning matter of religion, must be warily proceeded in. Laws, as all other things human, are many times full of imperfection; and that which is supposed behoveful unto men, proveth oftentimes most pernicious. The wisdom which is learned by tract of time, findeth the laws that have been in former ages established, needful in later to be abrogated. Besides, that which sometime is expedient doth not always so continue: and the number of needless laws unabolished doth weaken the force of them that are necessary. But true withal it is, that alteration though it be from worse to better hath in it inconveniences, and those weighty; unless it be in such laws as have been made upon special occasions, which occasions ceasing, laws of that kind do abrogate themselves. But when we abrogate a law as being ill made, the whole cause for which it was made still remaining, do we not herein revoke our very own deed, and upbraid ourselves with folly, yea, all that were makers of it with oversight and with error? Further, if it be a law which the custom and continual practice of many ages or years hath confirmed in the minds of men, to alter it must needs be troublesome and scandalous. It amazeth them, it causeth them to stand in doubt whether any thing be in itself by nature either good or evil, and not all things rather such as men at this or that time agree to account of them, when they behold even those things disproved, disannulled, rejected, which use had made in a manner natural. What have we to induce men unto the willing obedience and observation of laws, but the weight of so many men's judgment as have with deliberate advice assented thereunto; the weight of that long experience, which the world hath had thereof with consent and good liking? So that to change any such law must needs with the common sort impair and weaken the force of those grounds, whereby all laws are made effectual.

A declaration of the proceedings of the Church of England for establishment of things as they are.

[2.] Notwithstanding we do not deny alteration of laws to be sometimes a thing necessary; as when they are unnatural, or impious, or otherwise hurtful unto the public community of men, and against that good for which human societies were instituted. When the Apostles of our Lord and Saviour were ordained to alter the laws of heathenish religion received throughout the whole world, chosen I grant they were (Paul excepted) the rest ignorant, poor, simple, unschooled altogether and unlettered men; howbeit extraordinarily endued with ghostly wisdom from above before they ever undertook this enterprise; yea their authority confirmed by miracle, to the end it might plainly appear that they were the Lord's ambassadors, unto whose sovereign power for all flesh to stoop, for all the kingdoms of the earth to yield themselves willingly conformable in whatsoever should be required, it was their duty. In this case therefore their oppositions in maintenance of public superstition against apostolic endeavours, as that they might not condemn the ways of their ancient predecessors, that they must keep *re-*

[55] T. C. lib. iii. p. 183. "Our church ought "either to shew that they have done evil, or else "she is found to be in fault that doth not conform "herself in that which she cannot deny to be well "abrogated."

ligiones traditas, the rites which from age to age had descended, that the ceremonies of religion had been ever accounted by so much holier as elder [56]; these and the like allegations in this case were vain and frivolous.

Not to stay longer therefore in speech concerning this point, we will conclude, that as the change of such laws as have been specified is necessary, so the evidence that they are such must be great. If we have neither voice from heaven that so pronounceth of them; neither sentence of men grounded upon such manifest and clear proof, that they in whose hands it is to alter them may likewise infallibly even in heart and conscience judge them so: upon necessity to urge alteration is to trouble and disturb without necessity. As for arbitrary alterations, when laws in themselves not simply bad or unmeet are changed for better and more expedient; if the benefit of that which is newly better devised be but small, sith the custom of easiness to alter and change is so evil, no doubt but to bear a tolerable sore is better than to venture on a dangerous remedy.

[3.] Which being generally thought upon as a matter that touched nearly their whole enterprise, whereas change was notwithstanding concluded necessary, in regard of the great hurt which the Church did receive by a number of things then in use, whereupon a great deal of that which had been was now to be taken away and removed out of the Church; yet sith there are divers ways of abrogating things established, they saw it best to cut off presently such things as might in that sort be extinguished without danger, leaving the rest to be abolished by disusage through tract of time. And as this was done for the manner of abrogation: so touching the stint or measure thereof, rites and ceremonies and other external things of like nature being hurtful unto the Church, either in respect of their quality or in regard of their number; in the former there could be no doubt or difficulty what should be done, their deliberation in the latter was more hard. And therefore inasmuch as they did resolve to remove only such things of that kind as the Church might best spare, retaining the residue; their whole counsel is in this point utterly condemned, as having either proceeded from the blindness of those times, or from negligence, or from desire of honour and glory, or from an erroneous opinion that such things might be tolerated for a while; or if it did proceed (as they which would seem most favourable are content to think it possible) from a purpose, "[57] partly "the easilier to draw papists unto the Gos-"pel" (by keeping so many orders still the same with theirs,) "and partly to redeem "peace thereby, the breach whereof they "might fear would ensue upon more tho-"rough alteration;" or howsoever it came to pass, the thing they did is judged evil. But such is the lot of all that deal in public affairs whether of church or commonwealth; that which men list to surmise of their doings, be it good or ill, they must beforehand patiently arm their minds to endure. Wherefore to let go private surmises, whereby the thing in itself is not made either better or worse; if just and allowable reasons might lead them to do as they did, then are these censures all frustrate.

[4.] Touching ceremonies harmless therefore in themselves, and hurtful only in respect of number: was it amiss to decree, that those things which were least needful and newliest come should be the first that were taken away, as in the abrogating of a number of saints' days, and of other the like customs, it appeareth they did; till afterwards the Form of Common Prayer being perfected, Articles of sound Religion and Discipline agreed upon, Catechisms framed for the needful instruction of youth, churches purged of things that indeed were burdensome to the people or to the simple offensive and scandalous, all was brought at the length unto that wherein now we stand? Or was it amiss, that having this way eased the Church as they thought of superfluity, they went not on till they had plucked up even those things also, which had taken a great deal stronger and deeper root; those things which to abrogate without constraint of manifest harm thereby arising, had been to alter unnecessarily (in their judgments) the ancient received custom of the whole Church, the universal practice of the people of God, and those very decrees of our fathers, which were not only set down by agreement of general councils, but had accordingly been put in ure and so continued in use till that very time present?

[5.] True it is, that neither councils nor customs, be they never so ancient and so general, can let the Church from taking away that thing which is hurtful to be retained. Where things have been instituted, which being convenient and good at the first, do afterwards in process of time wax otherwise; we make no doubt but they may be altered, yea, though councils or customs

[56] [Min. Felix. c. 5. p. 50. ed. Gronov. "Vene-"rabilius et melius, antistitem veritatis majorum "excipere disciplinam: religiones traditas colere; "deos, quos a parentibus ante imbutus es timere "quam nosse familiarius, adorare; nec de numini-"bus ferre sententiam, sed prioribus credere." And see before, p. 137. not. 84.]

[57] T. C. lib. ii. p. 29. "It may well be, their "purpose was by that temper of popish ceremonies "with the Gospel, partly the easilier to draw the "papists to the Gospel, &c. partly to redeem peace "thereby."

general have received them. And therefore it is but a needless kind of opposition which they make who thus dispute, "If in "those things which are not expressed in "the Scripture, that is to be observed of "the Church, which is the custom of the "people of God and decree of our forefath-"ers; then how can these things at any "time be varied, which heretofore have "been once ordained in such sort[58]?" Whereto we say, that things so ordained are to be kept, howbeit not necessarily any longer, than till there grow some urgent cause to ordain the contrary. For there is not any positive law of men, whether it be general or particular; received by formal express consent, as in councils, or by secret approbation, as in customs it cometh to pass; but the same may be taken away if occasion serve. Even as we all know, that many things generally kept heretofore are now in like sort generally unkept and abolished every where.

[6.] Notwithstanding till such things be abolished, what exception can there be taken against the judgment of St. Augustine, who saith, "That of things harmless, what-"soever there is which the whole Church "doth observe throughout the world, to "argue for any man's immunity from ob-"serving the same, it were a point of most "insolent madness[59]?" And surely odious it must needs have been for one Christian church to abolish that which all had received and held for the space of many ages, and that without any detriment unto religion so manifest and so great, as might in the eyes of unpartial men appear sufficient to clear them from all blame of rash and inconsiderate proceeding, if in fervour of zeal they had removed such things. Whereas contrariwise, so reasonable moderation herein used hath freed us from being deservedly subject unto that bitter kind of obloquy, whereby as the church of Rome doth under the colour of love towards those things which be harmless, maintain extremely most hurtful corruptions; so we peradventure might be upbraided, that under colour of hatred towards those things that are corrupt, we are on the other side as extreme even against most harmless ordinances. And as they are obstinate to retain that, which no man of any conscience is able well to defend; so we might be reckoned fierce and violent to tear away that, which if our own mouths did condemn, our consciences would storm and repine thereat. The Romans having banished Tarquinius the Proud, and taken a solemn oath that they never would permit any man more to reign, could not herewith content themselves, or think that tyranny was thoroughly extinguished, till they had driven one of their consuls to depart the city, against whom they found not in the world what to object, saving only that his name was Tarquin, and that the commonwealth could not seem to have recovered perfect freedom, as long as a man of so dangerous a name was left remaining[60]. For the church of England to have done the like in casting out of papal tyranny and superstition; to have shewed greater willingness of accepting the very ceremonies of the Turk[61] Christ's professed enemy, than of the most indifferent things which the church of Rome approveth; to have left not so much as the names which the church of Rome doth give unto things innocent; to have ejected whatsoever that Church doth make account of, be it never so harmless in itself, and of never so ancient continuance, without any other crime to charge it with, than only that it hath been the hap thereof to be used by the church of Rome, and not to be commanded in the word of God: this kind of proceeding might haply have pleased some few men, who having begun such a course themselves must needs be glad to see their example followed by us[62]. But the Almighty which giveth wisdom and inspireth with right understanding whomsoever it pleaseth him, he foreseeing that which man's wit had never been able to reach unto, namely, what tragedies the attempt of so extreme alteration would raise in some parts of the Christian world[63], did for the endless good of his Church (as we cannot choose but interpret it) use the bridle of his provident restraining hand, to stay those eager affections in some, and to settle their resolution upon a course more calm and moderate: lest as in other most ample and heretofore most flourishing dominions it hath since fallen out, so likewise if in ours it had come to pass, that the adverse part being enraged, and betaking itself to such practices as men are commonly wont to embrace, when they behold things brought to desperate extremities, and no hope left to see any other end, than only the utter

[58] T. C. lib. iii. p. 30.

[59] Aug. Epist. 118. [al. 54. c. 5. t. ii. 126.]

[60] [Liv. ii. 2.]

[61] T. C. lib. i. p. 131. "For indeed it were more "safe for us to conform our indifferent ceremonies "to the Turks which are far off, than to the pa-"pists which are so near."

[62] Sarav. de divers. Ministr. Evang. Grad. in Prolog. "Ejectis Tarquiniis Roma, Regis nomen "postea non tulere Romani, quasi cum nomine "ejecta esset quam oderant tyrannis: qui tamen "postea plures tyrannidis formas perpessi sunt, "quam si Regis nomen et authoritatem retinuis-"sent. Non enim in regia potestate aut regis no-"mine ulla inerat tyrannis, sed in Tarquinio. Sic "dico tyrannidem, quæ Ecclesias Christi vastavit, "non fuisse in primatu Episcoporum et Archiepis-"coporum, sed in iis qui primatu abusi sunt."]

[63] [France, Westphalia, Flanders, Scotland.]

oppression and clean extinguishment of one side; by this mean Christendom flaming in all parts of greatest importance at once, they all had wanted that comfort of mutual relief whereby they are now for the time sustained (and not the least by this our church which they so much impeach) till mutual combustions, bloodsheds, and wastes (because no other inducement will serve) may enforce them through very faintness, after the experience of so endless miseries, to enter on all sides at the length into some such consultation, as may tend to the best reestablishment of the whole Church of Jesus Christ. To the singular good whereof it cannot but serve as a profitable direction to teach men what is most likely to prove available, when they shall quietly consider the trial that hath been thus long had of both kinds of reformation; as well this moderate kind which the church of England hath taken, as that other more extreme and rigorous which certain churches elsewhere have better liked. In the meanwhile it may be, that suspense of judgment and exercise of charity were safer and seemlier for Christian men, than the hot pursuit of these controversies, wherein they that are most fervent to dispute be not always the most able to determine. But who are on his side and who against him, our Lord in his good time shall reveal.

[7.] And sith thus far we have proceeded in opening the things that have been done, let not the principal doers themselves be forgotten. When the ruins of the house of God (that house which consisting of religious souls is most immediately the precious temple of the Holy Ghost) were become, not in his sight alone, but in the eyes of the whole world so exceeding great, that very superstition began even to feel itself too far grown: the first that with us made way to repair the decays thereof by beheading superstition, was King Henry the Eighth. The son and successor of which famous king as we know was Edward the Saint: in whom (for so by the event we may gather) it pleased God righteous and just to let England see what a blessing sin and iniquity would not suffer it to enjoy. Howbeit that which the wise man hath said concerning Enoch (whose days were though many in respect of ours, yet scarce as three to nine in comparison of theirs with whom he lived) the same to that admirable child most worthily may be applied, "Though "he departed this world soon, yet fulfilled "he much time [64]." But what ensued? That work which the one in such sort had begun, and the other so far proceeded in, was in short space so overthrown, as if almost it had never been: till such time as that God, whose property is to shew his mercies then greatest when they are nearest to be utterly despaired of, caused in the depth of discomfort and darkness a most glorious star [65] to arise and on her head settled the crown, whom himself had kept as a lamb from the slaughter of those bloody times; that the experience of his goodness in her own deliverance might cause her merciful disposition to take so much the more delight in saving others, whom the like necessity should press. What in this behalf hath been done towards nations abroad the parts of Christendom most afflicted can best testify. That which especially concerneth ourselves, in the present matter we treat of, is the state of reformed religion, a thing at her coming to the crown even raised as it were by miracle from the dead; a thing which we so little hoped to see, that even they which beheld it done, scarcely believed their own senses at the first beholding. Yet being then brought to pass, thus many years it hath continued, standing by no other worldly mean but that one only hand which erected it; that hand which as no kind of imminent danger could cause at the first to withhold itself, so neither have the practices so many so bloody following since been ever able to make weary. Nor can we say in this case so justly, that Aaron and Hur, the ecclesiastical and civil states, have sustained the hand which did lift itself to heaven for them [66], as that heaven itself hath by this hand sustained them, no aid or help having thereunto been ministered for performance of the work of reformation, other than such kind of help or aid as the Angel in the Prophet Zachary speaketh of, saying, "Neither by an army nor strength, "but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts [67]." Which grace and favour of divine assistance having not in one thing or two shewed itself, nor for some few days or years appeared, but in such sort so long continued, our manifold sins and transgressions striving to the contrary; what can we less thereupon conclude, than that God would at leastwise by tract of time teach the world, that the thing which he blesseth, defendeth, keepeth so strangely, cannot choose but be of him? Wherefore, if any refuse to believe us disputing for the verity of religion established, let them believe God himself thus miraculously working for it, and wish life even for ever and ever unto that glorious and sacred instrument whereby he worketh.

[64] Sap. iv. 13.

[65] ["That bright Occidental Star, Queen Eliza-"beth of most happy memory." Dedication to King James by the Translators of the Bible.]

[66] [Exod. xvii. 12.] [67] Zach. iv. 6.

TO THE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

HIS GRACE,

PRIMATE AND METROPOLITAN OF ALL ENGLAND.

MOST REVEREND IN CHRIST.

THE long-continued and more than ordinary favour[1] which hitherto your Grace hath been pleased to shew towards me may justly claim at my hands some thankful acknowledgment thereof. In which consideration, as also for that I embrace willingly the ancient received course and conveniency of that discipline, which teacheth inferior degrees and orders in the Church of God to submit their writings to the same authority, from which their allowable dealings whatsoever in such affairs must receive approbation[2], I nothing fear but that your accustomed clemency will take in good worth the offer of these my simple and mean labours, bestowed for the necessary justification of laws heretofore made questionable, because as I take it they were not perfectly understood.

[2.] For surely I cannot find any great cause of just complaint, that good laws have so much been wanting unto us, as we to them. To seek reformation of evil laws is a commendable endeavour; but for us the more necessary is a speedy redress of ourselves. We have on all sides lost much of our first fervency towards God; and therefore concerning our own degenerated ways we have reason to exhort with St. Gregory[3], Ὅπερ ἦμεν γενώμεθα, "Let us return again unto that which we sometime were:" but touching the exchange of laws in practice with laws in device, which they say are better for the state of the Church if they might take place, the farther we examine them the greater cause we find to conclude, μένωμεν ὅπερ ἐσμέν, "although we continue the same we "are, the harm is not great." These fervent reprehenders of things established by pub-

[1] [See the Life of Hooker, p. 83.]

[2] [The following letter, preserved by Fulman, ix. 214, furnishes an instance of this kind of deference, on the part of Hooker, towards Ecclesiastical Authorities.

"To my lovinge friend Mr. Reynolds of Corpus "Christi College in Oxford. Salut. in Chro. Your "copie was delyver into my L. of Cant. owne "hands the daye after I receyved it of you. "Sence that tyme it was demanded twyse at his "hands, and deferred, upon more view, the third "tyme I went myself and spake unto his G. his "answer was that he could not alow it, because "of some glawnsinge at matters in this tyme "(those were the very speeches his G. used.) I "requested the copie agayne, and it was delyvered "me presentlye by hymself. I reserve it in my "hands untill I know sume trustye messinger. "No man shall see it, God willinge, thus I com-"mend you to God, who kepe you in helth to his "plesure. London the 4th of December, 1584. "Yo'rs to his power "GEOR. BYSSHOP.

"*Mr. Hoker wolde neds have it goe unto my L.* "*of Cant.* otherwyse I was in mynde for to doe it "first, which I wolde I had done, that the world "might have judged of it, there wold have bin no "falte funde then, yf it had bin extant. Yf it be "your pleasure, I will dele with Mr. Mills, that he "may dele further with my L. of Canterb."

The writer of this letter was a noted bookseller, and is mentioned by Strype as Warden of the Stationers' Company, in 1578, when he solicited Lord Burghley for the enlargement of a person who had been committed by Bishop Aylmer for printing the Admonition to the Parliament; (Life of Aylm. p. 38.) and in 1591, when he seized certain books of Broughton's, (Whitg. II. 116.) In 1569, "being "well minded towards godliness and true religion," he took upon him the charge of printing a translation of Hemingius' Exposition of the Gospels. (Ann. I. ii. 304.)

Mr. Francis Mills, private secretary to Walsingham, Reynolds's patron, was probably the person mentioned in the postscript. See Strype, An. III. i. 681. ii. 466, 471. iv. 223.]

[3] Greg. Naz. [Orat. xxxix. i. 624. D. (speaking of the season of Epiphany.) Καιρὸς ἀναγεννήσεως· γενηθῶμεν ἄνωθεν· καιρὸς ἀναπλάσεως· τὸν πρῶτον Ἀδὰμ ἀναλάβωμεν· μὴ μείνωμεν ὅπερ ἐσμεν, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἦμεν γενώμεθα.]

lic authority are always confident and bold-spirited men. But their confidence for the most part riseth from too much credit given to their own wits, for which cause they are seldom free from error. The errors which we seek to reform in this kind of men are such as both received at your own hands their first wound, and from that time to this present have been proceeded in with that moderation, which useth by patience to suppress boldness, and to make them conquer that suffer [4].

[3.] Wherein considering the nature and kind of these controversies, the dangerous sequels whereunto they were likely to grow, and how many ways we have been thereby taught wisdom, I may boldly aver concerning the first, that as the weightiest conflicts the Church hath had were those which touched the Head, the Person of our Saviour Christ; and the next of importance those questions which are at this day between us and the Church of Rome about the actions of the body of the Church of God; so these which have lastly sprung up for complements, rites, and ceremonies of church actions, are in truth for the greatest part such silly things, that very easiness doth make them hard to be disputed of in serious manner. Which also may seem to be the cause why divers of the reverend prelacy [5], and other most judicious men [6], have especially bestowed their pains about the matter of jurisdiction. Notwithstanding led by your Grace's example myself have thought it convenient to wade through the whole cause, following that method which searcheth the truth by the causes of truth.

[4.] Now if any marvel how a thing in itself so weak could import any great danger, they must consider not so much how small the spark is that flieth up, as how apt things about it are to take fire. Bodies politic being subject as much as natural to dissolution by divers means, there are undoubtedly more estates overthrown through diseases bred within themselves than through violence from abroad; because our manner is always to cast a doubtful and a more suspicious eye towards that over which we know we have least power; and therefore the fear of external dangers causeth forces at home to be the more united; it is to all sorts a kind of bridle, it maketh virtuous minds watchful, it holdeth contrary dispositions in suspense, and it setteth those wits on work in better things which would else be employed in worse; whereas on the other side domestical evils, for that we think we can master them at all times, are often permitted to run on forward till it be too late to recall them. In the mean while the commonwealth is not only through unsoundness so far impaired as those evils chance to prevail, but further also through opposition arising between the unsound parts and the sound, where each endeavoureth to draw evermore contrary ways, till destruction in the end bring the whole to ruin.

[5.] To reckon up how many causes there are, by force whereof divisions may grow in a commonwealth, is not here necessary. Such as rise from variety in matter of religion are not only the farthest spread, because in religion all men presume themselves interested alike; but they are also for the most part hotlier prosecuted and pursued than other strifes, forasmuch as coldness, which in other contentions may be thought to proceed from moderation, is not in these so favourably construed. The part which in this present quarrel striveth against the current and stream of laws was a long while nothing feared, the wisest contented not to call to mind how errors have their effect many times not proportioned to that little appearance of reason whereupon they would seem built, but rather to the vehement affection or fancy which is cast towards them and proceedeth from other causes. For there are divers motives drawing men to favour mightily those opinions, wherein their persuasions are but weakly settled; and if the passions of the mind be strong, they easily sophisticate the understanding; they make it apt to believe upon very slender warrant, and to imagine infallible truth where scarce any probable show appeareth.

[6.] Thus were those poor seduced creatures, Hacket and his other two adherents [7], whom I can neither speak nor think of but with much commisseration and pity, thus were they

[4] [An allusion, as it seems, to the Archbishop's motto: "Vincit qui patitur." See Walton's Life of Hooker, p. 86. Camden's Annals of Q. Elizabeth, ed. 1675. p. 289. anno 1583. Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog. iv. 334.]

[5] [Bancroft, (who had been just made Bishop of London,) in his "Dangerous Positions," and "Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline," both 1593. Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, in his "Perpetual Government of Christ's Church," also 1593.]

[6] [Saravia in his Tract de Diversis Ministerii Gradibus, 1590. Bridges (afterwards Bishop of Oxford) in his "Defence of the Government established in the Church of England, 1587." Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, in his Latin tract, "De Presbyterio," 1591, and his English, "Remonstrance to the Demonstration of Discipline," 1590, and "The False Semblant of Counterfeit Discipline detected," 1591: Cosins, Dean of the Arches, in his "Apology for sundry proceedings by Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical." 1593.]

[7] [In 1591. See Strype, Annals IV. 95.....101. Camden, Ann. Eliz. t. ii. 34—38. ed. 1627, and chiefly Cosin's "Conspiracy for pretended Reformation, viz. Presbyterial Discipline; a Treatise discovering the designs and courses held for advancement thereof by Wm. Hacket, yeoman, Edm. Coppinger and Henry Arthington, Gent. out of others' depositions, and their own letters, writings, and confessions upon examination..... published by authority." London, Barker, 1592.]

trained by fair ways; first accounting their own extraordinary love to this discipline a token of God's more than ordinary love towards them. From hence they grew to a strong conceit, that God, which had moved them to love his discipline more than the common sort of men did, might have a purpose by their means to bring a wonderful work to pass, beyond all men's expectation, for the advancement of the throne of Discipline by some tragical execution, with the particularities whereof it was not safe for their friends [8] to be made acquainted; of whom they did therefore but covertly demand, what they thought of extraordinary motions of the Spirit in these days, and withal request to be commended unto God by their prayers whatsoever should be undertaken by men of God in mere zeal to his glory and the good of his distressed Church. With this unusual and strange course they went on forward, till God, in whose heaviest worldly judgments I nothing doubt but that there may lie hidden mercy, gave them over to their own inventions, and left them made in the end an example for headstrong and inconsiderate zeal no less fearful, than Achitophel for proud and irreligious wisdom. If a spark of error have thus far prevailed, falling even where the wood was green and farthest off to all men's thinking from any inclination unto furious attempts; must not the peril thereof be greater in men whose minds are of themselves as dry fuel, apt beforehand unto tumults, seditions, and broils? But by this we see in a cause of religion to how desperate adventures men will strain themselves, for relief of their own part, having law and authority against them.

[7.] Furthermore let not any man think that in such divisions either part can free itself from inconveniences, sustained not only through a kind of truce, which virtue on both sides doth make with vice during war between truth and error; but also in that there are hereby so fit occasions ministered for men to purchase to themselves well-willers, by the colour under which they oftentimes prosecute quarrels of envy or inveterate malice: and especially because contentions were as yet never able to prevent two evils; the one a mutual exchange of unseemly and unjust disgraces offered by men whose tongues and passions are out of rule; the other a common hazard of both to be made a prey by such as study how to work upon all occurrents with most advantage in private. I deny not therefore, but that our antagonists in these controversies may peradventure have met with some not unlike to Ithacius [9]; who mightily bending himself by all means against the heresy of Priscillian, the hatred of which one evil was all the virtue he had, became so wise in the end, that every man careful of virtuous conversation, studious of Scripture, and given unto any abstinence in diet, was set down in his calendar of suspected Priscillianists, for whom it should be expedient to approve their soundness of faith by a more licentious and loose behaviour. Such proctors and patrons the truth might spare. Yet is not their grossness so intolerable, as on the contrary side the scurrilous and more than satirical immodesty of Martinism; the first published schedules whereof being brought to the hands of a grave and a very honourable knight [10], with signification given that the book would refresh his spirits, he took it, saw what the title was, read over an unsavoury sentence or two, and delivered back the libel with this answer: "I am "sorry you are of the mind to be solaced with these sports, and sorrier you have herein "thought mine affection to be like your own."

[8] [Cosins has printed letters to Cartwright, Udall, P. W. (Peter Wentworth?) and others, in illustration of what is here affirmed: p. 16, Coppinger writes to Cartwright (4 Feb.) that "he was "stirred up to such business of importance, as in "the eyes of flesh and blood were likely to bring "much danger to himself, and unlikely to bring "any good success to the Church of God." Then he relates certain fancied revelations, and adds, "I "desire the Church, I mean yourself and such as "you shall name unto me, (because I cannot come "to you without danger to yourself and me,) to "look narrowly into me," &c. Adding certain questions relating to "extraordinary callings," "a waste of the Church," and the like. In p. 15, is a similar communication to P. W. a layman; p. 26, to Charke; p. 36, to Udall. As to Wiggington, (who was a deprived preacher from Yorkshire,) he was in constant communication with the conspirators up to the very moment of their outbreak.]

[9] Sulp. Sever. Ep. Hist. Eccles. [lib. ii. c. 63.] "Certe Ithacium nihil pensi, nihil sancti habuisse "definio. Fuit enim audax, loquax, impudens, "sumptuosus, ventri et gulæ plurimum impertiens. "Hic stultitiæ eo usque processerat, ut omnes "etiam sanctos viros, quibus aut studium inerat "lectionis, aut propositum erat certare jejuniis, "tanquam Priscilliani socios aut discipulos, in "crimen arcesseret. Ausus etiam miser est, ea "tempestate, Martino episcopo, viro plane Apostolis conferendo, palam objectare hæresis infamiam." p. 472, ed. Horn. 1654.]

[10] [Perhaps Sir F. Walsingham: who being Reynolds's patron, and generally inclined to favour the Puritan party, (Strype, Whitgift, i. 425.) might be supposed not unlikely to be "solaced "with those sports." When the Marprelate pamphlets first appeared, in 1587-8, his health was declining, so that he accepted the office of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, with an intention, as was reported, of withdrawing from the secretaryship; (Strype, Ann. III. i. 696;) and this agrees with what is said of books being brought to "refresh the knight's spirits." And Hooker from his intimacy with Reynolds might well have access to familiar anecdotes of Walsingham: who, it may be added, died in 1590; and this may be thought to make it the more likely that he is the person referred to in the text.]

[8.] But as these sores on all hands lie open, so the deepest wounds of the Church of God have been more softly and closely given. It being perceived that the plot of discipline did not only bend itself to reform ceremonies, but seek farther to erect a popular authority of elders, and to take away episcopal jurisdiction, together with all other ornaments and means whereby any difference or inequality is upheld in the ecclesiastical order; towards this destructive part they have found many helping hands, divers, although peradventure not willing to be yoked with elderships, yet contented (for what intent God doth know) to uphold opposition against bishops; not without greater hurt to the course of their whole proceedings in the business of God and her Majesty's service, than otherwise much more weighty adversaries had been able by their own power to have brought to pass. Men are naturally better contented to have their commendable actions suppressed, than the contrary much divulged. And because the wits of the multitude are such, that many things they cannot lay hold on at once, but being possest with some notable either dislike or liking of any one thing whatsoever, sundry other in the meantime may escape them unperceived: therefore if men desirous to have their virtues noted do in this respect grieve at the fame of others, whose glory obscureth and darkeneth theirs; it cannot be chosen but that when the ears of the people are thus continually beaten with exclamations against abuses in the Church, these tunes come always most acceptable to them, whose odious and corrupt dealings in secular affairs both pass by that mean the more covertly, and whatsoever happen do also the least feel that scourge of vulgar imputation, which notwithstanding they most deserve [11].

[9.] All this considered as behoveth, the sequel of duty on our part is only that which our Lord and Saviour requireth, harmless discretion; the wisdom of serpents tempered with the innocent meekness of doves [12]. For this world will teach them wisdom that have capacity to apprehend it. Our wisdom in this case must be such as doth not propose to itself τὸ ἴδιον, our own particular, the partial and immoderate desire whereof poisoneth wheresoever it taketh place; but the scope and mark which we are to aim at is τὸ κοινὸν, the public and common good of all; for the easier procurement whereof, our diligence must search out all helps and furtherances of direction, which scriptures, councils, fathers, histories, the laws and practices of all churches, the mutual conference of all men's collections and observations may afford: our industry must even anatomize every particle of that body, which we are to uphold sound. And because be it never so true which we teach the world to believe, yet if once their affections begin to be alienated, a small thing persuadeth them to change their opinions, it behoveth that we vigilantly note and prevent by all means those evils whereby the hearts of men are lost: which evils for the most part being personal do arm in such sort the adversaries of God and his Church against us, that, if through our too much neglect and security the same should run on, soon might we feel our estate brought to those lamentable terms, whereof this hard and heavy sentence was by one of the ancients uttered upon like occasions, "Dolens "dico, gemens denuncio, sacerdotium quod apud nos intus cecidit, foris diu stare non poterit [13]."

[10.] But the gracious providence of Almighty God hath I trust put these thorns of contradiction in our sides, lest that should steal upon the Church in a slumber, which now I doubt not but through his assistance may be turned away from us, bending thereunto ourselves with constancy; constancy in labour to do all men good, constancy in prayer unto God for all men: her especially whose sacred power matched with incomparable goodness of nature hath hitherto been God's most happy instrument, by him miraculously kept for works of so miraculous preservation and safety unto others, that as, "By the sword of God and Gideon [14]," was sometime the cry of the people of Israel, so it might deservedly be at this day the joyful song of innumerable multitudes, yea the emblem of some estates and dominions in the world, and (which must be eternally confessed even with tears of thankfulness) the true inscription, style, or title, of all churches as yet standing within this realm, "By the goodness of Almighty God and his servant Elizabeth we are." That God who is able to make mortality immortal give her such future continuance, as may be no less glorious unto all posterity than the days of her regiment past have been happy unto ourselves; and for his most dear anointed's sake grant them all prosperity, whose labours, cares, and counsels, unfeignedly are referred to her endless welfare: through his unspeakable mercy, unto whom we all owe everlasting praise. In which desire I will here rest, humbly beseeching your Grace to pardon my great boldness, and God to multiply his blessings upon them that fear his name.

Your Grace's in all duty,

RICHARD HOOKER.

[11] [All this seems very apposite to Leicester: and considering how directly he was opposed to Whitgift in his lifetime, and that he had been now dead so long (since 1588) as to make his character matter of history, we may perhaps conclude that the writer was thinking of him.]

[12] [St. Matth. x. 16.]

[13] Leg. Carol. Mag. fol. 421.

[14] Judges vii. 20.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

OF THEIR FOURTH ASSERTION, THAT TOUCHING THE SEVERAL PUBLIC DUTIES OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION, THERE IS AMONGST US MUCH SUPERSTITION RETAINED IN THEM; AND CONCERNING PERSONS WHICH FOR PERFORMANCE OF THOSE DUTIES ARE ENDUED WITH THE POWER OF ECCLESIASTICAL ORDER, OUR LAWS AND PROCEEDINGS ACCORDING THEREUNTO ARE MANY WAYS HEREIN ALSO CORRUPT.

—:o:—

THE MATTER CONTAINED IN THIS FIFTH BOOK.

I. True Religion is the root of all true virtues and the stay of all well ordered commonwealths.
II. The most extreme opposite to true Religion is affected Atheism.
III. Of Superstition, and the root thereof, either misguided zeal, or ignorant fear of divine glory.
IV. Of the redress of Superstition in God's Church, and concerning the question of this book.
V. Four general propositions demanding that which may reasonably be granted, concerning matters of outward form in the exercise of true Religion. And, fifthly, of a rule not safe nor reasonable in these cases.
VI. The first proposition touching judgment what things are convenient in the outward public ordering of church affairs.
VII. The second proposition.
VIII. The third proposition.
IX. The fourth proposition.
X. The rule of men's private spirits not safe in these cases to be followed.
XI. Places for the public service of God.
XII. The solemnity of erecting Churches condemned, the hallowing and dedicating of them scorned by the adversary.
XIII. Of the names whereby we distinguish our Churches.
XIV. Of the fashion of our Churches.
XV. The sumptuousness of Churches.
XVI. What holiness and virtue we ascribe to the Church more than other places.
XVII. Their pretence that would have Churches utterly razed.
XVIII. Of public teaching or preaching, and the first kind thereof, catechising.
XIX. Of preaching by reading publicly the books of Holy Scripture; and concerning supposed untruths in those Translations of Scripture which we allow to be read; as also of the choice which we make in reading.
XX. Of preaching by the public reading of other profitable instructions; and concerning books Apocryphal.
XXI. Of preaching by Sermons, and whether Sermons be the only ordinary way of teaching whereby men are brought to the saving knowledge of God's truth.
XXII. What they attribute to sermons only, and what we to reading also.
XXIII. Of Prayer.
XXIV. Of public Prayer.
XXV. Of the form of Common Prayer.
XXVI. Of them which like not to have any set form of Common Prayer.
XXVII. Of them who allowing a set form of prayer yet allow not ours.
XXVIII. The form of our Liturgy too near the papists', too far different from that of other reformed Churches, as they pretend.
XXIX. Attire belonging to the service of God.
XXX. Of gesture in praying, and of different places chosen to that purpose.
XXXI. Easiness of praying after our form.
XXXII. The length of our service.
XXXIII. Instead of such prayers as the primitive Churches have used, and those that the reformed now use, we have (they say) divers short cuts or shreddings, rather wishes than prayers.
XXXIV. Lessons intermingled with our prayers.
XXXV. The number of our prayers for earthly things, and our oft rehearsing of the Lord's Prayer.
XXXVI. The people's saying after the minister.
XXXVII. Our manner of reading the Psalms otherwise than the rest of the Scripture.
XXXVIII. Of music with Psalms.
XXXIX. Of singing or saying Psalms, and other parts of Common Prayer wherein the people and the minister answer one another by course.
XL. Of *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc Dimittis*.
XLI. Of the Litany.

XLII. Of Athanasius's Creed, and *Gloria Patri.*
XLIII. Our want of particular thanksgiving.
XLIV. In some things the matter of our prayer, as they affirm, is unsound.
XLV. "When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, thou didst open the Kingdom of Heaven "unto all believers."
XLVI. Touching prayer for deliverance from sudden death.
XLVII. Prayer that those things which we for our unworthiness dare not ask, God for the worthiness of his Son would vouchsafe to grant.
XLVIII. Prayer to be evermore delivered from all adversity.
XLIX. Prayer that all men may find mercy.
L. Of the name, the author, and the force of Sacraments, which force consisteth in this, that God hath ordained them as means to make us partakers of him in Christ, and of life through Christ.
LI. That God is in Christ by the personal incarnation of the Son, who is very God.
LII. The misinterpretations which heresy hath made of the manner how God and man are united in one Christ.
LIII. That by the union of the one with the other nature in Christ, there groweth neither gain nor loss of essential properties to either.
LIV. What Christ hath obtained according to the flesh, by the union of his flesh with Deity.
LV. Of the personal presence of Christ every where, and in what sense it may be granted he is every where present according to the flesh.
LVI. The union or mutual participation which is between Christ and the Church of Christ in this present world.
LVII. The necessity of Sacraments unto the participation of Christ.
LVIII. The substance of Baptism, the rites or solemnities thereunto belonging, and that the substance thereof being kept, other things in Baptism may give place to necessity.
LIX. The ground in Scripture whereupon a necessity of outward Baptism hath been built.
LX. What kind of necessity in outward Baptism hath been gathered by the words of our Saviour Christ; and what the true necessity thereof indeed is.
LXI. What things in Baptism have been dispensed with by the fathers respecting necessity.
LXII. Whether baptism by Women be true Baptism, good and effectual to them that receive it.
LXIII. Of Interrogatories in Baptism touching faith and the purpose of a Christian life.
LXIV. Interrogatories proposed unto infants in Baptism, and answered as in their names by godfathers.
LXV. Of the Cross in Baptism.
LXVI. Of Confirmation after Baptism.
LXVII. Of the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.
LXVIII. Of faults noted in the form of administering that holy Sacrament.
LXIX. Of Festival Days, and the natural causes of their convenient institution.
LXX. The manner of celebrating festival days.
LXXI. Exceptions against our keeping of other festival days besides the Sabbath.
LXXII. Of days appointed as well for ordinary as for extraordinary Fasts in the Church of God.
LXXIII. The celebration of Matrimony.
LXXIV. The Churching of Women.
LXXV. The rites of Burial.
LXXVI. Of the nature of that Ministry which serveth for performance of divine duties in the Church of God, and how happiness not eternal only but also temporal doth depend upon it.
LXXVII. Of power given unto men to execute that heavenly office, of the gift of the Holy Ghost in Ordination; and whether conveniently the power of order may be sought or sued for.
LXXVIII. Of Degrees whereby the power of Order is distinguished, and concerning the Attire of ministers.
LXXIX. Of Oblations, Foundations, Endowments, Tithes, all intended for perpetuity of religion; which purpose being chiefly fulfilled by the clergy's certain and sufficient maintenance, must needs by alienation of church livings be made frustrate.
LXXX. Of Ordination lawful without Title, and without any popular Election precedent, but in no case without regard of due information what their quality is that enter into holy orders.
LXXXI. Of the Learning that should be in ministers, their Residence, and the number of their Livings.

I. Few there are of so weak capacity, but public evils they easily espy; fewer so patient, as not to complain, when the grievous inconveniences thereof work sensible smart. Howbeit to see wherein the harm which they feel consisteth, the seeds from which it sprang, and the method of curing it, belongeth to a skill, the study whereof is so full of toil, and the practice so beset with difficulties, that wary and respective men had rather seek quietly their own, and wish that the world may go well, so it be not long of them, than with pain and hazard make themselves advisers for the common good. We which thought it at the very first a sign of cold affection towards the Church of God, to prefer private ease before the labour of appeasing public disturbance, must now of necessity refer events to the gracious providence of Almighty God, and, in discharge of our duty towards him, proceed with the plain and unpartial defence of a common cause. Wherein our endeavour is not so much to overthrow them

True religion is the root of all true virtues, and the stay of all well-ordered commonwealths.

with whom we contend, as to yield them just and reasonable causes of those things, which, for want of due consideration heretofore, they misconceived, accusing laws for men's oversights, imputing evils grown through personal defects unto that which is not evil, framing unto some sores unwholesome plaisters, and applying other some where no sore is.

[2.] To make therefore our beginning that which to both parts is most acceptable, we agree that pure and unstained religion ought to be the highest of all cares appertaining to public regiment: as well in regard of that aid and protection [1] which they who faithfully serve God confess they receive at his merciful hands; as also for the force which religion hath to qualify all sorts of men, and to make them in public affairs the more serviceable [2], governors the apter to rule with conscience, inferiors for conscience' sake the willinger to obey. It is no peculiar conceit, but a matter of sound consequence, that all duties are by so much the better performed, by how much the men are more religious from whose abilities the same proceed. For if [3] the course of politic affairs cannot in any good sort go forward without fit instruments, and that which fitteth them be their virtues, let Polity acknowledge itself indebted to Religion; godliness being the [4] chiefest top and wellspring of all true virtues, even as God is of all good things.

So natural is the union of Religion with Justice, that we may boldly deem there is neither, where both are not. For how should they be unfeignedly just, whom religion both not cause to be such; or they religious, which are not found such by the proof of their just actions? If they, which employ their labour and travel about the public administration of justice, follow it only as a trade, with unquenchable and unconscionable thirst of gain, being not in heart persuaded that [5] justice is God's own work, and themselves his agents in this business, the sentence of right God's own verdict, and themselves his priests to deliver it; formalities of justice do but serve to smother right, and that, which was necessarily ordained for the common good, is through shameful abuse made the cause of common misery.

The same piety, which maketh them that are in authority desirous to please and resemble God by justice, inflameth every way men of action with zeal to do good (as far as their place will permit) unto all. For that [6], they know, is most noble and divine. Whereby if no natural nor casual inability cross their desires, they always delighting to inure themselves with actions most beneficial to others, cannot but gather great experience, and through experience the more wisdom; because conscience, and the fear of swerving from that which is right, maketh them diligent observers of circumstances, the loose regard whereof is the nurse of vulgar folly, no less than Solomon's attention thereunto was of natural furtherances the most effectual to make him eminent above others. For he gave good heed, and pierced every thing to the very ground, and by that means became the author of many parables [7].

Concerning Fortitude; sith evils great and unexpected (the true touchstone of constant minds) do cause oftentimes even them to think upon divine power with fearfullest suspicions, which have been otherwise the most secure despisers thereof [8]; how should we look for any constant resolution of mind in such cases, saving only where unfeigned affection to God-ward hath bred the most assured confidence to be assisted by his hand? For proof whereof, let but the acts of the ancient Jews be indifferently weighed; from whose magnanimity, in causes of most extreme hazard, those strange and unwonted resolutions have grown, which for all circumstances no people under the roof of heaven did ever hitherto match. And that which did always animate them was their mere religion.

Without which, if so be it were possible that all other ornaments of mind might be had in their full perfection, nevertheless the mind that should possess them divorced from piety could be but a spectacle of commiseration; even as that body is, which adorned with sundry other admirable beauties, wanteth eyesight, the chiefest grace that nature hath in that kind to bestow. They which commend so much the felicity of that innocent world, wherein it is said that men of their own accord did embrace fidelity and honesty, not for fear of the magistrate, or because revenge was before their eyes, if at any time they should do otherwise, but

[1] Ps. cxliv. 2. ["My shield, and He in whom I "trust; who subdueth my people under me."]

[2] Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. 2. "Gaudere et glori- "ari ex fide semper volumus, scientes magis reli- "gionibus quam officiis et labore corporis vel su- "dore nostram Rempublicam contineri." [t. vi. p. 44. ed. Gothofred.]

[3] Ἐστι δ' οὐθὲν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς δυνατὸν πρᾶξαι ἄνευ τοῦ ποιόν τινα εἶναι, λέγω δὲ οἷον σπουδαῖον. Τὸ δὲ σπουδαῖον εἶναί ἐστι τὸ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἔχειν. Arist. Magn. Moral. lib. i. cap. 1.

[4] Ἀρχὴ δ' ἀριστὴ πάντων τῶν ὄντων Θεὸς, ἀρετῶν δ' εὐσέβεια. Philo de Dec. Præcept. [p. 751. ed. Paris. 1640.]

[5] 2 Chron. xix. 6. ["Ye judge not for man, but "for the Lord, who is with you in the judgment."]

[6] Ἀγαπητὸν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἑνὶ μόνῳ, κάλλιον δὲ καὶ θειότερον ἔθνει καὶ πόλεσιν. Arist. Ethic. lib. i. cap. 2.

[7] [Eccles. xii. 9, 10.]

[8] Wisd. xvii. 13. [qu. 11.]

that which held the people in awe was the shame of ill-doing, the love of equity and right itself a bar against all oppressions which greatness of power causeth; they which describe unto us any such estate of happiness amongst men, though they speak not of Religion, do notwithstanding declare that which is in truth her only working. For, if religion did possess sincerely and sufficiently the hearts of all men, there would need no other restraint from evil. This doth not only give life and perfection to all endeavours wherewith it concurreth; but what event soever ensue, it breedeth, if not joy and gladness always, yet always patience, satisfaction, and reasonable contentment of mind. Whereupon it hath been set down as an axiom of good experience, that all things religiously taken in hand are prosperously ended[9]; because whether men in the end have that which religion did allow them to desire, or that which it teacheth them contentedly to suffer, they are in neither event unfortunate[10].

[3.] But lest any man should here conceive that it greatly skilleth not of what sort our religion be, inasmuch as heathens, Turks, and infidels, impute to religion a great part of the same effects which ourselves ascribe thereunto, they having ours in the same detestation that we theirs; it shall be requisite to observe well, how far forth there may be agreement in the effects of different religions. First, by the bitter strife which riseth oftentimes from small differences in this behalf, and is by so much always greater as the matter is of more importance; we see a general agreement in the secret opinion of men, that every man ought to embrace the religion which is true, and to shun, as hurtful, whatsoever dissenteth from it, but that most, which doth farthest dissent. The generality of which persuasion argueth, that God hath imprinted it by nature, to the end it might be a spur to our industry in searching and maintaining that religion, from which as to swerve in the least points is error, so the capital enemies thereof God hateth as his deadly foes, aliens, and, without repentance, children of endless perdition. Such therefore touching man's immortal state after this life are not likely to reap benefit by their religion, but to look for the clean contrary, in regard of so important contrariety between it and the true religion.

Nevertheless, inasmuch as the errors of the most seduced this way have been mixed with some truths, we are not to marvel, that although the one did turn to their endless woe and confusion, yet the other had many notable effects as touching the affairs of this present life. There were in these quarters of the world sixteen hundred years ago, certain speculative men, whose authority disposed the whole religion of those times. By their means it became a received opinion, that the souls of men departing this life do flit out of one body into some other[11]. Which opinion, though false, yet entwined with a true, that the souls of men do never perish, abated the fear of death in them which were so resolved, and gave them courage unto all adventures.

The Romans had a vain superstitious custom, in most of their enterprises to conjecture beforehand of the event by certain tokens which they noted in birds, or in the entrails of beasts, or by other the like frivolous divinations. From whence notwithstanding as oft as they could receive any sign which they took to be favourable, it gave them such hope, as if their gods had made them more than half a promise of prosperous success. Which many times was the greatest cause that they did prevail, especially being men of their own natural inclination hopeful and strongly conceited, whatsoever they took in hand. But could their fond superstition have furthered so great attempts without the mixture of a true persuasion concerning the unresistible force of divine power?

Upon the wilful violation of oaths, execrable blasphemies, and like contempts offered by deriders of religion even unto false gods, fearful tokens of divine revenge have been known to follow. Which occurrents the devouter sort did take for manifest arguments, that the gods whom they worshipped were of power to reward such as sought unto them, and would plague those that feared them not. In this they erred. For (as the wise man rightly noteth concerning such) it was not the power of them by whom they sware, but the vengeance of them that sinned, which punished the offences of the ungodly[12]. It was their hurt untruly to attribute so great power unto false gods. Yet the right conceit which they had, that to perjury vengeance is due, was not without good effect as touching the course of their lives, who feared the wilful violation of oaths in that respect.

And whereas we read so many of them so much commended, some for their mild and merciful disposition, some for their virtuous severity, some for integrity of life, all these were the fruits of true and infallible principles delivered unto us in the word of God as the axioms of our religion, which being imprinted by the God of nature in their hearts also, and taking better root in

[9] Psalm i. 3.

[10] Τὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἔμφρονα πᾶσας οἰόμεθα τὰς τύχας εὐσχημόνως φέρειν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀεὶ τὰ κάλλιστα πράττειν. Arist. Ethic. lib. i. cap. 10. 13.

[11] Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. [c. 13.]

[12] Wisd. xiv. 31.

some than in most others, grew though not from yet with and amidst the heaps of manifold repugnant errors; which errors of corrupt religion had also their suitable effects in the lives of the selfsame parties.

[4.] Without all controversy, the purer and perfecter our religion is, the worthier effects it hath in them who steadfastly and sincerely embrace it, in others not. They that love the religion which they profess, may have failed in choice, but yet they are sure to reap what benefit the same is able to afford; whereas the best and soundest professed by them that bear it not the like affection, yieldeth them, retaining it in that sort, no benefit. David was a "man after God's own heart[13]," so termed because his affection was hearty towards God. Beholding the like disposition in them which lived under him, it was his prayer to Almighty God, "O keep this forever in the purpose and "thoughts of the heart of this people[14]." But when, after that David had ended his days in peace, they who succeeded him in place for the most part followed him not in quality; when those kings (some few excepted) to better their worldly estate, (as they thought) left their own and their people's ghostly condition uncared for; by woful experience they both did learn, that to forsake the true God of heaven, is to fall into all such evils upon the face of the earth, as men either destitute of grace divine may commit, or unprotected from above endure.

[5.] Seeing therefore it doth thus appear that the safety of all estates dependeth upon religion; that religion unfeignedly loved perfecteth men's abilities unto all kinds of virtuous services in the commonwealth; that men's desire is in general to hold no religion but the true; and that whatsoever good effects do grow out of their religion, who embrace instead of the true a false, the roots thereof are certain sparks of the light of truth intermingled with the darkness of error, because no religion can wholly and only consist of untruths: we have reason to think that all true virtues are to honour true religion as their parent, and all well-ordered commonweals to love her as their chiefest stay.

II. They of whom God is altogether unapprehended are but few in number, and for grossness of wit such, that they hardly and scarcely seem to hold the place of human being. These we should judge to be of all others most miserable, but that a wretcheder sort there are, on whom whereas nature hath bestowed riper capacity, their evil disposition seriously goeth about therewith to apprehend God as being not God. Whereby it cometh to pass that of these two sorts of men, both godless, the one having utterly no knowledge of God, the other study how to persuade themselves that there is no such thing to be known. The[15] fountain and wellspring of which impiety is a resolved purpose of mind to reap in this world what sensual profit or pleasure soever the world yieldeth, and not to be barred from any whatsoever means available thereunto And that this is the very radical cause of their atheism, no man I think will doubt which considereth what pains they take to destroy those principal spurs and motive-unto all virtue, the creation of the world, the providence of God, the resurrection of the dead, the joys of the kingdom of heaven, and the endless pains of the wicked, yea above all things the authority of Scripture, because on these points it evermore beateth, and the soul's immortality, which granted, draweth easily after it the rest as a voluntary train. Is it not wonderful that base desires should so extinguish in men the sense of their own excellency, as to make them willing that their souls should be like to the souls of beasts, mortal and corruptible with their bodies? Till some admirable or unusual accident happen (as it hath in some) to work the beginning of a better alteration in their minds, disputation about the knowledge of God with such kind of persons commonly prevaileth little. For how should the brightness of wisdom shine, where the windows of the soul are of very set purpose closed[16]? True religion hath many things in it, the only mention whereof galleth and troubleth their minds. Being therefore loth that inquiry into such matters should breed a persuasion in the end contrary unto that they embrace, it is their endeavour to banish as much as in them lieth quite and clean from their cogitation whatsoever may sound that way.

The most extreme opposite to true religion, is affected atheism.

[2.] But it cometh many times to pass (which is their torment) that the thing they shun doth follow them, truth as it were even obtruding itself into their knowledge, and not permitting them to be so ignorant as they would be. Whereupon inasmuch as the nature of man is unwilling to continue doing that wherein it shall always condemn itself, they continuing still obstinate to follow the course which they have begun, are driven to devise all the shifts that wit can invent for the smothering of this light, all that may but with any the least show of possibility stay their minds from thinking that true, which they heartily wish were

[13] [1 Sam. xiii. 14.] [14] 1 Chron. xxix. 18.

[15] Wisd. ii. 21. "Such things they imagine and go astray, because their own wickedness hath blinded them." Ἔστι γὰρ ἡ κακία φθαρτικὴ ἀρχῆς. Arist. Eth. lib. vi. cap. 5. 6.

[16] Susan. ver. 9. "They turned away their "mind, and cast down their eyes, that they might "not see heaven, nor remember just judgments."

false, but cannot think it so without some scruple and fear of the contrary [17].

Now because that judicious learning, for which we commend most worthily the ancient sages of the world, doth not in this case serve the turn, these trencher-mates (for such the most of them be) frame to themselves a way more pleasant; a new method they have of turning things that are serious into mockery, an art of contradiction by way of scorn, a learning wherewith we were long sithence forewarned that the miserable times whereinto we are fallen should abound [18]. This they study, this they practise, this they grace with a wanton superfluity of wit, too much insulting over the patience of more virtuously disposed minds.

For towards these so forlorn creatures we are (it must be confest) too patient. In zeal to the glory of God, Babylon hath excelled Sion [19]. We want that decree of Nabuchodonosor; the fury of this wicked brood hath the reins too much at liberty; their tongues walk at large; the spit-venom of their poisoned hearts breaketh out to the annoyance of others; what their untamed lust suggesteth, the same their licentious mouths do every where set abroach.

With our contentions their irreligious humour also is much strengthened [20]. Nothing pleaseth them better than these manifold oppositions upon the matter of religion, as well for that they have hereby the more opportunity to learn on one side how another may be oppugned, and so to weaken the credit of all unto themselves; as also because by this hot pursuit of lower controversies among men professing religion, and agreeing in the principal foundations thereof, they conceive hope that about the higher principles themselves time will cause altercation to grow.

For which purpose, when they see occasion, they stick not sometime in other men's persons, yea sometime without any vizard at all directly to try, what the most religious are able to say in defence of the highest points whereupon all religion dependeth. Now for the most part it so falleth out touching things which generally are received, that although in themselves they be most certain, yet because men presume them granted of all, we are hardliest able to bring such proof of their certainty as may satisfy gainsayers, when suddenly and besides expectation they require the same at our hands. Which impreparation and unreadiness when they find in us, they turn it to the soothing up of themselves in that cursed fancy, whereby they would fain believe that the hearty devotion of such as indeed fear God is nothing else but a kind of harmless error, bred and confirmed in them by the sleights of wiser men.

[3.] For a politic use of religion they see there is, and by it they would also gather that religion itself is a mere politic device, forged purposely to serve for that use. Men fearing God are thereby a great deal more effectually than by positive laws restrained from doing evil; inasmuch as those laws have no farther power than over our outward actions only, whereas unto men's [21] inward cogitations, unto the privy intents and motions of their hearts, religion serveth for a bridle. What more savage, wild, and cruel than man, if he see himself able either by fraud to overreach, or by power to overbear, the laws whereunto he should be subject? Wherefore in so great boldness to offend, it behoveth that the world should be held in awe, not by a vain surmise, but a true apprehension of somewhat, which no man may think himself able to withstand. This is the politic use of religion.

[4.] In which respect there are of these wise malignants [22] some, who have vouchsafed it their marvellous favourable countenance and speech, very gravely affirming, that religion honoured, addeth greatness,

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[17] "Hæc est summa deliciti, nollo agnoscere "quem ignorare non possis." Cypr. de Idol. Vanit. [i.15. ed. Fell.]

[18] 2 Pet. iii. 3; Jude 18.

[19] Dan. iii. 29.

[20] [See Cranmer's letter, below. In a paper called, "An Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England," (Mus. Bodl. 55. Catal. MSS. Angl. 3499,) is the following: "Two principall causes have I ever known of "atheism: curious controversics, and prophane "scoffing. Now that these two are joined in one, "no doubt that sect will make no small progres-"sion." The paper seems to have been written, by a sensible and very moderate man, about 1589 or 1590.]

[21] "Vos scelera admissa punitis, apud nos et "cogitare peccare est; vos conscios timetis, nos "etiam conscientiam solam, sine qua esse non "possumus." Minuc. Fel. in Octav. [c. 35.] "Summum præsidium regni est justitia ob apertos "tumultus, et religio ob occultos." Carda. de Sapien. lib. iii. [vol. i. p. 537. ed. Lugd. 1663.]

[22] Mach. Disc. lib. i. c. 11—14. "Come la os-"servanza del culto divino è cagione della grand-"ezza delle Repubbliche, così il dispregio di quello "è cagione della rovina di esse.....Quelli "Principi, ò quelle Repubbliche, le quali si vogliono "mantenere incorrotte, hanno sopra ogni altra cosa "a mantenere incorrotte le cerimonie della Religi-"one, e tenerle sempre nella loro veneratione.... "E debbono tutte le cose che nascono in favore "di quella (come che la giudicassino falsa) favor-"irle ed accrescerle; e tanto più lo debbono fare, "quanto più prudenti sono, e quanto più conosci-"tori delle cose naturali. E perche questo modo "è stato osservato da gli huomini savi, ne è nata "la opinione de i miracoli, che si celebrano nelle "religioni, eziandio false; perche i prudenti gli "augumentano, da qualunque principio nascono, "e l'autorità loro da poi à quelli fede appresso à "qualunque."]

and contemned, bringeth ruin unto commonweals; that princes and states, which will continue, are above all things to uphold the reverend regard of religion, and to provide for the same by all means in the making of their laws.

But when they should define what means are best for that purpose, behold, they extol the wisdom of Paganism; they give it out as a mystical precept of great importance, that princes, and such as are under them in most authority or credit with the people, should take all occasions of rare events, and from what cause soever the same do proceed, yet wrest them to the strengthening of their religion, and not make it nice for so good a purpose to use, if need be, plain forgeries. Thus while they study how to bring to pass that religion may seem but a matter made, they lose themselves in the very maze of their own discourses, as if reason did even purposely forsake them, who of purpose forsake God the author thereof. For surely a strange kind of madness it is, that those men who though they be void of piety, yet because they have wit cannot choose but know that treachery, guile, and deceit are things, which may for a while but do not use long to go unespied, should teach that the greatest honour to a state is perpetuity[23]; and grant that alterations in the service of God, for that they impair the credit of religion, are therefore perilous in commonweals, which have no continuance longer than religion hath all reverence done unto it[24]; and withal acknowledge (for so they do) that when people began to espy the falsehood of oracles, whereupon all Gentility was built, their hearts were utterly averted from it[25]; and notwithstanding counsel princes in sober earnest, for the strengthening of their states to maintain religion, and for the maintenance of religion not to make choice of that which is true, but to authorize that they may make choice of by those false and fraudulent means which in the end must needs overthrow it. Such are the counsels of men godless, when they would shew themselves politic devisers, able to create God in man by art.

III. Wherefore to let go this execrable crew, and to come to extremities on the contrary hand; two affections there are, the forces whereof, as they bear the greater or lesser sway in man's heart, frame accordingly the stamp and character of his religion; the one zeal, the other fear.

Of Superstition and the root thereof: either misguided zeal or ignorant fear of divine glory.

Zeal, unless it be rightly guided, when it endeavoreth most busily to please God, forceth upon him those unseasonable offices which please him not. For which cause, if they who this way swerve be compared with such sincere, sound, and discreet, as Abraham was in matter of religion; the service of the one is like unto flattery, the other like the faithful sedulity of friendship[26]. Zeal, except it be ordered aright, when it bendeth itself unto conflict with things either indeed, or but imagined to be opposite unto religion, useth the razor many times with such eagerness, that the very life of religion itself is thereby hazarded; through hatred of tares the corn in the field of God is plucked up. So that zeal needeth both ways a sober guide.

Fear on the other side, if it have not the light of true understanding concerning God, wherewith to be moderated, breedeth likewise superstition. It is therefore dangerous, that in things divine we should work too much upon the spur either of zeal or fear. Fear is a good solicitor to devotion. Howbeit, sith fear in this kind doth grow from an apprehension of Deity endued with irresistible power to hurt, and is of all affections (anger excepted) the unaptest to admit any conference with reason; for which cause the wise man doth say of fear that it is a betrayer of the forces of reasonable understanding[27]; therefore except men know beforehand what manner of service pleaseth God, while they are fearful they try all things which fancy offereth. Many there are who never think on God but when they are in extremity of fear; and then, because what to think or what to do they are uncertain, perplexity not suffering them to be idle, they think and do as it were in a phrenzy they know not what.

[2.] Superstition neither knoweth the right kind, nor observeth the due measure, of actions belonging to the service of God, but is always joined with a wrong opinion touching things divine. Superstition is, when things are either abhorred or observed with a zealous or fearful, but erroneous, relation to God. By means whereof, the superstitious do sometimes serve, though the true God, yet with needless offices, and defraud him of duties necessary; sometime load others than him with such honours as properly are his. The one their oversight, who miss in the choice of that wherewith; the other theirs, who fail in the election of him towards whom they shew their devotion: this the crime of idolatry, that, the

[23] ["Non è la salute d' una Republica ò d' un "Regno havere un Principe che prudentemente "governi, mentre vive, ma uno che l' ordini in "modo, che morendo, ancora la si mantenga." c. 11.]

[24] ["Nessumo maggiore indizio si puote havere "dalla rovina d' una provincia, che vedere dispre-"giato il culto divino." c. 12.]

[25] ["Come costoro cominciarono dipoi à parla-"re à modo de' Potenti, e questa falsità si fu sco-"perta ne' popoli, divennero gli huomini increduli, "ed atti à perturbare ogn' ordine buono."]

[26] 2 Chron. xx. 7; "Abraham thy friend."

[27] Wisd. xvii. 12.

fault of voluntary either niceness or superfluity in religion.

[3.] The Christian world itself being divided into two grand parts, it appeareth by the general view of both, that with matter of heresy the west hath been often and much troubled; but the east part never quiet, till the deluge of misery, wherein now they are, overwhelmed them. The chiefest cause whereof doth seem to have lien in the restless wits of the Grecians, evermore proud of their own curious and subtle inventions; which when at any time they had contrived, the great facility of their language served them readily to make all things fair and plausible to men's understanding. Those grand heretical impieties therefore, which most highly and immediately touched God and the glorious Trinity, were all in a manner the monsters of the east. The west bred fewer a great deal, and those commonly of a lower nature, such as more nearly and directly concerned rather men than God; the Latins being always to capital heresies less inclined, yet unto gross superstition more.

[4.] Superstition such as that of the Pharisees was [28], by whom divine things indeed were less, because other things were more divinely esteemed of than reason would; the superstition that riseth voluntarily, and by degrees which are hardly discerned mingleth itself with the rites even of very divine service done to the only true God, must be considered of as a creeping and encroaching evil; an evil the first beginnings whereof are commonly harmless, so that it proveth only then to be an evil when some farther accident doth grow unto it, or itself come unto farther growth. For in the Church of God sometimes it cometh to pass as in over battle grounds [29], the fertile disposition whereof is good; yet because it exceedeth due proportion, it bringeth forth abundantly, through too much rankness, things less profitable; whereby that which principally it should yield being either prevented in place, or defrauded of nourishment, faileth. This (if so large a discourse were necessary) might be exemplified even by heaps of rites and customs now superstitious in the greatest part of the Christian world, which in their first original beginnings, when the strength of virtuous, devout, or charitable affection bloomed [30] them, no man could justly have condemned as evil.

IV. But howsoever superstition do grow, that wherein unsounder times have done amiss, the better ages ensuing must rectify as they may. I now come therefore to those accusations brought against us by pretenders of reformation; the first in the rank whereof is such, that if so be the Church of England did at this day therewith as justly deserve to be touched, as they in this cause have imagined it doth, rather would I exhort all sorts to seek pardon even with tears at the hands of God, than meditate words of defence for our doings, to the end that men might think favourably of them. For as the case of this world, especially now, doth stand, what other stay or succour have we to lean unto, saving the testimony of our conscience, and the comfort we take in this, that we serve the living God, (as near as our wits can reach unto the knowledge thereof) even according to his own will, and do therefore trust that his mercy shall be our safeguard against those enraged powers abroad, which principally in that respect are become our enemies? But sith no man can do ill with a good conscience, the consolation which we herein seem to find, is but a mere deceitful pleasing of ourselves in error, which at the length must needs turn to our greater grief, if that which we do to please God most be for the manifold defects thereof offensive unto him. For so it is judged, our prayers, our sacraments, our fasts, our times and places of public meeting together for the worship and service of God, our marriages, our burials, our functions, elections, and ordinations ecclesiastical, almost whatsoever we do in the exercise of our religion according to laws for that purpose established, all things are some way or other thought faulty, all things stained with superstition.

Of the redress of superstition in God's Church, and concerning the question of this Book.

[2.] Now although it may be the wiser sort of men are not greatly moved hereat, considering how subject the very best things have been always unto cavil, when wits possessed either with disdain or dislike thereof have set them up as their mark to shoot at: safe notwithstanding it were not therefore to neglect the danger which from hence may grow, and that especially in regard of them, who desiring to serve God as they ought, but being not so skilful as in every point to unwind themselves where the snares of glossing speech do lie to entangle them, are in mind not a little troubled, when they hear so bitter invectives against that which this church hath taught them to reverence as holy, to approve as lawful, and to observe as behoveful for the exercise of Christian duty. It seemeth therefore at the least for their sakes very meet, that such as blame us in this behalf be directly answered, and they which follow us informed plainly in the reasons of that we do.

[28] Mark vii. 9.

[29] [Battel or Battle, adj. "Fruitful, fertile." "From the verb "to battel" or "battil," which sometimes signifies "to grow fat," sometimes "to "render fertile." Todd's Johnson's Dict.]

[30] [Numbers xvii. 8. "The rod of Aaron for "the house of Levi was budded, and brought "forth buds, and *bloomed blossoms*, and yield-"ed almonds:" quoted by Mr. Todd.]

[3.] On both sides the end intended between us, is to have laws and ordinances such as may rightly serve to abolish superstition, and to establish the service of God with all things thereunto appertaining in some perfect form.

There is an inward reasonable [30], and there is a solemn [31] outward serviceable worship belonging unto God. Of the former kind are all manner virtuous duties that each man in reason and conscience to Godward oweth. Solemn and serviceable worship we name for distinction's sake, whatsoever belongeth to the Church or public society of God by way of external adoration. It is the later of these two whereupon our present question groweth.

Again, this later being ordered, partly, and as touching principal matters, by none but precepts divine only; partly, and as concerning things of inferior regard, by ordinances as well human as divine: about the substance of religion wherein God's only law must be kept, there is here no controversy; the crime now intended against us is, that our laws have not ordered those inferior things as behoveth, and that our customs are either superstitious, or otherwise amiss, whether we respect the exercise of public duties in religion, or the functions of persons authorized thereunto.

Four general propositions demanding that which may reasonably be granted concerning matters of outward form in the exercise of true religion. And, fifthly, of a rule not safe nor reasonable in these cases.

V. It is with teachers of mathematical sciences usual, for us in this present question necessary, to lay down first certain reasonable demands, which in most particulars following are to serve as principles whereby to work, and therefore must be beforehand considered. The men whom we labour to inform in the truth perceive that so to proceed is requisite. For to this end they also propose touching customs and rites indifferent their general axioms, some of them subject unto just exceptions, and, as we think, more meet by them to be farther considered, than assented unto by us. As that, "In "outward things belonging to the service "of God, reformed churches ought by all "means to shun conformity with the church "of Rome;" that, "the first reformed should "be a pattern whereunto all that come af"ter ought to conform themselves;" that "sound religion may not use the things "which being not commanded of God have "been either devised or abused unto super"stition." These and the rest of the same consort we have in the book going before examined.

Other canons they allege and rules not unworthy of approbation; as that, "In all "such things the glory of God, and the edi"fication or ghostly good of his people, "must be sought;" "That nothing should "be undecently or unorderly done." But forasmuch as all the difficulty is in discerning what things do glorify God and edify his Church, what not; when we should think them decent and fit, when otherwise: because these rules being too general, come not near enough unto the matter which we have in hand; and the former principles being nearer the purpose, are too far from truth; we must propose unto all men certain petitions incident and very material in causes of this nature, such as no man of moderate judgment hath cause to think unjust or unreasonable.

The first proposition touching judgment what things are convenient in the outward public ordering of church affairs.

VI. The first thing therefore which is of force to cause approbation with good conscience towards such customs or rites as publicly are established, is when there ariseth from the due consideration of those customs and rites in themselves apparent reason, although not always to prove them better than any other that might possibly be devised, (for who did ever require this in man's ordinances?) yet competent to shew their conveniency and fitness, in regard of the use for which they should serve.

Now touching the nature of religious services, and the manner of their due performance, thus much generally we know to be most clear; that whereas the greatness and dignity of all manner of actions is measured by the worthiness of the subject from which they proceed, and of the object whereabout they are conversant, we must of necessity in both respects acknowledge, that this present world affordeth not any thing comparable unto the public duties of religion. For if the best things have the perfectest and best operations, it will follow, that seeing man is the worthiest creature upon earth, and every society of men more worthy than any man, and of societies that most excellent which we call the Church; there can be in this world no work performed equal to the exercise of true religion, the proper operation of the Church of God.

Again, forasmuch as religion worketh upon him who in majesty and power is infinite, as we ought we account not of it, unless we esteem it even according to that very height of excellency which our hearts conceive when divine sublimity itself is rightly considered. In the powers and faculties of our souls God requireth the uttermost which our unfeigned affection towards him is able to yield [32]. So that if we affect him not far above and before all things, our religion hath not that inward perfection which it should have, neither do we indeed worship him as our God.

[30] Rom. xii. 1. [31] Luke i. 23.

[32] John iv. 24; Wisd. vi. 10; 1 Chron. xxix. 17.

[2.] That which inwardly each man should be, the Church outwardly ought to testify. And therefore the duties of our religion which are seen must be such as that affection which is unseen ought to be. Signs must resemble the things they signify. If religion bear the greatest sway in our hearts, our outward religious duties must shew it as far as the Church hath outward ability. Duties of religion performed by whole societies of men, ought to have in them according to our power a sensible excellency, correspondent to the majesty of him whom we worship [33]. Yea then are the public duties of religion best ordered, when the militant Church doth resemble by sensible means [34], as it may in such cases, that hidden dignity and glory wherewith the Church triumphant in heaven is beautified.

Howbeit, even as the very heat of the sun itself which is the life of the whole world was to the people of God in the desert a grievous annoyance, for ease whereof his extraordinary providence ordained a cloudy pillar to overshadow them: so things of general use and benefit (for in this world what is so perfect that no inconvenience doth ever follow it?) may by some accident be incommodious to a few. In which case, for such private evils remedies there are of like condition, though public ordinances, wherein the common good is respected, be not stirred.

Let our first demand be therefore, that in the external form of religion such things as are apparently, or can be sufficiently proved, effectual and generally fit to set forward godliness, either as betokening the greatness of God, or as beseeming the dignity of religion, or as concurring with celestial impressions in the minds of men, may be reverently thought of; some few, rare, casual, and tolerable, or otherwise curable, inconveniences notwithstanding.

VII. Neither may we in this case lightly esteem what hath been allowed as fit in the judgment of antiquity, and by the long continued practice of the whole Church; from which unnecessarily to swerve, experience hath never as yet found it safe. For wisdom's sake we reverence them no less that are young, or not much less, than if they were stricken in years. And therefore of such it is rightly said that their ripeness of understanding is "grey hair," and their virtues "old age [35]." But because wisdom and youth are seldom joined in one, and the ordinary course of the world is more according to Job's observation, who giveth men advice to seek "wisdom amongst the ancient, and in the length of days, understanding [36]; "therefore if the comparison do stand between man and man, which shall hearken unto other; sith the aged for the most part are best experienced, least subject to rash and unadvised passions, it hath been ever judged reasonable that their sentence in matter of counsel should be better trusted, and more relied upon than other men's. The goodness of God having furnished man with two chief instruments both necessary for this life, hands to execute and a mind to devise great things; the one is not profitable longer than the vigour of youth doth strengthen it, nor the other greatly till age and experience have brought it to perfection. In whom therefore time hath not perfected knowledge, such must be contented to follow them in whom it hath. For this cause none is more attentively heard than they whose speeches are as David's were, "I have been young and "now am old [37]," much I have seen and observed in the world. Sharp and subtile discourses of wit procure many times very great applause, but being laid in the balance with that which the habit of sound experience plainly delivereth, they are overweighed. God may endue men extraordinarily with understanding as it pleaseth him. But let no man presuming thereupon neglect the instructions, or despise the ordinances of his elders, sith He whose gift wisdom is hath said [38], "Ask thy father "and he will shew thee; thine ancients and "they shall tell thee."

The second proposition.

[2.] It is therefore the voice both of God and nature, not of learning only, that especially in matters of action and policy, "The "sentences and judgments of men experienced, aged and wise, yea though they "speak without any proof or demonstration, "are no less to be hearkened unto, than as be-"ing demonstrations in themselves; because "such men's long observation is as an eye, "wherewith they presently and plainly be-"hold those principles which sway over all "actions [39]." Whereby we are taught both the cause wherefore wise men's judgments should be credited, and the mean how to use their judgments to the increase of our own wisdom. That which sheweth them to be wise, is the gathering of principles out of their own particular experiments.

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[33] 2 Chron. ii. 5.

[34] Ἐκκλησία ἐστὶν ἐπίγειος οὐρανός. Germa. περὶ τῶν ἱερουργουμένων. [ap. Bibl. Patr. Colon. viii. 53.] "Delectatio Domini in Ecclesia est; Ecclesia vero "est imago cœlestium." Ambros. de Interpel. Job et Dav. [I. ii. c. 2. t. i. 641.] "Facit in terris opera cœlorum." Sidon. Apol. Epist. lib. vi. [Ep. 12. ap. Bibl. Patr. Colon. iii. 988.]

[35] Wisd. iv. 9.

[36] Job. xii. 12.

[37] [Psalm xxxvii. 25.]

[38] Deut xxxii. 7.

[39] Arist. Eth. vi. cap. 11. [Δεῖ προσέχειν τῶν ἐμπείρων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων ἢ φρονίμων ταῖς ἀναποδείκτοις φάσεσι καὶ δόξαις, οὐχ ἧττον τῶν ἀποδειξέων· διὰ γὰρ τὸ ἔχειν ἐκ τῆς ἐμπειρίας ὄμμα ὁρῶσιν ἀρχάς.]

And the framing of our particular experiments according to the rule of their principles shall make us such as they are.

[3.] If therefore even at the first so great account should be made of wise men's counsels touching things that are publicly done, as time shall add thereunto continuance and approbation of succeeding ages, their credit and authority must needs be greater. They which do nothing but that which men of account did before them, are, although they do amiss, yet the less faulty, because they are not the authors of harm. And doing well, their actions are freed from prejudice of novelty. To the best and wisest [40], while they live, the world is continually a froward opposite, a curious observer of their defects and imperfections; their virtues it afterwards as much admireth. And for this cause many times that which most deserveth approbation would hardly be able to find favour, if they which propose it were not content to profess themselves therein scholars and followers of the ancient. For the world will not endure to hear that we are wiser than any have been which went before. In which consideration there is cause why we should be slow and unwilling to change, without very urgent necessity, the ancient ordinances, rites, and long approved customs, of our venerable predecessors. The love of things ancient doth argue [41] stayedness, but levity and want of experience maketh apt unto innovations. That which wisdom did first begin, and hath been with good men long continued, challengeth allowance of them that succeed, although it plead for itself nothing. That which is new, if it promise not much, doth fear condemnation before trial; till trial, no man doth acquit or trust it, what good soever it pretend and promise. So that in this kind there are few things known to be good, till such time as they grow to be ancient. The vain pretence of those glorious names, where they could not be with any truth, neither in reason ought to have been so much alleged, hath wrought such a prejudice against them in the minds of the common sort, as if they had utterly no force at all; whereas (especially for these observances which concern our present question) antiquity, custom, and consent in the Church of God, making with that which law doth establish, are themselves most sufficient reasons to uphold the same, unless some notable public inconvenience enforce the contrary. For [42] a small thing in the eye of law is as nothing.

[4.] We are therefore bold to make our second petition this, That in things the fitness whereof is not of itself apparent, nor easy to be made sufficiently manifest unto all, yet the judgment of antiquity concurring with that which is received, may induce them to think it not unfit, who are not able to allege any known weighty inconvenience which it hath, or to take any strong exception against it.

VIII. All things cannot be of ancient continuance which are expedient and needful for the ordering of spiritual affairs: but the Church being a body which dieth not hath always power, as occasion requireth, no less to ordain that which never was, than to ratify what hath been before. To prescribe the order of doing in all things, is a peculiar prerogative which Wisdom hath [43], as queen or sovereign commandress over other virtues. This in every several man's actions of common life appertaineth unto Moral, in public and politic secular affairs unto Civil wisdom. In like manner, to devise any certain form for the outward administration of public duties in the service of God, or things belonging thereunto, and to find out the most convenient for that use, is a point of wisdom Ecclesiastical. The third proposition.

[2.] It is not for a man which doth know or should know what order is, and what peaceable government requireth, to ask, "why we should hang our judgment upon "the Church's sleeve;" and "why in mat-"ters of order, more than in matters of doc-"trine [44]." The Church hath authority to establish that for an order at one time, which at another time it may abolish, and in both may do well. But that which in doctrine the Church doth now deliver rightly as a truth, no man will say that it may hereafter recall, and as rightly avouch the contrary. Laws touching matter of order are changeable, by the power of the Church; articles concerning doctrine not so. We read often in the writings of catholic and holy men touching matters of doctrine, "this we believe, this we hold, this "the Prophets and Evangelists have de-"clared, this the Apostles have delivered, "this Martyrs have sealed with their blood, "and confessed in the midst of torments, to "this we cleave as to the anchor of our

[40] Πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ ποδῶν φθόνος οὐδεὶς φύεται. Philo.

[41] Πᾶσα δυσμένεια τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ συναποτίθεται. Synes.

Τὸ ἐκ ποδῶν οὖτ' ἀντιπίπτει καὶ τετίμηται ἀφθόνως. Greg. Naz. ἐν Στιχ. [t. ii. 251. ed. Paris. 1630.]

[41] "Οσοι δὲ εὐστάθειαν τρόπων τὸ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος σεμνὸν τοῦ καινοπρεποῦς προετίμησαν, καὶ ἀπαραποίητον τῶν πατέρων διεφύλαξαν τὴν παράδοσιν, κατά τε χώραν καὶ πόλιν, ταύτῃ κέχρηνται τῇ φωνῇ. Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. cap. vii. [Ed. Bened. iii. 23.]

[42] Ὁ μὲν μικρὸν τοῦ εὖ παρεκβαίνων, οὐ ψέγεται. Arist. Ethic. ii. c. 9. "Modici nulla fere ratio hab-"eri solet." Tiraquel de Jud. in Reb. exig. cap. 10. [Opp. t. vi. 83. Bayle calls him "un des plus sa-"vans hommes du xvi. siecle."]

[43] Ἡ μὲν φρόνησις περὶ τὰ ποιητέα ὅρους αὐτοῖς τιθεῖσα. Philo [de SS. LL. Allegor. lib. i. t. i. 52.]

[44] T. C. lib. iii. p. 171.

"souls, against this, though an Angel from "heaven should preach unto us, we would "not believe." But did we ever in any of them read, touching matters of mere comeliness, order, and decency, neither commanded nor prohibited by any Prophet, any Evangelist, any Apostle, "Although the "church wherein we live, do ordain them "to be kept, although they be never so gen- "erally observed, though all the churches "in the world should command them, "though Angels from heaven should re- "quire our subjection thereunto, *I would* "*hold him accursed* that doth obey?" Be it in matter of the one kind or of the other, what Scripture doth plainly deliver, to that the first place both of credit and obedience is due; the next whereunto is whatsoever any man can necessarily conclude by force of reason; after these the voice of the Church succeedeth. That which the Church by her ecclesiastical authority shall probably think and define to be true or good, must in congruity of reason overrule all other inferior judgments whatsoever.

[3.] To them which ask why we thus hang our judgment on the Church's sleeve, I answer with Solomon, because "two are "better than one [45]." "Yea simply (saith "Basil [46]) and universally, whether it be in "works of Nature, or of voluntary choice "and counsel, I see not any thing done as "it should be, if it be wrought by an agent "singling itself from consorts." The Jews had a sentence of good advice, "Take not "upon thee to be a judge alone; there is no "sole judge but one only; say not to oth- "ers, Receive my sentence, when their au- "thority is above thine [47]." The bare consent of the whole Church should itself in these things stop their mouths, who living under it, dare presume to bark against it. "There is (saith Cassianus) no place of "audience left for them, by whom obedience "is not yielded to that which all have "agreed upon [48]." Might we not think it more than wonderful, that nature should in all communities appoint a predominant judgment to sway and overrule in so many things; or that God himself should allow so much authority and power unto every poor family for the ordering of all which are in it; and the city of the living God, which is his Church, be able neither to command nor yet to forbid any thing, which the meanest shall in that respect, and for her sole authority's sake, be bound to obey?

[4.] We cannot hide or dissemble that evil, the grievous inconvenience whereof we feel. Our dislike of them, by whom too much heretofore hath been attributed unto the Church, is grown to an error on the contrary hand; so that now from the Church of God too much is derogated. By which removal of one extremity with another, the world seeking to procure a remedy, hath purchased a mere exchange of the evil which before was felt.

Suppose we that the sacred word of God can at their hands receive due honour, by whose incitement the holy ordinances of the Church endure every where open contempt? No; it is not possible they should observe as they ought the one, who from the other withdraw unnecessarily their own or their brethren's obedience.

Surely the Church of God in this business is neither of capacity, I trust, so weak, nor so unstrengthened, I know, with authority from above, but that her laws may exact obedience at the hands of her own children, and enjoin gainsayers silence, giving them roundly to understand, that where our duty is submission, weak oppositions betoken pride.

[5.] We therefore crave thirdly to have it granted, that where neither the evidence of any law divine, nor the strength of any invincible argument otherwise found out by the light of reason, nor any notable public inconvenience, doth make against that which our own laws ecclesiastical have although but newly instituted for the ordering of these affairs, the very authority of the Church itself, at the least in such cases, may give so much credit to her own laws, as to make their sentence touching fitness and conveniency weightier than any bare and naked conceit to the contrary; especially in them who can owe no less than child-like obedience to her that hath more than motherly power.

IX. There are ancient ordinances, laws which on all sides are allowed to be just and good, yea divine and apostolic constitutions, which the church it may be doth not always keep, nor always justly deserve blame in that respect. For in evils that cannot be removed without the manifest danger of greater to succeed in their rooms, wisdom, of necessity, must give place to necessity. All it can do in those cases is to devise how that which must be endured may be mitigated, and the inconveniences thereof coun-

The fourth proposition.

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[45] Eccles. iv. 9.

[46] Basil. Ep. 68. [al. 97. ἁπαξαπλῶς οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν ἐκ φύσεως οὔτε τῶν ἐκ προαιρέσεώς κατορθουμένων ὁρῶ, ἄνευ τῆς τῶν ὁμοφύλων συμπνοίας ἐπιτελούμενον· ὅπου γε καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ προσευχὴ μὴ ἔχουσα τοὺς συμφωνοῦντας ἀδρανεστέρα ἐστὶ πολλῷ ἑαυτῆς. t. iii. 191.] Decr. pars. i. dist. 8. c. [2. Corp. Jur. Can. p. 5.] Quæ contra. "Turpis est omnis pars universo suo non "congruens."

[47] R. Ishmael in Cap. Patr. [fol. 54. ed. Venet 1567. אל תהי דן יחידי שאין דן יחידי אלא אחד ואל תאמר קבלו דעתי שהן רשאין ולא אחה:]

[48] Cassian de Incarn. l. i. c. 6. [in Bibl. Patr. Lat. iv. 60. "Præjudicium suum damnationis exhibu- "it, qui judicium universitatis impugnat; et audi- "entiæ locum non habet qui a cunctis statuta con- "vellit."]

tervailed as near as may be; that when the best things are not possible, the best may be made of those that are.

Nature than which there is nothing more constant, nothing more uniform in all her ways, doth notwithstanding stay her hand, yea, and change her course, when that which God by creation did command, he doth at any time by necessity countermand. It hath therefore pleased himself sometime to unloose the very tongues even of dumb creatures, and to teach them to plead this in their own defence [49], lest the cruelty of man should persist to afflict them for not keeping their wonted course, when some invincible impediment hath hindered.

If we leave Nature and look into Art, the workman hath in his heart a purpose, he carrieth in mind the whole form which his work should have, there wanteth not in him skill and desire to bring his labour to the best effect, only the matter which he hath to work on is unframable. This necessity excuseth him, so that nothing is derogated from his credit, although much of his work's perfection be found wanting.

Touching actions of common life, there is not any defence more favourably heard than theirs, who allege sincerely for themselves, that they did as necessity constrained them. For when the mind is rightly ordered and affected as it should be, in case some external impediment crossing well advised desires shall potently draw men to leave what they principally wish, and to take a course which they would not if their choice were free; what necessity forceth men unto [50], the same in this case it maintaineth, as long as nothing is committed simply in itself evil, nothing absolutely sinful or wicked, nothing repugnant to that immutable law, whereby whatsoever is condemned as evil can never any way be made good. The casting away of things profitable for the sustenance of man's life, is an unthankful abuse of the fruits of God's good providence towards mankind. Which consideration for all that [51] did not hinder St. Paul from throwing corn into the sea, when care of saving men's lives made it necessary to lose that which else had been better saved. Neither was this to do evil, to the end that good might come of it: for of two such evils being not both evitable, the choice of the less is not evil. And evils must be in our constructions judged inevitable, if there be no apparent ordinary way to avoid them; because where counsel and advice bear rule, of God's extraordinary power without extraordinary warrant we cannot presume.

In civil affairs to declare what sway necessity hath ever been accustomed to bear, were labour infinite. The laws of all states and kingdoms in the world have scarcely of any thing more common use. Should then only the Church shew itself inhuman and stern, absolutely urging a rigorous observation of spiritual ordinances, without relaxation or exception what necessity soever happen? We know the contrary practice to have been commended by him [52], upon the warrant of whose judgment the Church, most of all delighted with merciful and moderate courses, doth the oftener condescend unto like equity, permitting in cases of necessity that which otherwise it disalloweth and forbiddeth.

Cases of necessity being sometime but urgent, sometime extreme [53], the consideration of public utility is with very good advice judged at the least equivalent with the easier kind of necessity.

[2.] Now that which causeth numbers to storm against some necessary tolerations, which they should rather let pass with silence, considering that in polity as well ecclesiastical as civil, there are and will be always evils which no art of man can cure, breaches and leaks more than man's wit hath hands to stop; that which maketh odious unto them many things wherein notwithstanding the truth is that very just regard hath been had of the public good; that which in a great part of the weightiest causes belonging to this present controversy hath ensnared the judgments both of sundry good and of some well learned men, is the manifest truth of certain general principles, whereupon the ordinances that serve for usual practice in the Church of God are grounded. Which principles men knowing to be most sound, and that the ordinary practice accordingly framed is good, whatsoever is over and besides that ordinary, the same they judge repugnant to those true principles. The cause of which error is ignorance what restraints and limitations all such principles have, in regard of so manifold varieties [54] as the Matter whereunto they are appliable doth commonly afford. These varieties are not known but by much experience, from whence to draw the true bounds of all principles, to discern how far forth they take effect, to see where and why they fail, to apprehend by what degrees and means they lead to the practice of things in show though not in deed repugnant and contrary one to

[49] Numb. xxii. 28.

[50] "Necessitas, quicquid coegit, defendit." Senec. Controv. [lib. iv. controv. 27. p. 186, ed. Paris. 1626.]

[51] Acts xxvii. 38.

[52] Luke vi. 4.

[53] "Causa necessitatis et utilitatis æquiparantur in jure." Abb. Panor, ad c. ut super nu. 15. de Reb. Eccles. non alien. [Comment. in Decretal. t. iii. 76. Lugd. 1586.]

[54] Ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰς πράξεις λογοις, οἱ μὲν καθόλου κενώτεροί εἰσιν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ μέρους ἀληθινώτεροι· περὶ γὰρ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα αἱ πράξεις. Arist. Eth. lib. ii. c. 7.

another, requireth more sharpness of wit, more intricate circuitions of discourse, more industry and depth of judgment, than common ability doth yield. So that general rules, till their limits be fully known (especially in matter of public and ecclesiastical affairs,) are by reason of the manifold secret exceptions which lie hidden in them, no other to the eye of man's understanding than cloudy mists cast before the eye of common sense. They that walk in darkness know not whither they go. And even as little is their certainty, whose opinions generalities only do guide. With gross and popular capacities nothing doth more prevail than unlimited generalities[55], because of their plainness at the first sight: nothing less with men of exact judgment, because such rules are not safe to be trusted over far. General laws are like general rules of physic according whereunto as no wise man will desire himself to be cured, if there be joined with his disease some special accident, in regard whereof that whereby others in the same infirmity but without the like accident recover health, would be to him either hurtful, or at the least unprofitable: so we must not, under a colourable commendation of holy ordinances in the Church, and of reasonable causes whereupon they have been grounded for the common good, imagine that all men's cases ought to have one measure.

[3.] Not without singular wisdom therefore it hath been provided, that as the ordinary course of common affairs is disposed of by general laws, so likewise men's rarer incident necessities and utilities should be with special equity considered. From hence it is, that so many privileges, immunities, exceptions, and dispensations, have been always with great equity and reason granted; not to turn the edge of justice, or to make void at certain times and in certain men, through mere voluntary grace or benevolence, that which continually and universally should be of force, (as some understand it) but in very truth to practise general laws according to their right meaning.

We see in contracts and other dealings which daily pass between man and man, that, to the utter undoing of some, many things by strictness of law may be done, which equity and honest meaning forbiddeth. Not that the law is unjust, but unperfect; nor equity against, but above the law, binding men's consciences in things which law cannot reach unto. Will any man say, that the virtue of private equity is opposite and repugnant to that law the silence whereof it supplieth in all such private dealing? No more is public equity against the law of public affairs, albeit the one permit unto some in special considerations, that which the other agreeably with general rules of justice doth in general sort forbid. For sith all good laws are the voices of right reason, which is the instrument wherewith God will have the world guided; and impossible it is that right should withstand right: it must follow that principles and rules of justice, be they never so generally uttered, do no less effectually intend than if they did plainly express an exception of all particulars, wherein their literal practice might any way prejudice equity.

[4.] And because it is natural unto all men to wish their own extraordinary benefit, when they think they have reasonable inducements so to do; and no man can be presumed a competent judge what equity doth require in his own case: the likeliest mean whereby the wit of man can provide, that he which useth the benefit of any special benignity above the common course of others may enjoy it with good conscience, and not against the true purpose of laws which in outward show are contrary, must needs be to arm with authority some fit both for quality and place, to administer that which in every such particular shall appear agreeable with equity. Wherein as it cannot be denied but that sometimes the practice of such jurisdiction may swerve through error, even in the very best, and for other respects where less integrity is: so the watchfullest observers of inconveniences that way growing, and the readiest to urge them in disgrace of authorized proceedings, do very well know, that the disposition of these things resteth not now in the hands of Popes, who live in no worldly awe or subjection, but is committed to them whom law may at all times bridle, and superior power control; yea to them also in such sort, that law itself hath set down to what persons, in what causes, with what circumstances, almost every faculty or favour shall be granted, leaving in a manner nothing unto them, more than only to deliver what is already given by law. Which maketh it by many degrees less reasonable, that under pretence of inconveniences so easily stopped, if any did grow, and so well prevented that none may, men should be altogether barred of the liberty that law with equity and reason granteth.

[5.] These things therefore considered, we lastly require that it may not seem hard, if in cases of necessity, or for common utility's sake, certain profitable ordinances some time be released, rather than all men always strictly bound to the general rigour thereof.

X. Now where the word of God leaveth

[55] [So Arist. Rhet. ii. 21. 9. *οἱ γὰρ ἀγροῖκοι μάλιστα γνωμοτύποι εἰσὶ, καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἀποφαίνονται.*]

the Church to make choice of her own ordinances, if against those things which have been received with great reason, or against that which the ancient practice of the Church hath continued time out of mind, or against such ordinances as the power and authority of that Church under which we live hath itself devised for the public good, or against the discretion of the Church in mitigating sometimes with favourable equity that rigour which otherwise the literal generality of ecclesiastical laws hath judged to be more convenient and meet; if against all this it should be free for men to reprove, to disgrace, to reject at their own liberty what they see done and practised according to order set down; if in so great variety of ways as the wit of man is easily able to find out towards any purpose, and in so great liking as all men especially have unto those inventions whereby some one shall seem to have been more enlightened from above than many thousands, the Church did give every man license to follow what himself imagineth that "God's Spirit doth "reveal" unto him, or what he supposeth that God is likely to have revealed to some special person whose virtues deserve to be highly esteemed: what other effect could hereupon ensue, but the utter confusion of his Church under pretence of being taught, led, and guided by his Spirit? The gifts and graces whereof do so naturally all tend unto common peace, that where such singularity is, they whose hearts it possesseth ought to suspect it the more, inasmuch as if it did come of God, and should for that cause prevail with others, the same God which revealeth it to them, would also give them power of confirming it unto others, either with miraculous operation, or with strong and invincible remonstrance of sound Reason, such as whereby it might appear that God would indeed have all men's judgments give place unto it; whereas now the error and unsufficiency of their arguments do make it on the contrary side against them a strong presumption, that God hath not moved their hearts to think such things as he hath not enabled them to prove.

The rule of men's private spirits not safe in these cases to be followed.

[2.] And so from rules of general direction it resteth that now we descend to a more distinct explication of particulars, wherein those rules have their special efficacy.

XI. Solemn duties of public service to be done unto God, must have their places set and prepared in such sort as beseemeth actions of that regard. Adam, even during the space of his small continuance in Paradise, had where to present himself before the Lord[56]. Adam's sons had out of Paradise in like sort[57] whither to bring their sacrifices. The Patriarchs used [58]altars, and [59]mountains, and [60]groves, to the selfsame purpose.

Places for the public service of God.

In the vast wilderness when the people of God had themselves no settled habitation, yet a moveable tabernacle they were commanded of God to make[61]. The like charge was given them against the time they should come to settle themselves in the land which had been promised unto their fathers, "Ye shall seek that place which "the Lord your God shall choose[62]." When God had chosen Jerusalem, and in Jerusalem Mount Moriah[63], there to have his standing habitation made, it was in the chiefest of David's[64] desires to have performed so good a work. His grief was no less that he could not have the honour to build God a temple, than their anger is at this day, who bite asunder their own tongues with very wrath, that they have not as yet the power to pull down the temples which they never built, and to level them with the ground. It was no mean thing which he purposed. To perform a work so majestical and stately was no small charge. Therefore he incited all men unto bountiful contribution, and procured towards it with all his power, gold, silver, brass, iron, wood, precious stones, in great abundance[65]. Yea, moreover, "Because I have (saith David) "a joy in the house of my God, I have of "mine own gold and silver, besides all that "I have prepared for the house of the sanc-"tuary, given to the house of my God three "thousand talents of gold, even the gold of "Ophir, seven thousand talents of fined sil-"ver[66]." After the overthrow of this first house of God, a second was instead thereof erected; but with so great odds, that they[67] wept which had seen the former, and beheld how much this later came behind it, the beauty whereof notwithstanding was such, that even this was also the wonder of the whole world. Besides which Temple, there were both in other parts of the land, and even in Jerusalem, by process of time, no small number of synagogues for men to resort unto. Our Saviour himself, and after him the Apostles, frequented both the one and the other.

[2.] The Church of Christ which was in Jerusalem, and held that profession which had not the public allowance and countenance of authority, could not so long use the exercise

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[56] Gen. iii. 8.
[57] Gen. iv. 3.
[58] Gen. xiii. 4.
[59] Gen. xxii. 1.
[60] Gen. xxi. 33.
[61] Exod. xxvi.
[62] Deut. xii. 5—7.
[63] 2 Chron. iii. 1.
[64] 2 Chron. vi. 7. Psal. cxxxii. 3—5.
[65] 1 Chron. xxii. 14.
[66] 1 Chron. xxix. 3, 4.
[67] Ezra iii. 12. Hag. ii. 2.

of Christian religion but in private only [68]. So that as Jews they had access to the temple and synagogues, where God was served after the custom of the Law; but for that which they did as Christians, they were of necessity forced other where to assemble themselves [69]. And as God gave increase to his Church, they sought out both there and abroad for that purpose not the fittest (for so the times would not suffer them to do) but the safest places they could. In process of time, some whiles by sufferance, some whiles by special leave and favour, they began to erect themselves oratories; not in any sumptuous or stately manner, which neither was possible by reason of the poor estate of the Church, and had been perilous in regard of the world's envy towards them. At the length, when it pleased God to raise up kings and emperors favouring sincerely the Christian truth, that which the Church before either could not or durst not do, was with all alacrity performed. Temples were in all places erected. No cost was spared, nothing judged too dear which that way should be spent. The whole world did seem to exult, that it had occasion of pouring out gifts to so blessed a purpose. That cheerful devotion which David this way did exceedingly delight to behold, and wish that the same in the Jewish people might be perpetual [70], was then in Christian people every where to be seen.

[3.] Their actions, till this day always accustomed to be spoken of with great honour, are now called openly into question. They, and as many as have been followers of their example in that thing, we especially that worship God either in temples which their hands made, or which other men sithence have framed by the like pattern, are in that respect charged no less than with the very sin of idolatry. Our churches, in the foam of that good spirit which directeth such fiery tongues, they term spitefully the temples of Baal, idle synagogues, abominable styes [71].

XII. Wherein the first thing which moveth them thus to cast up their poison, are certain solemnities usual at the first erection of churches. Now although the same should be blame-worthy, yet this age thanks be to God hath reasonably well forborne to incur the danger of any such blame. It cannot be laid to many men's charge at this day living, either that they have been so curious as to trouble bishops with placing the first stone in the Churches they built, or so scrupulous, as after the erection of them to make any great ado for their dedication. In which kind notwithstanding as we do neither allow unmeet, nor purpose the stiff defence of any unnecessary custom heretofore received [72]: so we know no reason wherefore churches should be the worse, if at the first erecting of them, at the making of them public, at the time when they are delivered as it were into God's own possession, and when the use whereunto they shall ever serve is established, ceremonies fit to betoken such intents and to accompany such actions be usual, as in the purest times they have been [73]. When Constantine [74] had finished

The solemnity of erecting churches condemned by Bar. p. 130. The hallowing and dedicating of them scorned, p. 141.

[68] Acts i. 13. [69] Acts ii. 1, 46.

[70] 1 Chron. xxix. 17, 18.

[71] [Hooker seems here to be quoting some tract of Henry Barrow's: probably "A Brief Discovery "of the False Church," London, 1590; reprinted in 1707. But the editor has not as yet been able to meet with that pamphlet.]

[72] Durand. Rational. lib. i. cap. 6. Decr. Grat. III. Tit. de Consecratione, Dist. i. c. 2. "Taber-"naculum." Gregor. Magn. Epist. x. 12. [al. xii. 11.] and vii. 72. [ix. 70.] and viii. 63. [x. 66. The passage from the Decretal grounds the principle of consecration on the authority of the Old Testament, and transfers it *a fortiori* to the Christian Dispensation. Durandus (who wrote in the thirteenth century) gives a minute detail of the ceremonies used in his time. Of the "unnecessary "customs" referred to by Hooker, and of the manner in which they had come to be blended with the simple and noble form still retained in the practice of the English Church, the following may serve as a specimen. "Quarto, dicendum est "qualiter Ecclesia consecratur. Et quidem om-"nibus de Ecclesia ejectis, solo Diacono ibi rema-"nente incluso, Episcopus cum Clero ante fores "Ecclesiæ aquam non sine sale benedicit; interim "intrinsecus ardent xii luminaria ante xii cruces "in parietibus Ecclesiæ depictas. Postmodum "vero clero et populo insequente circumeundo "Ecclesiam exterius cum falculo hyssopi, parie-"tes cum aqua benedicta aspergit, et qualibet "vice ad januam Ecclesiæ veniens percutit super-"liminare cum baculo pastorali, dicens, Attollite "portas principes vestras, &c. Diaconus de intus "respondet, Quis est iste Rex gloriæ? Cui Pon-"tifex, Dominus fortis, &c. Tertia vero vice, re-"serato ostio, ingreditur Pontifex ecclesiam cum "paucis ex ministris, clero et populo foris manente, "dicens, Pax huic domui; et dicet litanias." Let this be compared with the corresponding part of the service drawn up by Bishop Andrews, and now commonly used. The passages from St. Gregory are official letters, a few out of many, exhibiting the form in which, as Bishop of Rome, he was accustomed to issue his license to his suffragans for dedication of a Church or Chapel. There are two conditions on which he invariably insists: a certain fixed endowment, and sufficient security that the spot had never been used as a burying place before: the latter, because (say the Benedictine editors) "periculum erat ne cultus sanctis Martyri-"bus debitus corporibus pridem hoc in loco sepul-"tis reddi putaretur."]

[73] Ἐγκαίνια τιμᾶσθαι παλαιὸς νόμος, καὶ καλῶς ἔχων, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ νέα τιμᾶσθαι δι' ἐγκαινίων. Καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις, ἑκάστης τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ περιτροπῆς τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἐπαγούσης, ἵνα μὴ ἐξίτηλα τῷ χρόνῳ γένηται τὰ καλά. Greg. Nazian Orat. εἰς τὴν κυριακήν. [Orat. 43. init.]

[74] Vide Euseb. de vita Constant. lib. iv. c. 41. 43—45.

an house for the service of God at Jerusalem, the dedication he judged a matter not unworthy, about the solemn performance whereof the greatest part of the bishops in Christendom should meet together. Which thing they did at the emperor's motion, each most willingly setting forth that action to their power; some with orations, some with sermons, some with the sacrifice of prayers unto God for the peace of the world, for the Church's safety, for the emperor's and his children's good [75]. By Athanasius [76] the like is recorded concerning a bishop of Alexandria, in a work of the like devout magnificence. So that whether emperors or bishops in those days were churchfounders, the solemn dedication of churches they thought not to be a work in itself either vain or superstitious. Can we judge it a thing seemly for any man to go about the building of an house to the God of heaven with no other apparance, than if his end were to rear up a kitchen or a parlour for his own use? Or when a work of such nature is finished, remaineth there nothing but presently to use it, and so an end?

[2.] It behoveth that the place where God shall be served by the whole Church, be a public place, for the avoiding of privy conventicles, which covered with pretence of religion may serve unto dangerous practices. Yea, although such assemblies be bad indeed for religion's sake, hurtful nevertheless they may easily prove, as well in regard of their fitness to serve the turn of heretics, and such as privily will soonest adventure to instil their poison into men's minds; as also for the occasion which thereby is given to malicious persons, both of suspecting and of traducing with more colourable show those actions, which in themselves being holy, should be so ordered that no man might probably otherwise think of them. Which considerations have by so much the greater weight, for that of these inconveniences the Church heretofore had so plain experience, when Christian men were driven to use secret meetings, because the liberty of public places was not granted them [77]. There are which hold, that the presence of a Christian multitude, and the duties of religion performed amongst them, do make the place of their assembly public [78]; even as the presence of the king and his retinue maketh any man's house a court. But this I take to be an error, inasmuch as the only thing which maketh any place public is the public assignment thereof unto such duties. As for the multitude there assembled, or the duties which they perform, it doth not appear how either should be of force to infuse any such prerogative.

[3.] Nor doth the solemn dedication of churches serve only to make them public, but farther also to surrender up that right which otherwise their founders might have in them, and to make God himself their owner. For which cause at the erection and consecration as well of the tabernacle as of the temple, it pleased the Almighty to give a manifest sign that he took possession of both [79]. Finally, it notifieth in solemn manner the holy and religious use whereunto it is intended such houses shall be put [80].

[4.] These things the wisdom of Solomon did not account superfluous [81]. He knew how easily that which was meant should be holy and sacred, might be drawn from the use whereunto it was first provided; he knew how bold men are to take even from God himself; how hardly that house would be kept from impious profanation he knew; and right wisely therefore endeavoured by such solemnities to leave in the minds of men that impression which might somewhat restrain their boldness, and nourish a reverend affection towards the house of God [82]. For which cause when the first house was destroyed, and a new in the stead thereof erected by the children of

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[75] [Euseb. iv. 45. Οἱ δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ λειτουργοὶ εὐχαῖς ἅμα καὶ διαλέξεσι τὴν ἑορτὴν κατεκόσμουν· οἱ μὲν τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς βασιλέως τὴν εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων σωτῆρα δεξίωσιν ἀνυμνοῦντες, τὰς δὲ περὶ τὸ μαρτύριον μεγαλουργίας διεξίοντες τῷ λόγῳ· οἱ δὲ ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν θείων δογμάτων πανηγυρικαῖς θεολογίαις, πανδαίσιαν λογικῶν τροφῶν ταῖς πάντων παραδίδοντες ἀκοαῖς· ἄλλοι δὲ ἑρμήνειας τῶν θείων ἀναγνωσμάτων ἐποιοῦντο, τὰς ἀπορρήτους ἀποκαλύπτοντες θεωρίας· οἱ δὲ μὴ διὰ τούτων χωρεῖν οἷοί τε, θυσίαις ἀναίμοις καὶ μυστικαῖς ἱερουργίαις τὸ θεῖον ἱλάσκοντο, ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς εἰρήνης, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Θεοῦ, αὐτοῦ τε βασιλέως ὑπερ τοῦ τοσούτων αἰτίου, παίδων τ' αὐτοῦ θεοφιλῶν, ἱκετηρίους εὐχὰς τῷ Θέῳ προσαναφέροντες.]

[76] Athanas. Apol. ad Constantium, [§ 15. ὁ μακαρίτης Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πατέρες . . . συναγάγοντες καὶ τελειώσαντες τὸ ἔργον, ἠχαρίστησαν τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἐγκαινία ἐπιτελέσαντες. I. 685. Ed. Colon. 1686.]

[77] [See the Apologies of Tertullian and Justin Martyr.]

[78] [See "A Declaration of the Faith and Order "owned and practised in the Congregational "Churches in England; agreed upon and consented unto by their elders and messengers in "their meeting at the Savoy, Octob. 12, 1658." London, 1659. p. 23, 24. "The Lord Jesus call-"eth out of the world unto communion with him-"self those that are given unto him by his Fath-"er; . . . . . Those thus called, he commandeth to "walk together in particular societies or Church-"es . . . . Churches thus gathered and assembling "for the worship of God, *are thereby visible* and "public, and their assemblies (in what place soev-"er they are) according as they have liberty or "opportunity, are therefore Church or public as-"semblies."

[79] Exod. xl. 34. 1 Reg. viii. 11.

[80] Exod. xl. 9.

[81] 1 Reg. viii.

[82] Lev. xvi. 2. The place named Holy.

Israel after their return from captivity, they kept the dedication even of this house also with joy [83].

[5.] The argument which our Saviour useth against profaners of the temple [84], he taketh from the use whereunto it was with solemnity consecrated. And as the prophet Jeremy forbiddeth the carrying of burdens on the sabbath, because that was a sanctified day [85]; so because the temple was a place sanctified, our Lord would not suffer no not the carriage of a vessel through the temple [86]. These two commandments therefore are in the Law conjoined, "Ye shall "keep my sabbaths, and reverence my "sanctuary [87]."

Out of those the Apostle's words, "Have "ye not houses to eat and drink [88]?"—albeit temples such as now were not then erected for the exercise of the Christian religion, it hath been nevertheless not absurdly conceived [89] that he teacheth what difference should be made between house and house [90]; that what is fit for the dwelling-place of God, and what for man's habitation he sheweth; he requireth that Christian men at their own home take common food, and in the house of the Lord none but that food which is heavenly; he instructeth them, that as in the one place they use to refresh their bodies, so they may in the other learn to seek the nourishment of their souls; and as there they sustain temporal life, so here they would learn to make provision for eternal. Christ could not suffer that the temple should serve for a place of mart, nor the Apostle of Christ that the church should be made an inn.

[6.] When therefore we sanctify or hallow churches, that which we do is only to testify that we make them places of public resort, that we invest God himself with them, that we sever them from common uses. In which action, other solemnities than such as are decent and fit for that purpose we approve none.

Indeed we condemn not all as unmeet the like whereunto have been either devised or used haply amongst Idolaters. For why should conformity with them in matter of opinion be lawful when they think that which is true, if in action when they do that which is meet it be not lawful to be like unto them? Are we to forsake any true opinion because idolaters have maintained it? Nor to shun any requisite action only because we have in the practice thereof been prevented by idolaters. It is no impossible thing but that sometimes they may judge as rightly what is decent about such external affairs of God, as in greater things what is true. Not therefore whatsoever idolaters have either thought or done, but let whatsoever they have either thought or done *idolatrously* be *so far forth* abhorred. For of that which is good even in evil things God is author.

XIII. Touching the names of Angels and Saints whereby the most of our churches are called; as the custom of so naming them is very ancient, so neither was the cause thereof at the first, nor is the use and continuance with us at this present, hurtful. That churches were consecrated unto none but the Lord only, the very general name itself doth sufficiently shew, inasmuch as by plain grammatical construction, church doth signify no other thing than the Lord's house [91]. And because the multitude as of persons so of things particular causeth variety of proper names to be devised for distinction sake, founders of churches did herein that which best liked their own conceit at the present time; yet each intending that as oft as those buildings came to be mentioned, the name should put men in mind of some memorable thing or person. Thus therefore it cometh to pass that all churches have had their names, some as memorials of Peace, some of Wisdom, some in memory of the Trinity itself, some of Christ under sundry titles, of the blessed Virgin not a few, many of one Apostle, Saint or Martyr, many of all [92].

Of the names whereby we distinguish our churches.

[83] Ezra vi. 16.
[84] Matt. xxi. 13.
[85] Jer. xvii. 24.
[86] Mark xi. 16.
[87] Levit. xxvi. 2.
[88] 1 Cor. xi. 22.
[89] Pet. Cluniac. [cont. Petrobrus. Epist. in Biblioth. Patr. Colon. t. xiii. 221, 2. "Recolite Epistolas Apostolorum, et ipsius Pauli diversis Ecclesiis missas. Si vero appellatione Ecclesiarum spiritualem magis fidelium congregationem quam corporalem structuram fieri dixeritis: videte quid Paulus Corinthios corripiens dicat; 'Convenientibus,' inquit, 'vobis in Ecclesia, audio scissuras esse; et ex parte credo.' Et post pauca, 'Nunquid domos non habetis ad manducandum et bibendum, aut Ecclesiam Dei contemnitis?' Docet summus post Christum Ecclesiæ Magister domorum et domorum distantiam; et quid domui divinæ, quid humanæ conveniat, more suo lucide manifestat. Non patitur crimina carnis in domo Spiritus celebrari, sed vult Christianos in domibus suis communes cibos edere, in domo autem Domini dominicam tantum cœnam manducare. Instruit eos, ut sicut in illis victum corporis sic in ista victum animæ quærere discant: et sicut in illis vitam mortalem, sic in ista vitam sibi provideant sempiternam. Imitatus est magistrum discipulus Christum, in quo loquebatur Christus. Et sicut illa templum Dei noluit esse domum negotiationis, sic iste Ecclesiam Dei non est passus fieri domum comestionis."
The date of this tract is 1147, according to Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. xv. l. 49. c. 24.]
[90] [See Mede's Works, B. ii. Disc. of Churches, p. 319—340.]
[91] From Κυριακὴ, *Kyrc*, and by adding letters of aspiration, *Chyrch*.
[92] Vid. Socr. lib. i. c. 16. ['Εν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει (Constantinople) δύο μὲν οἰκοδομήσας ἐκκλησίας, μίαν ἐπωνόμασεν Εἰρήνην, ἑτέραν δὲ τὴν τῶν 'Αποστόλων ἐπώνυμον.] Evagr. lib. iv. c. 30. [c. 31. περὶ τοῦ

[2.] In which respect their commendable purpose being not of every one understood, they have been in latter ages construed as though they had superstitiously meant, either that those places which were denominated of Angels and Saints should serve for the worship of so glorious creatures, or else those glorified creatures for defence, protection, and patronage of such places. A thing which the ancient do utterly disclaim. "[93] To them (saith St. Augustine) "we appoint no churches, because they are "not to us as gods." Again[94], "The na- "tions to their gods erected temples, we not "temples unto our Martyrs as unto gods, "but memorials as unto dead men, whose "spirits with God are still living[95]."

[3.] Divers considerations there are, for which Christian churches might first take their names of Saints: as either because by the ministry of Saints it pleased God there to shew some rare effect of his power; or else in regard of death which those saints having suffered for the testimony of Jesus Christ did thereby make the places where they died venerable; or thirdly, for that it liked good and virtuous men to give such occasion of mentioning them often, to the end that the naming of their persons might cause inquiry to be made, and meditation to be had of their virtues. Wherefore seeing that we cannot justly account it superstition to give unto churches those forerehearsed names, as memorials either of holy persons or things, if it be plain that their founders did with such meaning name them, shall not we in otherwise taking them offer them injury? Or if it be obscure or uncertain what they meant, yet this construction being more favourable, charity I hope constraineth no man which standeth doubtful of their minds, to lean to the hardest and worst interpretation that their words can carry.

[4.] Yea although it were clear that they all (for the error of some is manifest in this behalf) had therein a superstitious intent, wherefore should their fault prejudice us, who (as all men know) do use but by way of mere distinction the names which they of superstition gave? In the use of those names whereby we distinguish both days and months are we culpable of superstition, because they were, who first invented them[96]? The sign of Castor and Pollux superstitiously given unto that ship wherein the Apostle sailed, polluteth not the Evangelist's pen, who thereby doth but distinguish that ship from others[97]. If to Daniel there had been given no other name but only Belteshazzar, given him in honour of the Babylonian idol Belti[98], should their idolatry which were authors of that name cleave unto every man which had so termed him by way of personal difference only? Were it not to satisfy the minds of the simpler sort of men, these nice curiosities are not worthy the labour which we bestow to answer them.

XIV. The like unto this is a fancy which they have against the fashion of our churches, as being framed according to the pattern of the Jewish temple. A fault no less grievous, if so be it were true, than if some king should build his mansion-house by the model of Solomon's palace. So far forth as our churches and their temple have one end, what should let but that they may lawfully have one form? The temple was

Of the fashion of our churches.

μεγάλου ναοῦ τῆς ἁγίας Σοφίας, *καὶ τῶν ἁγιῶν* Ἀποστόλων. Ἀνέστησε δὲ (Justinian) *πολλοὺς μὲν ἐς κάλλος ἐξησκημένους τῷ Θείῳ καὶ τοῖς* Ἁγίοις *σηκούς.*] Hist. Trip. lib. iv. c. 18. ["Hoc tempore imperator "(Constantius) majorem Ecclesiam fabricabat "quæ nunc Sophia vocitatur, et est copulata Ec- "clesiæ, quæ dicitur Irene."]

[93] Vid. Aug. lib. viii. de Civ. Dei, c. 27. [t. vii. 217. "Nec tamen nos cisdem Martyribus templa, sacer- "dotia, sacra et sacrificia constituimus: quoniam "non ipsi, sed Deus eorum nobis est Deus."]

[94] Ibid. lib. xxii. c. 10. [p. 673. "Illi talibus "Diis suis et templa ædificaverunt, et statuerunt "aras, et sacerdotes instituerunt, et sacrificia fece- "runt. Nos autem Martyribus nostris non templa "sicut diis, sed memorias sicut hominibus mortuis, "quorum apud Deum vivunt spiritus, fabricamus." See Bingham, Antiq. viii. 1. 8; 9. 8. 9.] Epis. 49. [al. 102. §. 20.] ad Deo gra. [t. xi. 280. "Neque illic "excusant impii sua sacrilega sacra et simulacra, "quod eleganter interpretantur quid quæque signi- "ficent. Omnis quippe illa interpretatio ad creatu- "ram refertur, non ad Creatorem, cui uni debetur "servitus religionis illa, quæ uno nomine *λατρεία* "Græce appellatur.....Sancti angeli non approbant "sacrificium, nisi quod ex doctrina veræ sapien- "tiæ, veræque religionis offertur uni vero Deo, cui "sancta societate deserviunt. Proinde sicut impia "superbia, sive hominum sive dæmonum, sibi hos "divinos honores exhiberi vel jubet vel cupit; ita "pia humilitas vel hominum vel angelorum sanc- "torum hæc sibi oblata recusavit, et cui deberen- "tur ostendit. Cujus rei manifestissima in sacris "literis nostris exempla monstrantur."]

[95] The duty which Christian men performed in keeping festival dedications, St. Basil termeth *λατρείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ*, acknowledging the same to have been withal *τιμὴν εἰς τοὺς Μάρτυρας*. Basil. in Psal. cxiv. [*ὑμῖν μὲν οὖν, καὶ ὕπνου καὶ ἀναπαύσεως τὴν εἰς τοὺς μάρτυρας τιμὴν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ λατρείαν προτιμῶσιν, ἕτοιμος ὁ μισθός.* t. i. 199.]

[96] [Compare what is said of the Anabaptists, Pref. c. 8; and see Saravia, "Epist. ad N. quen- "dam." art. 18. in which he reasons in the same way with Hooker, about the names of the days of the week.]

[97] Acts xxviii. 11.

[98] Dan. iv. 8. Vide Scal. de Emendat. Temp. lib. vi. p. 277. ["Bel, et Belti, sunt nomina Deo- "rum utriusque sexus. Megasthenes: *οὔτε Βῆλος "ἐμὸς πρόγονος, οὔτε βασίλεια Βῆλτις.* Tamen apud "Danielem Βῆλτις est Deus non Dea: cap. iv. "'Daniel, cujus nomen Belti-schatzar juxta nomen "Dei mei.'" ed. Paris. 1583.]

for sacrifice, and therefore had rooms to that purpose such as ours have none. Our churches are places provided that the people might there assemble themselves in due and decent manner, according to their several degrees and orders. Which thing being common unto us with Jews, we have in this respect our churches divided by certain partitions, although not so many in number as theirs. They had their several for heathen nations, their several for the people of their own nation, their several for men, their several for women, their several for the priests, and for the high priest alone their several [99]. There being in ours for local distinction between the clergy and the rest (which yet we do not with any great strictness or curiosity observe neither) but one partition [1]; the cause whereof at the first (as it seemeth) was, that as many as were capable of the holy mysteries might there assemble themselves and no other creep in amongst them: this is now made a matter so heinous, as if our religion thereby were become even plain Judaism, and as though we retained a most holy place, whereinto there might not any but the high priest alone enter, according to the custom of the Jews [2].

XV. Some it highly displeaseth, that so great expenses this way are employed. "The mother of such magnifi- "cence" (they think) "is but "only a proud ambitious de- "sire to be spoken of far and wide. Sup- "pose we that God himself delighteth to "dwell sumptuously, or taketh pleasure in "chargeable pomp? No; then was the "Lord most acceptably served, when his "temples were rooms borrowed within the "houses of poor men. This was suitable "unto the nakedness of Jesus Christ and "the simplicity of his Gospel." The sumptuousness of churches.

[2.] What thoughts or cogitations they had which were authors of those things, the use and benefit whereof hath descended unto ourselves, as we do not know, so we need not search. It cometh we grant many times to pass, that the works of men being the same, their drifts and purposes therein are divers. The charge of Herod about the temple of God was ambitious, yet Solomon's virtuous, Constantine's holy. But howsoever their hearts are disposed by whom any such thing is done in the world, shall we think that it baneth the work which they leave behind them, or taketh away from others the use and benefit thereof?

[3.] Touching God himself, hath he any where revealed that it is his delight to dwell beggarly? And that he taketh no pleasure to be worshipped saving only in poor cottages? Even then was the Lord as acceptably honoured of his people as ever, when the stateliest places and things in the whole world were sought out to adorn his temple. This most suitable [3], decent, and fit for the greatness of Jesus Christ, for the sublimity of his gospel; except we think of Christ and his gospel as the officers of Julian did [4]. As therefore the son of Sirach giveth verdict concerning those things which God hath wrought, "A man need not say, "'this is worse than that, this more accept- "able to God, that less;' for in their season "they are all worthy praise [5];" the like we may also conclude as touching these two so contrary ways of providing in meaner or in costlier sort for the honour of Almighty God, "A man need not say, 'this is worse "than that, this more acceptable to God, "that less;' for with him they are in their "season both allowable:" the one when the state of the Church is poor, the other when God hath enriched it with plenty.

When they, which had seen the beauty of the first temple built by Solomon in the days of his great prosperity and peace,

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[99] [Joseph. A. J. xv. 11. 5. ed. Oberthur. *περιεῖχε ἱερεῖον, λιθίνου ὀρυφάκτου, γραφὴ κωλύων εἰσιέναι τὸν ἀλλοεθνῆ . . . ἐσωτέρω δὲ γυναιξὶν ἄβατον ἦν τὸ ἱερόν. ἐκείνου δ' ἐνδότερον τρίτον, ὅπου τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν εἰσελθεῖν ἐξὸν ἦν μόνοις.* comp. Heb. ix. 6, 7. For the corresponding distinctions in the Primitive Church, see Bingham, Antiq. viii. 4, 5, 6.]

[1] [Sparrow's Rationale of the Com. Prayer, 325. "The chancel was divided from the body of the "Church, *Cancellis:* whence it is called the Chan- "cel. This was, as was said, peculiar to the "Priests and sacred persons. In it were, at least "in some principal churches, these divisions; Cho- "rus Cantorum, the Quire, where was an high seat "for the bishop, and other stalls or seats for the rest "of the quire: .....and the Chancel properly, that "which of old was called *ἅγιον βῆμα*, 'the Sanctua- "ry,' which was separated from the rest of the "Church with rails, and whither indeed none but "sacred persons entered; whereas the laity enter- "ed into the other."

Bancroft, Survey, 260. "There is in every "church for the most part a distinction of places "betwixt the clergy and the laity. We term one "place the chancel and another the body of the "church: which manner of distinction doth great- "ly offend the tender consciences (forsooth) of the "purer part of our reformers. Insomuch as Mr. "Gilby, a chief man in his time among them, doth "term the quire a cage, and reckoneth that separa- "tion of the ministers from the congregation one of "the hundred points of Popery, which, he affirm- "eth, do yet remain in the church of England." "The book from which he quotes is "A View of "Antichrist, his laws and ceremonies in our English "Church unreformed." circ. 1578. Strype, Ann. II. ii. 215.] [2] [T. C. i. 105.]

[3] "Ἐργον τὸ μέγα καὶ καλόν· τοῦ γὰρ τοιούτου ἡ θεωρία θαυμαστή. Arist. Eth. lib. iv. c. 2. Τὰ *αἰσθήσει καλὰ καὶ νοήσει καλῶν εἰκόνες.* Philo Jud.

[4] "Fœlix, thesauri imperialis quæstor, conspica- "tus sacrorum vasorum pretia; En, inquit, quali- "bus vasis ministratur Mariæ filio!" Theodoret. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 12.

[5] Ecclus. xxxix. 34.

beheld how far it excelled the second which had not builders of like ability, the tears of their grieved eyes the prophets endeavoured with comforts to wipe away [6]. Whereas if the house of God were by so much the more perfect by how much the glory thereof is less, they should have done better to rejoice than weep, their prophets better to reprove than comfort.

It being objected against the Church in the times of universal persecution, that her service done to God was not solemnly performed in temples fit for the honour of divine majesty, their most convenient answer was, that "The best temples which we can "dedicate to God, are our sanctified souls "and bodies [7]." Whereby it plainly appeareth how the Fathers, when they were upbraided with that defect, comforted themselves with the meditation of God's most gracious and merciful nature, who did not therefore the less accept of their hearty affection and zeal, rather than took any great delight, or imagined any high perfection in such their want of external ornaments, which when they wanted, the cause was their only lack of ability; ability serving, they wanted them not. Before the emperor Constantine's time [8], under Severus, Gordian, Philip, and Galienus, the state of Christian affairs being tolerable, the former buildings which were but of mean and small estate contented them not, spacious and ample churches they erected throughout every city. No envy was able to be their hindrance, no practice of Satan or fraud of men available against their proceedings herein, while they continued as yet worthy to feel the aid of the arm of God extended over them for their safety. These churches Dioclesian [9] caused by solemn edict to be afterwards overthrown. Maximinus with like authority giving leave to erect them, the hearts of all men were even wrapt with divine joy, to see those places, which tyrannous impiety had laid waste, recovered as it were out of mortal calamity, Churches [10] "reared up to an height immeasurable, and "adorned with far more beauty in their res-"toration, than their founders before had "given them." Whereby we see how most Christian minds stood then affected, we see how joyful they were to behold the sumptuous stateliness of houses built unto God's glory.

[4.] If we should, over and besides this, allege the care which was had, that all things about the tabernacle of Moses might be as beautiful, gorgeous, and rich, as art could make them; or what travail and cost was bestowed that the goodliness of the temple might be a spectacle of admiration to all the world: this they will say was figurative, and served by God's appointment but for a time, to shadow out the true everlasting glory of a more divine sanctuary; whereinto Christ being long sithence entered, it seemeth that all those curious exornations should rather cease. Which thing we also ourselves would grant, if the use thereof had been merely and only mystical. But sith the Prophet David doth mention a natural conveniency which such kind of bounteous expenses have, as well for that we do thereby give unto God a testimony of our [11] cheerful affection which thinketh nothing too dear to be bestowed about the furniture of his service; as also because it serveth to the world for a witness of his [12] almightiness, whom we outwardly honour with the chiefest of outward things, as being of all things himself incomparably the greatest. Besides, were it not also strange, if God should have made such store of glorious creatures on earth, and leave them all to be consumed in secular vanity, allowing none but the baser sort to be employed in his own service? To set forth the [13] majesty of kings his vicegerents in this world, the most gorgeous and rare treasures which the world hath are procured. We think belike that he will accept what the meanest of them would disdain [14].

[5.] If there be great care to build and beautify these corruptible sanctuaries, little or none that the living temples of the Holy Ghost, the dearly redeemed souls of the people of God, may be edified; huge expenses upon timber and stone, but towards the relief of the poor small devotion; cost this way infinite, and in the meanwhile charity cold: we have in such case just oc-

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[6] Hag. ii. 5, 9.

[7] Minuc. Fel. in Octav. [c. 32. "Putatis autem "nos occultare quod colimus, si delubra et aras "non habemus?.....Nonne melius in nostra dedi-"candus est mente? in nostro imo consecrandus "est pectore?"]

[8] Euseb. lib. viii. c. 1. [Ὡς δ' ἄν τις διαγράψειε τὰς μυριάνδρους ἐκείνας ἐπισυναγωγὰς καὶ τὰ πλήθη τῶν κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἀθροισμάτων, τάς τε ἐπισήμους ἐν τοῖς προσευκτηρίοις συνδρομάς; ὧν δὴ ἕνεκα μηδαμῶς ἔτι τοῖς παλαιοῖς οἰκοδομήμασιν ἀρκούμενοι, εὐρείας εἰς πλάτος ἀνὰ πᾶσας τὰς πόλεις ἐκ θεμελίων ἀνίστων ἐκκλησίας. ταῦτα δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις προΐοντα, ὀσημέραι τε εἰς αὔξησιν καὶ μέγεθος ἐπιδίδοντα, οὐδεὶς ἀνέτρεπε φθόνος. οὐδέ τις δαίμων πονηρὸς οἷός τε ἦν βασκαίνειν, οὐδ' ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβουλαῖς κωλύειν, ἐς ὅσον ἡ θεία καὶ οὐράνιος χεὶρ ἔσκεπέ τε καὶ ἐφορᾶτο, οἷα δὴ ἄξιον ὄντα τὸν ἑαυτῆς λαόν.]

[9] [Ibid. c. 2. τῶν προσευκτηρίων τοῖς οἴκους ἐξ ὕψους εἰς ἔδαφος αὐτοῖς θεμελίοις καταρριπτουμένους .... αὐτοῖς ἐπείδομεν ὀφθαλμοῖς.]

[10] Euseb. lib. x. c. 2. [καί τις ἔνθεος ἅπασιν ἐπήνθει χάρα, πάντα τόκον τὸν πρὸ μικροῦ ταῖς τῶν τυράννων ὑσσεβείαις ἠρειπωμένον, ὥσπερ ἐκ μακρᾶς καὶ θανατηφόρου λύμης ἀναβιώσκοντα θεωμένοις, νεώς τε εὐθὺς ἐκ βάθρων εἰς ὕψος ἄπειρον ἐγειρομένους, καὶ πολὺ κρείττονα τὴν ἀγλαΐαν τῶν πάλαι πεπολιορκημένων ἀπολαμβάνοντας.]

[11] 1 Chron. xxviii. 14. [xxix. 2, 3,6,9,14.]

[12] 2 Chron. ii. 5. [13] Matt. vi. 29.

[14] Malac. i. 8.

casion to make complaint as St. Jerome did, "The walls of the church there are enow "contented to build, and to underset it with "goodly pillars, the marbles are polished, "the roofs shine with gold, the altar hath "precious stones to adorn it; and of Christ's "ministers no choice at all[15]." The same Jerome both in that place and[16] elsewhere debaseth with like intent the glory of such magnificence, (a thing whereunto men's affection in those times needed no spur,) thereby to extol the necessity sometimes of charity and alms, sometimes of other the most principal duties belonging unto Christian men; which duties were neither so highly esteemed as they ought, and being compared with that in question, the directest sentence we can give of them both, as unto me it seemeth, is this: "God, who requi-"reth the one as necessary, accepteth the "other also as being an honourable work."

What holiness and virtue we ascribe to the Church more than other places.

XVI. Our opinion concerning the force and virtue which such places have is, I trust, without any blemish or stain of heresy. Churches receive as every thing else their chief perfection from the end whereunto they serve. Which end being the public worship of God, they are in this consideration houses of greater dignity than any provided for meaner purposes. For which cause they seem after a sort even to mourn, as being injured and defrauded of their right, when places not sanctified as they are prevent them *unnecessarily* in that preeminence and honour. Whereby also it doth come to pass, that the service of God hath not then itself such perfection of grace and comeliness, as when the dignity of place which it wisheth for doth concur.

[2.] Again, albeit the true worship of God be to God in itself acceptable, who respecteth not so much in what place, as with what affection he is served; and therefore Moses in the midst of the sea, Job on the dunghill, Ezechias in bed, Jeremy in mire, Jonas in the whale, Daniel in the den, the children in the furnace, the thief on the cross, Peter and Paul in prison, calling unto God were heard, as St. Basil noteth[17]: manifest notwithstanding it is, that the very majesty and holiness of the place, where God is worshipped, hath *in regard of us* great virtue, force, and efficacy, for that it serveth as a sensible help to stir up devotion, and *in that respect* no doubt *bettereth* even our holiest and best actions in this kind. As therefore we every where exhort all men to worship God, even so for performance of this service by the people of God assembled, we think not any place *so good* as the church, neither any exhortation so fit as that of David, "O worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness[18]."

Their pretence that would have Churches utterly razed.

XVII. For of our churches thus it becometh us to esteem, howsoever others rapt with the pang of a furious zeal do pour out against them devout blasphemies, crying "Down with them, down with "them, even to the very ground[19]: for to "idolatry they have been abused[20]. And "the places where idols have been wor-"shipped are by the law of God devote to "utter destruction[21]. For execution of "which law the kings that were godly,

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[15] Ad Nepotian. de vita Cleric. [§. 10. "Multi "ædificant parietes, et columnas Ecclesiæ sub-"struunt; marmora nitent, auro splendent laquea-"ria, gemmis altare distinguitur; et ministrorum "Christi nulla electio est."]

[16] Ad Demetriad. [Ep. 8. al. 97. "Alii ædificent "Ecclesias, vestiant parietes marmorum crustis, "columnarum moles advehant, earumque deaurent "capita, pretiosum ornatum non sententia; ebore "argentoque valvas, et gemmis aurata distinguant "altaria. Non reprehendo, non abnuo. Unusquis-"que in sensu suo abundet. Meliusque est hoc "facere, quam repositis opibus incubare. Sed tibi "aliud propositum est: Christum vestire in pau-"peribus; visitare in languentibus; pascere in esu-"rientibus; suscipere in his qui tecto indigent, et "maxime in domesticis fidei; virginum alere mon-"asteria; servorum Dei et pauperum spiritu habere "curam, qui diebus et noctibus serviant Domino "tuo." t. i. p. 69. [Ad Gaudentium, Epist. 12. [al. 98. 1. 100. "Proh nefas, orbis terrarum ruit, in no-"bis peccata non ruunt! Urbs inclyta et Romani "imperii caput, uno hausta est incendio. Nulla est "regio, quæ non exules Romanos habeat. In cine-"res ac favillas sacræ quondam Ecclesiæ conside-"runt, et tamen studemus avaritiæ. Vivimus quasi "altera die morituri, et ædificamus quasi semper in "hoc sæculo victuri. Auro parietes, auro laquearia, "auro fulgent capita columnarum, et nudus atque "esuriens ante fores nostras Christus in paupere "moritur." t. i. p. 100. This passage however seems to relate to private, not to church, expenses.]

[17] Exhort. ad Bap. et Pœnitent. [The passage does not appear in the Greek copies of St. Basil, but it may be seen in the Latin edition of Musculus, p. 447, having been interpolated, as afterwards appeared, from a Homily on the Woman of Canaan, ascribed to St. Chrysostom, and published as his by Sir. H. Saville, tom. v. p. 188. It stands as follows in the Benedictine edition, t. iii. p. 442. Οὐ ζητεῖται τόπος, ἀλλ' ἀρχὴ τρόπου. Ὁ Ἱερεμίας ἐν βορβόρῳ ἦν, καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἐπεσπάσατο· ὁ Δανιὴλ ἐν λάκκῳ λεόντων, καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἐξενμενίσατο· οἱ παῖδες οἱ τρεῖς ἐν τῇ καμίνῳ ἦσαν, καὶ Θεὸν ὑμνοῦντες ἐδυσώπησαν· ὁ λῃστὴς ἐσταυρώθη, καὶ οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν ὁ σταυρὸς. ἀλλὰ παράδεισον ἤνοιξεν· ὁ Ἰωβ ἐν κοπρίᾳ ἦν, καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἵλεων κατεσκεύασεν· ὁ Ἰωνᾶς ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ τοῦ κήτους, καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ὑπήκοον ἔσχε· .... ὅπισθεν οἱ Ἀιγύπτιοι ἐδίωκον ἔμπροσθεν ἡ θάλασσα, μέση ἡ εὐχή.]

[18] Psal. xcvi. 9.

[19] Psal. cxxxvii. 7.

[20] "Knox is said to have inculcated the maxim, "that the best way to keep the rooks from return-"ing was to pull down their nests." Life by M'Crie, 1. 277.]

[21] Deut. xii. 2.

"Asa [22], Jehoshaphat [23], Ezechia [24], Josi-"ah [25], destroyed all the high places, altars, "groves, which had been erected in Judah "and Israel. He that said, 'thou shalt "have no other gods before my face,' hath "likewise said, 'thou shalt utterly deface "and destroy all these synagogues and "places where such idols have been wor-"shipped.' This law containeth the tem-"poral punishment which God hath set "down, and will that men execute, for the "breach of the other law. They which "spare them therefore do but reserve, as "the hypocrite Saul did [26], execrable things, "to worship God withal."

[2.] The truth is, that as no man serveth God, and loveth him not; so neither can any man sincerely love God, and not extremely abhor that sin, which is the highest degree of treason against the Supreme Guide and Monarch of the whole world, with whose divine authority and power it investeth others. By means whereof the state of idolaters is two ways miserable. First in that which they worship they find no succour [27]; and secondly at his hands whom they ought to serve, there is no other thing to be looked for but the effects of most just displeasure, the [28] withdrawing of grace [29], dereliction in this world, and in the world to come [30] confusion. Paul and Barnabas, when infidels admiring their virtues went about to sacrifice unto them, rent their garments in token of horror, and as frighted persons ran crying through the press of the people, "O men, wherefore do ye these things [31]?" They knew the force of that dreadful curse [32] whereunto idolatry maketh subject. Nor is there cause why the guilty sustaining the same should grudge or complain of injustice. For whatsoever befalleth in that respect [33], themselves have made themselves worthy to suffer it.

[3.] As for those things either *whereon* or else *wherewith* superstition worketh, polluted they are by such *abuse*, and deprived of that dignity which their nature delighteth in. For there is nothing which doth not grieve and as it were even loathe itself, whensoever iniquity causeth it to serve unto vile purposes. Idolatry therefore maketh whatsoever it toucheth the worse. Howbeit, sith creatures which have no understanding can shew no will; and where no will is, there is no sin; and only that which sinneth is subject to *punishment:* which way should any such creature be *punishable* by the law of God? There may be cause sometimes to *abolish* or to *extinguish* them; but surely never by way of punishment *to the things themselves.*

[4.] Yea farther howsoever the law of Moses did punish idolaters, we find not that God hath appointed for us any definite or *certain temporal judgment*, which the Christian magistrate is *of necessity for ever* bound to execute upon *offenders* in that kind, much less upon *things* that way abused as mere *instruments.* For what God did command touching Canaan, the same concerneth not us any otherwise than only as a fearful pattern of his just displeasure and wrath against sinful nations. It teacheth us how *God thought good* to plague and afflict them: it doth not appoint in what form and manner *we ought* to punish the sin of idolatry *in all others.* Unless they will say, that because the Israelites were commanded to make no covenant with the people of that land, therefore leagues and truces made between superstitious persons and such as serve God aright are unlawful altogether; or because God commanded the Israelites to smite the inhabitants of Canaan, and to root them out, that therefore reformed churches are bound to put all others to the edge of the sword.

[5.] Now whereas commandment was also given to destroy *all places* where the Canaanites had served their gods [34], and not to convert any one of them to the honour of the true God; this precept had reference unto a special intent and purpose, which was, that there should be but *only one place* in the whole land, whereunto the people might bring such offerings, gifts, and sacrifices, as their Levitical law did require. By which law, severe charge was given them in that respect not to convert *those places* to the worship of the living God, where nations before them had served idols, "but to seek the place which the Lord "their God should choose out of all their "tribes [35]."

Besides, it is reason we should likewise consider how great a difference there is between their proceedings, who erect a new commonwealth, which is to have neither people nor law, neither regiment nor religion the same that was; and theirs who only reform a decayed estate by reducing it to that perfection from which it hath swerved. In this case, we are to retain as much, in the other as little, of former things as we may.

Sith therefore examples have not *generally* the force of laws which all men ought to keep, but of counsels only and persuasions not amiss to be followed by them

[22] [2 Chron. xiv. 3.]
[23] 2 Chron xvii. 6.
[24] 2 Chron. xxix. [xxxi?]
[25] 2 Chron. iii. [xxxiv?]
[26] [1 Sam. xv. 15.]
[27] Isa. viii. 21. xlv. 20; Hos. xiv. 4. [3?] Isa. xli. 24; Psalm cxv. 8.
[28] Psalm lxxxi. 13; Rom. i. 24.
[29] Judic. vi. 13.
[30] Apoc. xxi. 8; Isa. ii. 21.
[31] Acts xiv. 14.
[32] Deut. xxviii. 20.
[33] Jer. ii. 17.
[34] Deut. xii. 2.
[35] Deut. xii. 4. 5.

whose case is the like; surely where cases are so unlike as theirs and ours, I see not how that which they did should induce, much less any way enforce us to the same practice; especially considering that Groves and Hill altars were, while they did remain, both dangerous in regard of the secret access which people superstitiously given might have always thereunto with ease, neither could they, remaining, serve with any fitness unto better purpose: whereas our temples (their former abuse being by order of law removed) are not only free from such peril, but withal so conveniently framed for the people of God to serve and honour him therein, that no man beholding them can choose but think it exceeding great pity that they should be ever any otherwise employed.

"Yea but the cattle of Amalek" (you will say) "were *fit* for sacrifice; and this was "the very conceit which sometime deceived "Saul." It was so. Nor do I any thing doubt but that Saul upon this conceit might even lawfully have offered to God those reserved spoils, had not the Lord *in that particular case* given *special charge* to the contrary.

As therefore notwithstanding the commandment of Israel to destroy Canaanites, idolaters may be converted and live: so the temples which have served idolatry as instruments may be sanctified again, and continue, albeit to Israel commandment have been given that *they* should destroy all idolatrous places *in their land*, and to the good kings of Israel commendation for fulfilling, to the evil for disobeying the same commandment, sometimes punishment, always sharp and severe reproof hath even from the Lord himself befallen.

[6.] Thus much it may suffice to have written in defence of those Christian oratories, the overthrow and ruin whereof is desired, not now by infidels, Pagans, or Turks, but by a special refined sect of Christian believers, pretending themselves exceedingly grieved at our solemnities in erecting churches, at the names which we suffer them to hold, at their form and fashion, at the stateliness of them and costliness, at the opinion which we have of them, and at the manifold superstitious abuses whereunto they have been put.

Of public teaching, or preaching, and the first kind thereof, catechizing.

XVIII. Places of public resort being thus provided for, our repair thither is especially for mutual conference, and as it were commerce to be had between God and us.

Because therefore want of the knowledge of God is the cause of all iniquity amongst men [36], as contrariwise the very ground of all our happiness, and the seed of whatsoever perfect virtue groweth from us, is a right opinion touching things divine; this kind of knowledge we may justly set down for the first and chiefest thing which God imparteth unto his people, and our duty of receiving this at his merciful hands for the first of those religious offices wherewith we publicly honour him on earth. For the instruction therefore of all sorts of men to eternal life, it is necessary, that the sacred and saving truth of God be openly published unto them. Which open publication of *heavenly mysteries*, is by an excellency termed Preaching. For otherwise there is not any thing *publicly notified*, but we may in that respect, rightly and properly say it is "preached [37]." So that when the school of God doth use it as *a word of art*, we are accordingly to understand it with restraint to such special matter as that school is accustomed to publish.

[2.] We find not in the world any people that have lived altogether without religion. And yet this duty of religion, which provideth that publicly all sorts of men may be instructed in the fear of God, is to the Church of God and hath been always so peculiar, that none of the heathens, how curious soever in searching out all kinds of outward ceremonies like to ours [38], could ever once so much as endeavour to resemble *herein* the Church's care for the endless good of her children [39].

[3.] Ways of teaching there have been sundry always usual in God's Church.

[36] Moses Ægypt. in Mor. Hannebuch. lib. iii. cap. 12. [11.] "Contraria fortia, in quibus homines sibi invicem opponantur [contradicunt invicem] secundum exercitia et desideria et opiniones, omnia proveniunt ex ignorantia: sicut cæcus ex privatione sui visus vagatur ubique et læditur. Scientia veritatis tollit hominum inimicitiam et odium. Hoc promisit sancta Theologia dicens, *Habitabit agnus cum lupo.* Et assignat rationem, *Repleta est terra sapientia Domini.*" [Hooker appears to quote from the translation by Aug. Justiani, Almoner to Francis I. Paris, 1520. It may be worth while to add Buxtorf's version of the first sentence. "Mala ista, quæ inter se homines inter se invicem inciunt, ex diversis nempe illorum studiis, voluntatibus, affectibus, sententiis et opinionibus; illa enim mala omnia quoque privationem consequuntur. Proveniunt enim cuncta ex Ignorantia, h. e. ex privatione sapientiæ."]

[37] Luc. viii. 39. xii. 3. [In which places the Geneva Bible has "preached," instead of "published" and "proclaimed."]

[38] Vide Tertull. de Præscr. advers. Hær. [c. 40. "Diabolus.....ipsas quoque res sacramentorum divinorum in idolorum mysteriis æmulatur. Tingit et ipse quosdam, utique credentes et fideles suos: expositionem delictorum de lavacro repromittit: et si adhuc memini, Mithra signat illic in frontibus milites suos; celebrat et panis oblationem, &c."]

[39] [Except perhaps under Julian: see Greg. Naz. Orat. iii. t. i. 101. D.]

For the first introduction of youth to the knowledge of God, the Jews even till this day have their Catechisms [40]. With religion it fareth as with other sciences. The first delivery of the elements thereof must, for like consideration [41], be framed according to the weak and slender capacity of young beginners: unto which manner of teaching principles in Christianity, the Apostle in the sixth to the Hebrews is himself understood to allude. For this cause therefore, as the Decalogue of Moses declareth summarily those things which we ought to do; the prayer of our Lord whatsoever we should request or desire: so either by the Apostles [42], or at the leastwise out of their writings, we have the substance of Christian belief compendiously drawn into few and short articles, to the end that the weakness of no man's wit might either hinder *altogether* the knowledge, or excuse the utter ignorance of needful things.

Such as were trained up in these rudiments, and were so made fit to be afterwards by Baptism received into the Church, the Fathers usually in their writings do term Hearers [42], as having no farther communion or fellowship with the Church than only this, that they were admitted to hear the principles of Christian faith made plain unto them.

Catechising may be in schools, it may be in private families. But when we make it a kind of preaching, we mean always the public performance thereof in the open hearing of men, because things are preached not in that they are taught, but in that they are published.

XIX. Moses and the Prophets, Christ and his Apostles, were in their times all preachers of God's truth; some by word, some by writing, some by both [43]. This they did partly as faithful Witnesses, making mere relation what God himself had revealed unto them; and partly as careful Expounders, teachers, persuaders, thereof. The Church in like case *preacheth* still, first publishing by way of Testimony or relation the truth which from them she hath received, even in such sort as it was received, written in the sacred volumes of Scripture; secondly by way of Explication, discovering the mysteries which lie hid therein. The Church as a witness preacheth his mere revealed truth by *reading* publicly the sacred Scripture. So that a second kind of preaching [44] is the reading of Holy Writ.

Of preaching, by reading publicly the books of holy Scripture; and concerning supposed untruths in those translations of Scripture which we allow to be read; as also of the choice which we make in reading.

For thus we may the boldlier speak, being strengthened [45] with the example of so

[40] The Jews' Catechism, called Lekach Tob. [Or, "The Book of Good Doctrine;" (alluding to Prov. iv. 2.) Venice, 1595. The author was Rabbi Abraham Ben Hananiah Jaghel, of Montfelice near Padua. It appears to be the work of an elegant and pious mind: containing an account of the thirteen articles of the Jewish faith, and many moral and devout precepts, lucidly arranged in a dialogue between a Rabbin and his disciple. It is satisfactory to know that the writer became afterwards a Christian. Bartolocci, Bibl. Rabbin. i. 26. The tract was reedited with a Latin version by De Veil, 12mo. Lond. 1679, and inserted by Carpzoff in his Introduction to Theology, prefixed to Martene's Pugio Fidei, p. 42. Lips. 1687. Comp. Wolf. Bibl. Hebr. i. 78. note (a). "Paucissimos "habent Judæi hujus generis libros, præ cæteris "tamen isto utuntur."]

[41] "Incipientibus brevius ac simplicius tradi præ- "cepta magis convenit. Aut enim difficultate in- "stitutionis tam numerosæ atque perplexæ deterre- "ri solent, aut eo tempore, quo præcipue alenda in- "genia atque indulgentia quadam enutrienda sunt, "asperiorum rerum tractatu atteruntur." Fab. [Quintil.] lib. viii. procem. "Incipientibus nobis "exponere jura populi Romani, ita videntur posse "tradi commodissime, si primo levi ac simplici via, "post deinde diligentissima atque exactissima in- "terpretatione singula tradantur. Alioqui si sta- "tim ab initio rudem adhuc et infirmum animum "studiosi multitudine ac varietate rerum onerave- "rimus, duorum alterum, aut desertorem studiorum "efficiemus, aut cum magno labore ejus, sæpe "etiam cum diffidentia (quæ plerumque juvenes "avertit) serius ad id perducemus ad quod leviore "via ductus sine magno labore et sine ulla diffi- "dentia maturius perduci potuisset." Institut. Imper. lib. i. tit. I.

[42] Vide Ruff. in Symb. [p. 17. ad calc. Cypr. ed. Fell. "Tradunt majores nostri quod post assencio- "nem Domini, cum per adventum Sancti Spiritus "super singulos quosque Apostolos igneæ linguæ "sedissent;.....præceptum eis a Domino datum, "ob prædicandum Dei verbum, ad singulas quem- "que proficisci nationes. Discessuri itaque ad invi- "cem normam prius futuræ sibi prædicationis in "commune constituunt.....Omnes ergo in unum "positi, et Spiritu Sancto repleti, breve istud futuræ "sibi, ut diximus, prædicationis indicium, confer- "endo in unum quod sentiebat unusquisque, com- "ponunt, atque hanc credentibus dandam esse re- "gulam statuunt.....Hæc non scribi chartulis at- "que membranis, sed retineri cordibus tradide- "runt, ut certum esset, neminem hæc ex lectione, "quæ interdum pervenire etiam ad infideles solet, "sed ex Apostolorum traditione didicisse."]

[42] Tertull. de Pœnitent. [c. 6.] "An alius est "tinctis Christus, alius audientibus? Audientes "optare intinctionem, non præsumere, oportet." Cyprian. Epist. xvii. lib. 3. [t. ii. 41. ed. Fell.] "Au- "dientibus vigilantia vestra non desit." Rupert. de Divin. Offic. lib. iv. cap. 18. [In Auct. Bibl. Patr. Colon. i. 927.] "Audiens quisque regulam "fidei, Catechumenus dicitur. Catechumenus nam- "que Auditor interpretatur."

[43] ["The translation of the LXX interpreters, "commonly so called,.....prepared the way for our "Saviour among the Gentiles by *written Preach-* "*ing*, as St. John Baptist did among the Jews by "vocal." Translators [of the Bible] to the Reader. London. R^t. Barker. 1633.]

[44] [See Bp. Taylor's Holy Living, c. iv. §. 4.]

[45] [Acts xv. 21. This verse had been quoted by Whitgift to the same purpose. Answ. 211.]

reverend a prelate as saith, that Moses from the time of ancient generations and ages long since past had amongst the cities of the very Gentiles them that preached him, *in that* he was read every sabbath day. For so of necessity it must be meant, in as much as we know that the Jews have always had their weekly readings of the Law of Moses; but that they always had in like manner their weekly sermons upon some part of the Law of Moses we nowhere find.

[2.] Howbeit still we must here remember, that the Church by her public reading of the book of God preacheth only *as a witness*. Now the principal thing required in a witness is fidelity. Wherefore as we cannot excuse that church, which either through corrupt translations of Scripture delivereth instead of divine speeches any thing repugnant unto that which God speaketh; or, through falsified additions, proposeth that to the people of God as scripture which is in truth no scripture: so the blame, which in both these respects hath been laid upon the church of England, is surely altogether without cause.

Touching translations of holy Scripture, albeit we may not disallow of their painful travels herein, who strictly have tied themselves to the very original letter; yet the judgment of the Church, as we see by the practice of all nations, Greeks, Latins, Persians, Syrians, Æthiopians, Arabians, hath been ever that the fittest for public audience are such as following a middle course between the rigour of literal translators and the liberty of paraphrasts, do with greatest shortness and plainness deliver the meaning of the Holy Ghost. Which being a labour of so great difficulty, the exact performance thereof we may rather wish than look for. So that, except between the words of translation and the mind of the Scripture itself there be *contradiction*, every little difference should not seem an intolerable blemish necessarily to be spunged out.

[3.] Whereas therefore the Prophet David[46] in a certain Psalm doth say concerning Moses and Aaron, that they *were* obedient to the word of God, and in the selfsame place our allowed translation saith they *were not* obedient; we are for this cause challenged as manifest gainsayers of scripture, even in that which we read for scripture unto the people. But for as much as words are resemblances of that which the mind of the speaker conceiveth, and

[46] [See Strype, Whitg. i. 490. "One Dr. "Sparks is brought in" (by Martin Marprelate in one of his libels) "as being too hard for the "Archbishop and some other Bishops, and put- "ting them to a *nonplus* in some conference "with them; and that before some noblemen. It "was about the supposed wrong reading of the "28th verse of the cv. Psalm... To this the Arch- "bishop said, that their honours that were pres- "ent could and would, he was sure, answer for "the Bishops for this untruth. And that they "made report to divers in public places, and some "to the highest, of that conference, after another "sort, and to another end, than the libellers did... "That the translation read in our churches was in "that point according to the Septuagint, and was "correspondent to the analogy of faith. For "that if the word were understood of the Israelites, "then it was true to say, that they were not *obedi-* "*ent* to his commandment. But if of the signs and "wonders that Moses and Aaron did before Pha- "raoh, or of Moses and Aaron themselves, then "was it on the other side true, that they were not "*disobedient* to his commandment."

Barlow's Account of the conference at Hampton Court, in Phœnix, i. 157, "Dr. Reynolds.... "moved his Majesty, that there might be a new "translation of the Bible, because those which "were allowed... were corrupt. For example, "Ps. cv. 28," with two more. "To which mo- "tion there was, at the present, no gainsaying: "the objections being trivial and old, and already "in print often answered."

In Saravia's collected works is an Epistle to an anonymous friend, who had published certain Articles of exception to the Canons of 1603: the second of which articles is, "Fieri potuit ut in iis "quæ publice leguntur non pauca Scripturis dis- "sona reperiantur. Quale est illud, e. g. in Ps.cv. "28. 'Non obedierunt verbo Dei:' cum Veritas "Hebraica legat, 'et paruerunt.' Resp. מרו ולא 'et "non rebellarunt verbis ejus.' Pii interpretes trans- "tulerunt, 'Et rebellarunt.' Quid enim מרו signifi- "caret non ignorarunt, sed quia non viderunt quis "esset nominativus verbi מרו, et de Israelitis vel "de Ægyptiis cum non posset intelligi commode, "quos rebellasse Deo constat, intellexerunt "Ægyptios. Præcedunt enim verbum מרו, tria "quædam, a quibus nominandi casus supplendus "est: nempe Signa, Ægyptii, Moses et Aaron: "qui duo proxime præcedunt, et de ipsis commode "intelligitur: qui quamvis arduum et periculi ple- "num esset adire tyrannum.. non fuerunt tamen "Deo inobedientes.....Potest etiam non absurde "interpretari locus de Mose et Aarone, quod verbo "Dei paruerint, mandantis ut miracula illa ederent. "..Ad tenebras et ad alia miracula referri simili- "ter potest, ut intelligantur tenebræ et aquæ verbo "Dei obtemperasse.. Sed non satis commode de "Mose et Aarone intelligi id posse crediderunt "nostri interpretes. Regis et servorum ipsius re- "bellio ita hærebat in eorum mente, ut eam ibidem "notari crederent, et illis aptandum esse sermo- "nem. Non enim tam fuit erratum in rei veritate, "quam in applicatione. Itaque cum non rara "apud Hebræos לא accipiatur pro לו 'ei,' ולא trans- "tulerunt 'et ei rebellarunt,' referentes aut ad "Ægyptios aut ad Israelitas, quos semper fuisse "rebelles verbis Dei legimus: cum id proprie in- "telligi debeat vel de Mose et Aarone, vel de mi- "raculis quæ per eos edita sunt. Habebant præ- "terea LXX Græcam Versionem, quæ habet, *ὅτι* "*παρεπίκραναν τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ*: quod de Mose "et Aarone non dici potest, sed de Ægyptiis. "Scelus, mi frater, esse censes huic versioni sub- "scribere? Et ob tantillam variationem nolle "approbare constitutiones Anglicanæ ecclesiæ?" Saravia, ubi sup. p. 2.

Prynne supposed the error a mere misprint: *obe-*

conceits are images representing that which is spoken of, it followeth that they who will judge of words, should have recourse to the things themselves from whence they rise.

In setting down that miracle, at the sight whereof Peter fell down astonied before the feet of Jesus, and cried, "Depart, Lord, "I am a sinner," the Evangelist St. Luke saith [47] the store of the fish which they took was such that the net they took it in "brake," and the ships which they loaded therewith sunk; [48] St. John recording the like miracle saith, that albeit the fishes in number were so many, yet the net with so great a weight was "not broken." Suppose they had written both of one miracle. Although there be in their words a manifest shew of jar; yet none, if we look upon the difference of matter, with regard whereunto they might both have spoken even of one miracle the very same which they spake of divers, the one intending thereby to signify that the greatness of the burden exceeded the natural ability of the instruments which they had to bear it, the other that the weakness thereof was supported by a supernatural and miraculous addition of strength. The nets as touching themselves *brake*, but through the power of God they *held*.

Are not the words of the Prophet Micheas touching Bethlehem, "Thou Bethlehem "*the least* [49]?" And doth not the very Evangelist translate these words, "Thou "Bethlehem *not the least* [50]?" the one regarding the quantity of the place, the other the dignity. Micheas attributeth unto it smallness in respect of circuit; Matthew greatness, in regard of honour and estimation, by being the native soil of our Lord and Saviour Christ.

Sith therefore speeches which gainsay one another must of necessity be applied both unto one and the same subject; sith they must also the one affirm, the other deny, the selfsame thing: what necessity of contradiction can there be between the letter of the Prophet David, and our authorized translation thereof, if he understanding Moses and Aaron do say *they* were not *disobedient;* we applying our speech to Pharaoh and the Egyptians, do say of them, they were not *obedient?* Or (which the matter itself will easily enough likewise suffer) if the Egyptians being meant by both, it be said that they, in regard of their offer [51] to let go the people when they saw the fearful darkness, "disobeyed not" the word of the Lord; and yet they "did not "obey" his word, inasmuch as the sheep and cattle at the selfsame time they withheld. Of both translations the better I willingly acknowledge that which cometh nearer to the very letter of the original verity; yet so that the other may likewise safely enough be read, without any peril at all of gainsaying as much as the least jot or syllable of God's most sacred and precious truth.

[4.] Which truth as in this we do not violate, so neither is the same gainsayed or crossed, no not in those very preambles placed before certain readings, wherein the steps of the Latin service-book have been somewhat too nearly followed. As when we say [52] Christ spake *to his disciples* that which the Gospel declareth he spake [53] *unto the Pharisees* [54]. For doth the Gospel affirm he spake to the Pharisees "only?" doth it mean that they and besides them no man else was at that time spoken unto by our Saviour Christ? If not, then is there in this diversity no contrariety. I suppose it somewhat probable, that St. John and St. Matthew which have recorded those sermons heard them, and being hearers did think themselves as well respected as the Pharisees, in that which their Lord and Master taught concerning the pastoral care he had over his own flock, and his offer of grace made to the whole world; which things are the matter whereof he treateth in those sermons. Wherefore as yet there

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dient, for *disobedient*. Pacific Exam. of some Exuberances, &c. p. 6. 1661.

A like objection was brought against Ps. cvi. 30. "Then stood up Phinehas and prayed:" יתפלל; more properly "executed judgment." Sanderson, Sermons, i. 128. "The word hath three significa- "tions: to *judge*, to *pray*, to *appease*... And I "doubt not but Phinehas, when he did lift up his "hand... did withal lift up his heart. In which "respect, (especially if the word withal will bear "it, as it seemeth it will,) some men should have "done well not to have shewn so much willingness "to quarrel at the church translations in our ser- "vice book, by being clamorous against this very "place as a gross corruption, and sufficient to "justify their refusal of subscription to the book."]

[47] Luke v. 6, 7.

[48] John xxi. 11.

[49] Mich. v. 2. [צעיר להיות. LXX. ὀλιγοστὸς εἶ. St. Matth. οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη εἶ. Lightfoot (i. 442.) and Grotius and De Dieu (ap. Pol. Synops. in loc.) explain צעיר "it is a light thing [to thee]:" insupport of which it may be urged that וְעֵיר is very frequently used in the Targum for מְעַט which stands usually for the phrase "it is a light thing," in the Hebrew. Pococke (on Mich. p. 42. ed. 1740) pleads for a double signification of צעיר: i. e. that it may mean "great" as well as "little:" of which idiom there are examples in the Semitic languages. Compare Hammond on the place in St. Matthew.]

[50] Matt. ii. 6.

[51] [Exod. x. 24.]

[52] The Gospel on the Second Sunday after Easter, and on the Twentieth after Trinity.

[53] John x. 11; Matt. xxii. 1, 2.

[54] [See Barlow's Account, &c. 163. "His Ma- "jesty, keeping an even hand, willed that the word "*Disciple* should be omitted, and the words *Jesus* "*said*, to be printed in a different letter." And so in subseqùent Prayer Books we find it.]

is nothing found, wherein we read for the word of God that which may be condemned as repugnant unto his word.

[5.] Furthermore somewhat they are displeased in that we follow not the method of reading which in their judgment is most commendable [55], the method used in some foreign churches, where Scriptures are read *before* the time of divine service, and without either choice or stint appointed by any determinate order. Nevertheless, till such time as they shall vouchsafe us some just and sufficient reason to the contrary, we must by their patience, if not allowance, retain the ancient received custom which we now observe [56]. For with us the reading of Scripture in the church is a part of our church liturgy, a special portion of the service which we do to God, and not an exercise to spend the time, when one doth wait for another's coming, till the assembly of them that shall afterwards worship him be complete. Wherefore as the form of our public service is not voluntary, so neither are the parts thereof left uncertain, but they are all set down in such order, and with such choice, as hath in the wisdom of the Church seemed best to concur as well with the special occasions, as with the general purpose which we have to glorify God.

XX. Other public readings there are of books and writings not canonical, whereby the Church doth also preach, or openly make known the doctrine of virtuous conversation; whereupon besides those things in regard whereof we are thought to read the Scriptures of God amiss, it is thought amiss [57] that we read in our churches any thing at all besides the Scriptures. To exclude the reading of any such profitable instruction as the Church hath devised for the better understanding of Scripture, or for the easier training up of the people in holiness and righteousness of life, they plead [58] that God in the Law would have nothing brought into the temple, neither besoms nor flesh-hooks, nor trumpets, but those only which were sanctified; that for the expounding of darker places we ought to follow the Jews' polity [59], who under Antiochus, where they

Of Preaching by the public Reading of other profitable instructions; and concerning books Apocryphal.

[55] T. C. lib. ii. p. 381. "Although it be very "convenient which is used in some Churches, "where before preaching-time the Church assembled hath the Scriptures read; yet neither is this "nor any other order of bare public reading in the "church necessary." h. d. [Is this an abbreviation of "hoc dicit," implying that the preceding quotation gives the substance not the words of T. C.? For the passage runs literally thus: "Yet "a number of churches which have no such order "of simple reading cannot be in this point charged "with breach of God's commandment; which "they might be, if simple reading were necessary."]

[56] "Facto silentio, Scripturarum sunt lecta divina solennia." Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. xxii. c. 8. [§. 22. t. vii. 672.] That for several times several pieces of Scripture were read as parts of the service of the Greek church, the Fathers thereof in their sundry Homilies and other writings do all testify. The like order in the Syrian churches is clear by the very inscriptions of chapters throughout their translation of the New Testament. See the edition at Vienna, Paris, and Antwerp.

[57] [See T. C. i. 157. Def. 715..... 721. T. C. ii. 392.....402.]

[58] T. C. lib. i. p. 196. [157, 158.] "Neither the "Homilies, nor the Apocrypha, are at all to be "read in the church. Wherein first it is good to "consider the order which the Lord kept with "his people in times past, when he commanded, "Exod. xxx. 29, that no vessel nor no instrument, "either besom or flesh-hook or pan, should once "come into the temple, but those only which "were sanctified and set apart for that use. And "in the book of Numbers he will have no other "trumpets blown to call the people together, but "those only which were set apart for that purpose. Numb. x. 2."

[59] T. C. lib. i. p. 194. [158.] "Besides this, "the polity of the Church of God in times past is "to be followed [herein; that for the expounding "of darker places, places of more easiness ought "to be joined together; as in the persecution of "Antiochus, where they could not have the commodity of preaching, the Jews did appoint at "their meetings always a piece of the Law to be "read, and withal a piece of the Prophets which "expounded that piece of the Law, rather than to "bring in interpretations of men to be read. And "because I am entered into that matter, here "cometh to be considered the practice also of the "Church, both before our Saviour's coming and "after, that when the churches met together "there is nothing mentioned but the reading of "the Scriptures: for so is the liturgy described in "the Acts. And it is not to be thought but that "they had those which made expositions of the "Law and the Prophets. And besides that they "had Onkelos the Chaldee paraphrast, both Galatine and Rabbi Moses surnamed Maymon write "that Jonathan another of the Chaldee Paraphrasts "flourished in our Saviour Christ's time: whose "writings and paraphrases upon the Scriptures "are esteemed comparable in that kind... with "any which have laboured that ways. And if any "men's writings were to be read in the Church, "those paraphrases which in explaining the Scripture go least from it, and which keep not only the "number of sentences but almost the very number of words, were of all most fit to be read in the "Church. Seeing therefore, I say, the Church of "God then abstained from such interpretations in "the Church, and contented itself with the Scriptures, it cannot but be a most dangerous attempt "to bring any thing into the Church to be read "besides the word of God. This practice continued still in the Churches of God after the Apostles' times, as may appear by the second Apology of Justin Martyr, which sheweth that their "manner was to read in the Church the monuments of the Prophets and of the Apostles; and "if they had read any thing else, it is to be supposed that he would have set it down, considering "that his purpose there is to shew the whole order

had not the commodity of sermons, appointed always at their meeting somewhat out of the Prophets to be read together with the Law, and so by the one made the other plainer to be understood; that before and after our Saviour's coming they neither read Onkelos nor Jonathan's paraphrase, though having both, but contented themselves with the reading only of scriptures; that if in the primitive Church there had been any thing read besides the monuments of the Prophets and Apostles [60], Justin Martyr [61] and Origen [62] who mention these would have spoken of the other likewise; that the most ancient and best councils forbid any thing to be read in churches saving canonical Scripture only [63]; that when other things were afterwards permitted [64], fault was found with it [65], it succeeded but ill, the Bible itself was thereby in time quite and clean thrust out.

[2.] Which arguments, if they be only brought in token of the author's good will and meaning towards the cause which they would set forward, must accordingly be accepted of by them who already are persuaded the same way. But if their drift and purpose be to persuade others, it would be demanded by what rule the legal hallowing of besoms and flesh-hooks must needs exclude all other readings in the church save Scripture. Things sanctified were thereby in such sort appropriated unto God, as that they might never afterwards again be made common. For which cause the Lord, to sign and mark them as his own, appointed oil of holy ointment, the like whereunto it was not lawful to make for ordinary and daily uses [66]. Thus the anointing of Aaron and his sons tied them to the office of the priesthood for ever [67]; the anointing, not of those silver trumpets (which Moses as well for secular as sacred uses was commanded to make, not to sanctify [68],) but the unction of the tabernacle, the table, the laver, the altar of God, with all the instruments appertaining thereunto [69], this made them for ever holy unto him in whose service they were employed. But what of this? Doth it hereupon follow that all things now in the church "from the greatest to the least" are unholy, which the Lord hath not himself precisely instituted? For so those rudiments they say do import [70]. Then is there nothing holy which the Church by her authority hath appointed, and consequently all positive ordinances that ever were made by ecclesiastical power touching spiritual affairs are profane, they are unholy.

[3.] I would not wish them to undertake a work so desperate as to prove, that for the people's instruction no kind of reading is good, but only that which the Jews devised under Antiochus, although even that be also mistaken. For according to Elias the Levite [71] (out of whom it doth seem bor-

"which was used in the churches then. The "same may appear in the first homily of Origen "upon Exodus, and upon the Judges."]

[60] Acts xiii. 15; xv. 21.

[61] Justin. Apol. 2. [τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων, ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν Προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται. p. 98. ed. Colon. 1686.]

[62] Origen. Hom. 1. super Exod. [t. ii. 129. D. "Hic sermo qui nunc nobis ex divinis voluminibus recitatus est."] . . . et in Judic. [ibid. 458. E. "Lector præsentis lectionis ita legebat," &c. et 461. E. "Recitatus est nobis etiam Jesu obitus."]

[63] Concil. Laod. c. 59. [ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐδὲ ἀκανόνιστα βίβλια, ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ κανονικὰ τῆς καινῆς καὶ παλαιᾶς διαθήκης. tom. i. col. 1507.]

[64] Concil. Vas. 2, [or 3. can. 3. "Hoc etiam pro "ædificatione omnium Ecclesiarum, et pro utilitate totius populi, nobis placuit, ut non solum in "civitatibus, sed etiam in omnibus parochiis, verbum faciendi daremus presbyteris protestatem: "ita ut si presbyter, aliqua infirmitate prohibente, "per se ipsum non potuerit prædicare, *Sanctorum "Patrum Homiliæ a Diaconibus recitentur.*" t. iv. 1680. A. D. 529.]

[65] Concil. Colon. [A. D. 1536.] pars ii. [cap. 6. "Cum olim a sanctissimis patribus institutum sit, "ut solæ Scripturæ sacræ in Ecclesia recitarentur, "nescimus qua incuria acciderit, ut in earum locum "successerint alia cum his neutiquam comparanda, atque interim historiæ Sanctorum tam inculte "ac tam negligenti judicio conscriptæ, ut nec "auctoritatem habere videantur, nec gravitatem. "Deo itaque auctore, deque consilio capituli nostri, "et theologorum aliorumque piorum virorum, reformationem breviariorum meditabimur."]

[66] Exod. xxx. 25, 32.

[67] Exod. xl. 15.

[68] Numb. x. 2.

[69] Exod. xxvii. 3; xxx. 26—28.

[70] T. C. lib. i. p. 197. [158.] "The Lord would by "these rudiments and pædagogy teach, that he "would have nothing brought into the Church "but that which he had appointed."

[71] Elias Thesb. in verbo Patar. ["Opusculum "Recens Hebraicum a doctissimo Hebræo Elia "Levita Germano Grammatico elaboratum, cui "titulum fecit תשבי, i. e. Thisbites, in quo 712 "vocum, quæ sunt partim Hebraicæ, Chaldaicæ, "Arabicæ, Græcæ et Latinæ, quæque in Dictionariis non facile inveniuntur, et a Rabbinis tamen Hebræorum in scriptis suis passim usurpantur, origo, etymon, et verus usus docte ostenditur et explicatur: per Paulum Fagium, in gratiam studiosorum Linguæ Sanctæ, Latinitate donatum." Isnæ in Algavia, 1531. The place quoted occurs in the explication of the root מפטיר "dimisit." "Thus," says the Lexicographer, "the man who is summoned last to the reading of "the Law on the Sabbath is called מפטיר 'the "Dismisser;' and he pronounces the Haphtarah, "i. e. second Lesson. And here let me set down "what was the occasion of the Haphtarah. Ac"cording to what I have found written, the wick"ed Antiochus, King of Greece, forbade Israel to "read in the law publicly. What did the Israel"ites? They took one section from the Prophets, "the matter of which resembled the matter which "was written in the section appertaining to that "Sabbath. For instance on the Sabbath of Beres-

rowed) the thing which Antiochus forbade was the public Reading of the Law, and not Sermons upon the Law. Neither did the Jews read a portion of the Prophets together with the Law to serve for an interpretation thereof, because Sermons were not permitted them; but *instead of* the Law which they might not read *openly*, they read of the Prophets that which in likeness of matter came nearest to each section of their Law. Whereupon when afterwards the liberty of reading the Law was restored, the selfsame custom as touching the Prophets did continue still [72].

[4.] If neither the Jews have used publicly to read their paraphrasts, nor the primitive Church for a long time any other writings than Scripture [73], except the cause of their not doing it were some law of God or reason forbidding them to do that which we do, why should the later ages of the Church be deprived of the liberty the former had? Are we bound while the world standeth to put nothing in practice but only that which was at the very first?

Concerning the council of Laodicea, as it forbiddeth the reading of those things which are not canonical, so it maketh some things not canonical which are [74]. Their judgment in this we may not, and in that we need not follow.

[5.] We have by thus many years' experience found, that exceeding great good, not encumbered with any notable inconvenience, hath grown by the custom which we now observe. As for the harm whereof judicious men have complained in former times; it came not of this, that other things were read besides the Scripture, but that so evil choice was made. With us there is never any time bestowed in divine service without the reading of a great part of the holy Scripture, which we account a thing most necessary. We dare not admit any such form of liturgy as either appointeth no Scripture at all, or very little, to be read in the church. And therefore the thrusting of the Bible out of the house of God is rather there to be feared, where men esteem it a matter so indifferent [75], whether the same be by solemn appointment read publicly, or not read, the bare text excepted which the preacher haply chooseth out to expound.

[6.] But let us here consider what the practice of our fathers before us hath been, and how far forth the same may be followed. We find that in ancient times there was publicly read first the Scripture [76], as namely, something out of the books of the Prophets of God which were of old [77]; something out of the Apostles' writings [78]; and lastly out of the holy Evangelists, some things which touched the person of our Lord Jesus Christ himself [79]. The cause

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"chith,"(i. e. 'In the beginning') "they read, "Thus saith God the Lord which created the "Heavens," &c. (Is. xlii. 5.) And for the "section of Noah they read as a lesson, 'As the "waters of Noah so is this to me.'" (Isai. liv. 9.) "And so throughout, section by section. And "even now that the decree has ceased, that cus-"tom has not ceased, but even at this day they "read the Sections of the Prophets after reading "of the Law, and it is called the Haphtarah, i. e. "Dismission." (Vid. Prideaux, Connect. p. ii. b. iii. An. A. C. 167.)]

72 Acts xv. 21; xiii. 15.

73 T. C. lib. i. p. 197. [158.] "This practice con-"tinued still in the churches of God after the "Apostles' times, as may appear by the second "Apology of Justin Martyr." Idem, p. 198. [159.] "It was decreed in the council of Laodicea, that "nothing should be read in the church but the ca-"nonical Books of the Old and New Testament. "Afterward, as corruptions grew in the Church, "the reading of Homilies and of Martyrs' lives "was permitted. But besides the evil success "thereof, that use and custom was controlled, as "may appear by the council of Colen, albeit other-"wise popish. The bringing in of Homilies and "Martyrs' Lives hath thrust the Bible clean out "of the church, or into a corner."

74 The Apocalypse. [Can. 60. Ὅσα δεῖ βιβλία ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης. i. 1507. It seems hardly correct to say that the Apocalypse is omitted as *uncanonical*. The word ἀναγινώσκεσθαι rather refers to *public* reading in the church: by which construction the judgment of the Fathers at Laodicea might be much the same as that of the Church of England. In the version under the name of Isidorus Mercator, the canon is headed, "Quæ autem oporteat legi, *et in auctori-*"*tatem recipi*, hæc sunt."]

75 T. C. lib. ii. p. 381. "It is untrue that *sim-*"*ple reading* is necessary in the church. A num-"ber of churches which have no such order of "simple reading, cannot be in this point charged "with breach of God's commandment, which "they might be if simple reading were *necessary*." (By simple reading, he meaneth the custom of bare reading more than the preacher at the same time expoundeth unto the people.)

76 "Coimus ad divinarum literarum commemo-"rationem." Tertull. Apol. p. 692. [c. 39.]

77 "Judaicarum historiarum libri traditi sunt ab "Apostolis legendi in Ecclesiis." Origen. in Jos. Hom. 15. [init. t. ii. 431.]

78 Πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν Προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται. Justin. Apol. 2. p. 162. [98.] "Factum est ut ista "die Dominica, prophetica lectione jam lecta, ante "altare adstante qui lectionem S. Pauli proferret, "beatissimus antistes Ambrosius," &c. Sulpit. Sever. lib. iii. de Vita S. Mart. [rather Greg. Turon de Mirac. S. Mart. lib. i. c. 5, col. 1006. ed. Ruinart.]

79 Vid. Concil. Vasens. ii. habitum an. D. 444, to. Concil. ii. pag. 19. [p. 20, ed. Nicolin. Venet. 1585. He seems to refer to the canon quoted above, (note 64,) in that edition the second: which after permitting the deacons to read homilies from the Fathers, adds, "Si enim digni sunt diaconi quæ "Christus in evangelio locutus est legere; quare

of their reading first the Old Testament, then the New, and always somewhat out of both, is most likely to have been that which Justin Martyr and St. Augustin observe in comparing the two Testaments. "The "Apostles," saith the one, "have taught "us as themselves did learn, first the pre- "cepts of the Law, and then the Gospels. "For what else is the Law but the Gospel "foreshewed? What other the Gospel, "than the Law fulfilled [80]? "In like sort the other, "What the Old Testament "hath, the very same the New containeth; "but that which lieth there as under a shadow "is here brought forth into the open sun. "Things there prefigured are here perform- "ed [81]." Again, "In the Old Testament "there is a close comprehension of the "New, in the New an open discovery of "the Old [82]." To be short, the method of their public readings either purposely did tend, or at the leastwise doth fitly serve, "That from smaller things the mind of the "hearers may go forward to the knowledge "of greater, and by degrees climb up from "the lowest to the highest things [83]."

[7.] Now besides the Scripture, the books which they called Ecclesiastical were thought not unworthy sometime to be brought into public audience, and with that name they entitled the books which we term Apocryphal. Under the selfsame name they also comprised certain no otherwise annexed unto the New than the former unto the Old Testament, as a Book of Hermas, Epistles of Clement, and the like. According therefore to the phrase of antiquity, these we may term the New, and the other the Old Ecclesiastical Books or Writings. For we, being directed by a sentence (I suppose) of St. Jerome, who saith, "that all writings not canonical are apocry- "phal [84]," use not now the title apocryphal as the rest of the Fathers ordinarily have done, whose custom is so to name for the most part only such as might not publicly be read or divulged. Ruffinus therefore having rehearsed the selfsame books of canonical Scripture, which with us are held to be alone canonical, addeth immediately by way of caution, "We must know that "other Books there are also, which our "forefathers have used to name not canoni- "cal but ecclesiastical books, as the Book "of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Toby, Judith, "the Maccabees, in the Old Testament; in "the New, the Book of Hermes, and such "others. All which books and writings "they willed to be read in churches, but "not to be alleged as if their authority did "bind us to build upon them our faith. "Other writings they named Apocryphal, "which they would not have read in "churches. These things delivered unto "us from the Fathers we have in this place "thought good to set down." So far Ruffinus [85].

"indigini judicentur sanctorum Patrum expositio- "nes publice recitare?"] Item Synod. Laod. c. 16. [ἐν σαββάτῳ, εὐαγγέλια μετὰ ἑτέρων γραφῶν ἀναγι- νώσκεσθαι. t. i. 1500.] Cypr. lib. ii. ep. 5. [al. t. ii. p. 75. "Placuit ut ab officio lectionis incipiat: quia "et nihil magis congruit voci, quæ Dominum glo- "riosa prædicatione confessa est, quam celebrandis "divinis lectionibus personare; post verba subli- "mia, quæ Christi martyrium prolocuta sunt, "Evangelium Christi legere, unde martyres fiunt."] Et lib. iv. ep. 5. [al. t. ii. 77. "Hunc . . . quid "aliud quam super pulpitum, i. e. super tribunal "Ecclesiæ, oportebat imponi, ut loci altioris celsi- "tate subnixus, et plebi universæ pro honoris sui "claritate conspicuus, legat præcepta et Evange- "lium Domini, quæ fortiter ac fideliter sequitur? "vox Dominum confessa in his quotidie, quæ "Dominus locutus est, audiatur?"] Ambros. lib. i. Offic. c. 8. ["Dum legimus hodie Evangelium, "(quasi adhortaretur ad scribendum) Spiritus "Sanctus obtulit nobis lectionem, qua confirma- "remur," &c.] et Epist. 75. [ed. Bened. 80. "Audisti, frater, lectionem Evangelii, in qua de- "cursum est," &c.] et lib. de Helia atque Jejunio, cap. 20. [t. i. 559. A. "Audistis hodie in lectione "decursa quid Legio dixerit."]

[80] Just. quæst. 101. [p. 456. ὡς ἐμάνθανον οἱ Ἀπόστολοι, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ τοῦ νόμου, ὕστερον δὲ τὰ εὐαγγέλια, οὕτως καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐδίδαξαν .... τί γάρ ἐστιν ὁ νόμος; εὐαγγέλιον προκατηγγελμένον· τί δὲ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον; νόμος πεπληρωμένος.]

[81] August quæst. 33. in Num. [§. 1. t. iii. 541. "Eadem quippe sunt in vetere et novo; ibi obum- "brata, hic revelata; ibi præfigurata, hic manifes- "tata."]

[82] ["Id. Quæst. 73, in Exod. Multum et solide "significatur, ad Vetus Testamentum timorem po- "tius pertinere, sicut ad Novum dilectionem; "quanquam et in vetere novum lateat, et in novo "vetus pateat."]

[83] Walaf. Strab. de Rebus Ecclesiast. cap. 22. (in Biblioth. Patr. Colon. Agrip. t. ix. pars 1, 960. C. "Lectiones Apostolicas, vel Evangelicas, "quis ante celebrationem sacrificii primum statu- "erit, non adeo certum est. Creditur tamen a "primis successoribus Apostolorum eandem dis- "positionem factam, ea præcipue causa, quia in "Evangeliis eadem sacrificia celebrari jubentur, et "in Apostolo, qualiter celebrari debeant, docetur: "et ut ante sanctissimæ actionis mysterium, ex "Evangelio salutis et fidei suæ recognoscerent "fundamentum, et ex Apostolo ejusdem fidei et "morum Deo placentium caperent instrumentum. "Anteponitur autem in ordine quod inferius est "dignitate, ut ex minoribus animus audientium ad "majora sentienda proficiat, et gradatim ab imis "ad summa conscendat." This was written about A. D. 842. [Cave Hist. Litt. i. 533.]

[84] Hieron. in Prolog. Galeat. "Hic prologus "Scripturarum, quasi galeatum principium, omni- "bus libris quos de Hebræo vertimus in Latinum "convenire potest: ut scire valeamus quicquid "extra hos est in Apocryphis esse ponendum." t. iii. 17.]

[85] Ruffinus in Symbol. Apost. [§. 38.] apud Cypr. [p. 26. ad calc. ed. Fell. "Sciendum tamen "est, quod et alii libri sunt, qui non Canonici, sed "Ecclesiastici a majoribus appellati sunt: ut est

[8.] He which considereth notwithstanding what store of false and forged writings dangerous unto Christian belief, and yet bearing [86] glorious inscriptions, began soon upon the Apostles' times to be admitted into the Church, and to be honoured as if they had been indeed apostolic, shall easily perceive what cause the provincial synod of Laodicea [87] might have *as then* to prevent especially the danger of books made newly Ecclesiastical, and for fear of the fraud of heretics to provide, that such public readings might be altogether taken out of Canonical scripture. Which ordinance respecting but that abuse that grew through the intermingling of lessons human with sacred, at such time as the one both affected the credit and usurped the name of the other (as by the canon of a later council [88] providing remedy for the selfsame evil, and yet allowing the old ecclesiastical books to be read, it doth more plainly and clearly appear,) neither can be construed nor should be urged utterly to prejudice our use of those old ecclesiastical writings; much less of Homilies, which were a third kind of readings usual in former times, a most commendable institution, as well then [89] to supply the casual, as now the necessary defect of sermons.

[9.] In the heat of general persecution, whereunto Christian belief was subject upon the first promulgation thereof throughout the world, it much confirmed the courage and constancy of weaker minds, when public relation was made unto them after what manner God had been glorified through the sufferings of Martyrs, famous amongst them for holiness during life, and at the time of their death admirable in all men's eyes, through miraculous evidence of grace divine assisting them from above. For which cause the virtues of some being thought expedient to be annually had in remembrance above the rest, this brought in a fourth kind of public reading, whereby the lives of such saints and martyrs had at the time of their yearly memorials solemn recognition in the Church of God [90]. The fond imitation of which laudable custom being in later ages resumed, when there was neither the like cause to do as the Fathers before had done, nor any care, conscience, or wit, in such as undertook to perform that work, some brainless men have by great labour and travel brought to pass, that the Church is now ashamed of nothing more than of saints. If therefore Pope Gelasius [91] did so long sithence see those defects of judgment, even then, for which the reading of the acts of Martyrs should be and was at that time forborne in the church of Rome; we are not to marvel that afterwards legends being grown in a manner to be nothing else but heaps of frivolous and scandalous vanities, they have been even with disdain thrown out, the very nests which bred them abhorring them [92]. We are not there-

"Sapientia Solomonis, et alia Sapientia quæ dici-
"tur filii Syrach, qui liber apud Latinos hoc ipso
"generali vocabulo Ecclesiasticus appellatur; quo
"vocabulo non auctor libelli, sed Scripturæ quali-
"tas cognominata est. Ejusdem ordinis est libel-
"lus Tobiæ, et Judith, et Maccabæorum libri. ...
"In Novo vero Testamento libellus qui dicitur
"Pastoris sive Hermatis, qui appellatur Duæ Viæ,
"vel Judicium Petri: quæ omnia legi quidem in
"Ecclesia voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad auc-
"toritatem ex his fidei confirmandam. Cæteras
"vero Scripturas Apocryphas nominarunt, quas
"in ecclesiis legi noluerunt. Hæc nobis a Patri-
"bus, ut dixi, tradita opportunum visum est hoc
"in loco designare."]

[86] Vide Gelas. Decret. tom. Concil. 2. p. 462. [t. iv. 1264. A. D. 494.]

[87] Circa An. Dom. 366.

[88] Concil. Carthag. iii. c. 47. "Præter Scriptu-
"ras canonicas nihil in ecclesiis legatur sub nom-
"ine divinarum scripturarum." Circa An. Dom. 401. ["Placuit, ut præter Scripturas canonicas
"nihil in Ecclesia legatur sub nomine divinarum
"scripturarum. ... Liceat etiam legi passiones
"martyrum, cum anniversarii dies eorum celebran-
"tur." t. ii. p. 1177. A. D. 397.]

[89] Concil. Vasen. ii. habitum An. Dom. 444. tom. Concil. ii. p. 19. "Si presbyter aliqua in-
"firmitate prohibente per seipsum non potuerit præ-
"dicare, sanctorum Patrum Homiliæ a diaconibus
"recitentur." [Labb. Concil. t. iv. 1680. He makes it the *third* Council of Vaux, and refers it to A. D. 529.]

[90] Concil. Carthag. iii. can. 13. [Labb. t. ii. 1644. Concil. vulgo dict. Afric. seu Collectio variorum Canonum. Capit. 13.] et Greg. Turon. de Gloria Mart. cap. 86. [p. 818. ed. Ruinart. "Dies
"passionis erat Polycarpi. . . Lecta igitur passione
"cum reliquis lectionibus, &c."] et Hadrian. Epist. ad Carol. Magn. [Concil. t. vi. p. 1763. The Pope recommends certain envoys of his to the Emperor: "quibus et in omnibus credere de-
"beatis, et solita benignitate eos suscipere jubea-
"tis; pro amore fautoris vestri beati Petri Apos-
"toli: ut dum ad nos reversi fuerint cum effectu
"causæ, *ante confessionem ipsius Dei Apostoli*, . .
"pro vestra sospitate ..... fundere valeamus
"preces."]

[91] Gelas. circa an. Dom. 492. Tom. Concil. ii. p. 461. [t. iv. 1263. Among the writings which the church of Rome "suscipi non prohibet," are reckoned "Gesta Sanctorum Martyrum, qui multipli-
"cibus tormentorum cruciatibus, et mirabilibus
"confessionum triumphis irradiant. Quis ita esse
"catholicorum dubitet, et majora eos in agonibus
"fuisse perpessos, nec suis viribus, sed gratia Dei
"et adjutorio universa tolerasse? Sed ideo se-
"cundum antiquam consuetudinem singulari cau-
"tela in sancta Romana Ecclesia non leguntur,
"quia et eorum qui conscripsere nomina penitus
"ignorantur; et ab infidelibus aut idiotis super-
"flua, aut minus apta, quam rei ordo fuerit, scripta
"esse putantur: ... sicut Georgii, aliorumque hu-
"jusmodi passiones, quæ ab hæreticis perhibentur
"compositæ. Propter quod, ut dictum est, ne vel
"levis subsannandi oriretur occasio, in sancta
"Rom. Ecclesia non leguntur."]

[92] Concil. Colonien. celebrat. an. D. 1536. par. ii.

fore to except only Scripture, and to make confusedly all the residue of one suit, as if they who abolish legends could not without incongruity retain in the church either Homilies or those old Ecclesiastical books.

[10.] Which books in case myself did think, as some others do, safer and better to be left publicly unread; nevertheless as in other things of like nature, even so in [93] this, my private judgment I should be loth to oppose against the force of their reverend authority, who rather considering the divine excellency of some things in all, and of all things in certain of those Apocrypha, which we publicly read, have thought it better to let them stand as a list or marginal border unto the Old Testament, and though with divine yet as human compositions, to grant at the least unto certain of them public audience in the house of God. For inasmuch as the due estimation of heavenly truth dependeth wholly upon the known and approved authority of those famous oracles of God, it greatly behoveth the Church to have always most especial care, lest through confused mixture at any time human usurp the room and title of divine writings. Wherefore albeit for the people's [94] more plain instruction (as the ancient use hath been) we read in our churches certain books besides the Scripture, yet as the Scripture we read them not. All men know our professed opinion touching the difference whereby we sever them from the Scripture. And if any where it be suspected that some or other will haply mistake a thing so manifest in every man's eye, there is no let but that as often as those books are read, and need so requireth, the style of their difference may expressly be mentioned, to bar even all possibility of error.

[11.] It being then known that we hold not the Apocrypha for sacred (as we do the holy Scripture) but for human compositions, the subject whereof are sundry divine matters; let there be reason shewed why to read any part of them publicly it should be unlawful or hurtful unto the Church of God. I hear it said that "many things" in them are very "frivolous," and unworthy of public audience; yea many contrary, "plainly contrary to the holy scripture [95]." Which hitherto is neither sufficiently proved by him who saith it, and if the proofs thereof were strong, yet the very allegation itself is weak. Let us therefore suppose (for I will not demand to what purpose it is that against our custom of reading books not canonical they bring exceptions of matter in those books which we never used to read) suppose I say that what faults soever they have observed throughout the passages of all those books, the same in every respect were such as neither could be construed, nor ought to be censured otherwise than even as themselves pretend: yet as men through too much haste oftentimes

cap. 6. [vid. supra, p. 71.] Melch. Can. Locor. Theol. lib. xi. [p. 650. ed. Lovan. 1569. "Dolen-"ter hoc dico potius quam contumeliose, multo a "Laertio severius vitas Philosophorum scriptas, "quam a Christianis vitas Sanctorum; longeque "incorruptius et integrius Suetonium res Cæsarum "exposuisse, quam exposuerint Catholici, non res "dico imperatorum, sed martyrum, virginum, et "confessorum."] Viv. [Lud. Vives] de Trad. Disc. lib. v. ["Dolorem ..... cepi animo maximum, ... "Acta Apostolorum, Martyrum, denique Divorum "nostræ religionis, et ipsius sive crescentis Eccle-"siæ sive jam adultæ, operta maximis tenebris "fere ignorari, tanto sive ad cognoscendum sive "ad imitandum quam ducum aut philosophorum "fructuosiora. Nam quæ de iis scripta præter "pauca quædam multis sunt commentis fœdata, "dum qui scribit affectui suo indulget, et non quæ "egit Divus, sed quæ egisse eum vellet exponit; "ut vitam dictet animus scribentis, non veritas. "Fuere qui magnæ pietatis loco ducerent menda-"ciosa pro religione confingere: quod et periculo-"sum est, ne veris adimatur fides propter falsa; et "minime necessarium; quoniam pro pietate nostra "tam multa sunt vera, ut falsa, tanquam ignavi "milites atque inutiles, oneri sint magis quam "auxilio." Op. p. 510. ed. 1535.]

[93] "In errorum barathrum faciliter ruunt, qui "conceptus proprios patrum definitionibus ante-"ponunt." c. un. de relig. do. in Extra. [i. e. capite unico (Tituli VII.) de Religiosis Domibus, in Extravagantibus (Joannis xxii.) Corp. Juris. Canon. t. iii. App. 74. Lugd. 1584.]

[94] Hieron. Præf. ad Libros Salom. [iii. 25. "Sicut Judith et Tobit et Machabæorum libros "legit quidem Ecclesia, sed eos intra canonicas "Scripturas non recipit; sic et hæc duo volumina "(Sapientiam et Ecclesiasticum) legat ad ædifi-"cationem plebis, non ad auctoritatem ecclesiasti-"corum dogmatum confirmandam."] Aug. de Præd. Sanct. lib. i. c. 14. [t. x. 807. "Non debuit "repudiari sententia Libri Sapientiæ, qui meruit in "Ecclesia Christi de gradu Lectorum Ecclesiæ "Christi tam longa annositate recitari, et ab om-"nibus Christianis, ab Episcopis usque ad extre-"mos laicos, fideles, pœnitentes, catechumenos, "cum veneratione divinæ auctoritatis audiri."] Præf. Gloss. ord. [Lugd. 1589, t. i. "Boni et utiles "sunt, nihilque in eis, quod canonicis obviet, inve-"nitur; ideo Ecclesia eos legit, et permittit, ut ad "devotionem et ad morum informationem a fideli-"bus legantur; eorum tamen auctoritas," &c. (as in the subsequent quotation from St. Jerome.)] et Lyr. ad Prol. Hieron. in Tob. [Ibid. t. ii. 1495. "Postquam, auxiliante Deo, scripsi super libros "sacræ Scripturæ canonicos, ... de ejusdem con-"fisus auxilio super alios intendo scribere, qui non "sunt de canone, sc. lib. Sapientiæ, Ecclesiasti-"cus, Judith, Tobias, et Libri Machabæorum." &c. .... Hi libri "recepti sunt ab Ecclesia, ut ad "morum informationem in ea legantur: tamen "eorum auctoritas ad probandum ea quæ in con-"tentionem veniunt minus idonea reputatur: ut "dicit Hieron. in Prol. super Judith."]

[95] T. C. lib. ii. p. 400, 401. Anonym. apud Sarav. Ep. ad N. quendam. Art. 1. "Durum videtur il-"lorum pleraque (ne quid gravius dicam) inepta, "legenda proponi."]

forget the errand whereabout they should go; so here it appeareth that an eager desire to rake together whatsoever might prejudice or any way hinder the credit of apocryphal books, hath caused the collector's pen so to run as it were on wheels, that the mind which should guide it had no leisure to think, whether that which might haply serve to withhold from giving them the authority which belongeth unto sacred Scripture, and to cut them off from the canon, would as effectually serve to shut them altogether out of the Church, and to withdraw from granting unto them that public use wherein they are only held as profitable for instruction. Is it not acknowledged [96] that those books are "holy," that they are "ecclesiastical" and "sacred," that to term them "divine," as being for their excellency next unto them which are properly so termed, is no way to honour them above desert; yea even that the whole Church of Christ as well *at the first* as *sithence* hath most worthily approved their fitness for the public information of life and manners; is not thus much I say acknowledged, and that by them, who notwithstanding receive not the same for "any part of canonical "Scripture." by them who deny not but that they are "faulty," by them who are ready enough to give instances wherein they seem to contain matter "scarce agreeable with holy Scripture?" So little doth such their supposed faultiness in moderate men's judgment enforce the removal of them out of the house of God, that still they are judged to retain worthily those very titles of commendation, than which there cannot greater be given to writings the authors whereof are men. As in truth if the Scripture itself ascribing to the persons of men righteousness in regard of their manifold virtues, may not rightly be construed as though it did thereby clear them and make them quite free from all faults, no reason we should judge it absurd to commend their writings as reverend, holy, and sound, wherein there are so many singular perfections, only for that the exquisite wits of some few peradventure are able dispersedly here and there to find now a word and then a sentence, which may be more probably suspected than easily cleared of error, by us which have but conjectural knowledge of their meaning.

Against immodest invectives therefore whereby they are charged as being fraught with *outrageous lies* [97], we doubt not but their more allowable censure will prevail, who without so passionate terms of disgrace, do note a difference great enough between Apocryphal and other writings, a difference such as Josephus and Epiphanius observe: the one declaring that amongst the Jews books written after the days of Artaxerxes were not of equal credit with them which had gone before, inasmuch as the Jews sithence that time had not the like exact succession of Prophets [98]; the other acknowledging that they are "profitable [99]," although denying them to be "divine" in such construction and sense as the Scripture itself is so termed. With what intent they were first published, those words of the nephew of Jesus do plainly enough signify, "[1] After that my grandfather Jesus "had given himself to the reading of the "Law and the Prophets and other books of "our fathers, and had gotten therein suffi-"cient judgment, he purposed also to write "something pertaining to learning and wis-"dom, to the intent that they which were "desirous to learn, and would give them-"selves to these things, might profit much "more in living according to the Law." Their end in writing and ours in reading them is the same. The books of Judith, Toby, Baruch, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus, we read, as serving most unto that end. The rest we leave unto men in private.

[12.] Neither can it be reasonably thought, because upon certain solemn occasions some lessons are chosen out of those books, and of Scripture itself some chapters not appointed to be read at all, that we thereby do offer disgrace to the word of

[96] Confess. Helv. in Harm. Conf. sect. 1. ["Nihil dissimulamus, quosdam Vet. Test. libros a veteribus nuncupatos esse Apocryphos, ab aliis Ecclesiasticos, utpote quos in ecclesiis legi voluerunt quidem, non tamen proferri ad authoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam." Sylloge Confess. sub. Temp. Reform. Eccles. Oxon. 1804. p. 17.] Bel. Con. art. 6. ["Differentiam constitumus inter libros istos sacros, et eos quos Apocryphos vocant: utpote quod Apocryphi legi quidem in Ecclesia possint, et fas sit ex illis eatenus etiam sumere documenta, quatenus cum libris Canonicis consonant; at nequaquam ea est ipsorum auctoritas et firmitudo, ut ex eorum testimonio aliquod dogma de Fide et Religione Christiano certo constitui possit: tantum abest ut aliorum auctoritatem infringere vel minuere valeant." Ibid. p. 293.] Lubert. de Princip. Christ. Dogm. lib. i. c. 5. [c. 4. "Manifestum est, Ecclesiam habuisse eos libros pro *sanctis, sacris*, et *Ecclesiasticis*, neque tamen pro Canonicis agnovisse." c. 5. "Hi libri non sunt Canonicis libris conformes. Unum enim librum ex his Hieronymus dicit vitiosum esse, alterum fabulosum. At vitiosum et fabulosum non est veritatis regulæ conforme. Præterea in singulis libris ostendemus, eos non esse canonicis conformes."]

[97] The libel of Metaphys. Schoolp. art. 34.

[98] Joseph. cont. Apion. lib. i. [§. 8. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀρταξέρξου μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνον γέγραπται μὲν ἕκαστα· πίστεως δὲ οὐχ ὁμοίας ἠξίωται τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν, διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν προφητῶν ἀκριβῆ διαδοχήν.]

[99] Epiphan. in Ancyrot. [de Ponderibus, &c. §. 4.] Χρήσιμοι μέν εἰσι καὶ ὠφέλιμοι, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀριθμὸν ῥητῶν οὐκ ἀναφέρονται. [t. ii. 162.]

[1] Præfat. ad lib. Eccles.

God or lift up the writings of men above it. For in such choice we do not think but that Fitness of speech may be more respected than Worthiness. If in that which we use to read there happen by the way any clause, sentence, or speech, that soundeth towards error, should the mixture of a little dross constrain the Church to deprive herself of so much gold, rather than learn how by art and judgment to make separation of the one from the other? To this effect very fitly, from the counsel that St. Jerome giveth Læta [2], of taking heed "how" she read the Apocrypha, as also by the help of other learned men's judgments delivered in like case, we may take direction. But surely the arguments that should bind us not to read them or any part of them publicly at all must be stronger than as yet we have heard any.

XXI. We marvel the less that our reading of books not canonical is so much impugned, when so little is attributed unto the reading of canonical Scripture itself, that now it hath grown to be a question, whether the word of God be any *ordinary* mean to save the souls of men, in that it is either privately studied or publicly read and so made known, or else only as the same is *preached*, that is to say, *explained by lively voice* and *applied* to the people's use *as the speaker in his wisdom* thinketh meet. For this alone is it which they use to call Preaching. The public reading of the Apocrypha they condemn altogether as a thing effectual unto evil; the *bare* reading *in like sort* of whatsoever, yea even of Scriptures themselves, they mislike, as a thing *uneffectual* to do *that good*, which we are persuaded may grow by it [3].

Of preaching by sermons; and whether sermons be the only ordinary way of teaching, whereby men are brought to the saving knowledge of God's truth.

[2.] Our desire is in this present controversy, as in the rest, not to be carried up and down with the waves of uncertain arguments, but rather positively to lead on the minds of the simpler sort by plain and easy degrees, till the very nature of the thing itself do make manifest what is truth. First therefore because whatsoever is spoken concerning the efficacy or necessity of God's Word, the same they tie and restrain only unto Sermons, howbeit not Sermons read neither (for such they also abhor in the church [4]) but sermons without book, sermons which spend their life in their birth and may have public audience but once; for this cause to avoid ambiguities wherewith they often entangle themselves, not marking what doth agree to the word of God in itself, and what in regard of outward accidents which may befall it, we are to know that the word of God is his heavenly truth touching matters of eternal life revealed and uttered unto men; unto Prophets and Apostles by immediate divine inspiration, from them to us by their books and writings. We therefore have no *word of God* but the Scripture. Apostolic sermons were unto such as heard them his word, even as properly as to us their writings are. Howbeit not so our own sermons, the expositions which our discourse of wit doth gather and minister out of the word of God. For which cause in this present question, we are when we name the *word of God* always to mean the *Scripture only*.

[3.] The end of the word of God is *to save*, and therefore we term it *the word of life*. The way for all men to be saved is by the knowledge of that truth which the word hath taught. And sith eternal life is a thing of itself communicable unto all, it behoveth that the word of God, the necessary mean thereunto, be so likewise. Wherefore the word of life hath been always a treasure, though precious, yet easy, as well to attain, as to find; lest any man desirous of life should perish through the difficulty of the way. To this end the word of God no otherwise serveth than only in the nature of a doctrinal instrument. It saveth because it maketh "wise to salvation [5]." Wherefore the ignorant it saveth not; they which live by the word must know it. And being itself the instrument which God hath purposely framed, thereby to

[2] [Opp. i. 57. Quoted by T. C. ii. 401. "Caveat omnia apocrypha. Et siquando ea non ad "dogmatum veritatem, sed ad signorum reverentiam legere voluerit: sciat non eorum esse, quorum titulis prænotantur, multaque his admixta "vitiosa, et grandis esse prudentiæ, aurum in luto quærere."]

[3] [Eccl. Disc. fol. 76. "Ne putemus eos de ecclesiis non esse sollicitos, mirifica quædam ratio "inventa est, qua quum lectores tantum habeant, qui Scripturæ partem aliquam et preces reliquamque liturgiam recitent, idoneos tamen pastores "et verbi divini prædicatores se habere existimant." Adm. ap. Whitg. Def. 579. "Reading "is not feeding, but it is as evil as playing upon a "stage, and worse too; for players yet learn their "parts without book, and these, a many of them, "can scarcely read within book."]

[4] [Adm. "By the word of God it is an office of "preaching, they make it an office of reading." Ans. 159. "What contrariety is there betwixt "reading and preaching? If a man should write "his sermon, and read it in the book to his flock, "doth he not preach?" T. C. i. 127. (al. 160.) "What if I granted that it is preaching, yet I deny that he that readeth another man's sermon "preacheth: and further I say that if there be "any such as being able to preach for his knowledge yet for fault either of utterance or memory "cannot do it but by reading that which he hath "written, it is not convenient that he should be a "minister in the Church."]

[5] [2 Tim. iii. 15.]

work the knowledge of salvation in the hearts of men, what cause is there wherefore it should not of itself be acknowledged a most apt and a likely mean to leave an Apprehension of things divine in our understanding, and in the mind an Assent thereunto? For touching the one, sith God, who knoweth and discloseth best the rich treasures of his own wisdom, hath by delivering his word made choice of the Scriptures as the most effectual means whereby those treasures might be imparted unto the world, it followeth that to man's understanding the Scripture must needs be even of itself intended as a full and perfect discovery, sufficient to imprint in us the lively character of all things necessarily required for the attainment of eternal life. And concerning our Assent to the mysteries of heavenly truth, seeing that the word of God for the Author's sake hath credit with all that confess it (as we all do) to be his word, every proposition of holy Scripture, every sentence being to us a principle; if the principles of all kinds of knowledge else have that virtue in themselves, whereby they are able to procure our assent unto such conclusions as the industry of right discourse doth gather from them; we have no reason to think the principles of that truth which tendeth unto man's everlasting happiness less forcible than any other, when we know that of all other they are for their certainty the most infallible.

But as every thing of price, so this doth require travail. We bring not the knowledge of God with us into the world. And the less our own opportunity or ability is that way, the more we need the help of other men's judgments to be our direction herein. Nor doth any man ever believe, into whom the doctrine of belief is not instilled by instruction some way received at the first from others. Wherein whatsoever fit means there are to notify the mysteries of the word of God, whether publicly (which we call Preaching) or in private howsoever, the word by *every such mean* even "ordinarily [6]" doth save, and not only by being delivered unto men in Sermons.

[4.] *Sermons* are not *the only preaching* which doth save souls. For concerning the use and sense of this word Preaching, which they shut up in so close a prison, although more than enough have already been spoken to redeem the liberty thereof, yet because they insist so much and so proudly insult thereon, we must a little inure their ears with hearing how others whom they more regard are in this case accustomed to use the selfsame language with us whose manner of speech they deride. Justin Martyr doubteth not to tell the Grecians, that even in certain of their *writings* the very judgment to come is preached [7]; nor the council of Vaus to insinuate that presbyters absent through infirmity from their churches might be said to preach by those deputies who in their stead did but read *Homilies* [8]; nor the council of Toledo to call the usual public reading of the *Gospels* in the church Preaching [9]; nor others long before these our days to write, that by him who but readeth *a lesson* in the solemn assembly as part of divine service, the very office of Preaching is so far forth executed [10]. Such kind of speeches were then familiar, those phrases seemed not to them absurd, they would have marvelled to hear the outcries which we do [11], because we think that the Apostles in writing, and others in reading to the church those books which the Apostles wrote, are neither untruly nor unfitly said "to preach." For although men's tongues and their pens differ, yet to one and the selfsame general if not particular effect, they may both serve. It is no good argument, St. Paul could not "write with his "tongue," therefore neither could he "preach "with his pen." For Preaching is a general end whereunto writing and speaking do both serve. Men speak not with the instruments of writing, neither write with the instruments of speech, and yet things recorded with the one and uttered with the other

[6] ["The *ordinary* and especial means to work "faith by is preaching and not reading."... "It is "the excellentest and most *ordinary* means to "work faith by in the hearts of the hearers."..... "The *ordinary* ways whereby God regenerateth "his children is by the word of God which is "preached." T. C. i. 159.]

[7] Parænct. ad Gent. [p. i. C. τὴν μέλλουσαν μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦδε τοῦ βίου ἔσεσθαι κρίσιν· ἣν οὐ μόνοι οἱ ἡμέτεροι κατὰ θεὸν ΚΗΡΥΤΤΟΥΣΙ πρόγονοι, προφῆταί τε καὶ νομοθέται, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν νομισθέντες εἶναι σόφοι, οὐ ποιηταὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλόσοφοι οἱ τὴν ἀληθῆ καὶ θείαν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι παρ' ὑμῖν εἰδέναι γνῶσιν.]

[8] Concil. Vasen. ii. [vel. iii.] ca. ii. [vid. supr. p. 78, not. 89.]

[9] Concil. Tol. iv. c. 12. ["In quibusdam His- "paniarum Ecclesiis Laudes post Apostolum de- "cantantur, priusquam Evangelium *prædicetur*." t. v. 1709.]

[10] Rupert. de Divin. Offic. lib. i. c. 12, 13. ["Lecturus, benedictionem petens, hoc significat: "quod nemo nisi missus aut permissus officium "*prædicandi* usurpare debeat." "Quodque in "fine dicit, Tu autem Domine miserere nostri, ne "ipsum quidem bonum officium *prædicandi* sine "alicujus vel levis culpæ pulvere posse peragi."]

Isid. de Eccles. Offic. lib. i. c. 10. ["Ideo Di- "aconus clara voce silentium admonet, ut sive "dum psallitur, sive dum Lectio pronunciatur, ... "quod omnibus *prædicatur*, æqualiter ab omnibus "audiatur."]

[11] The Libel of Schoolp. art. 11. T. C. lib. ii. p. 388. "St. Paul's writing is no more Preaching "than his pen or his hand is his tongue: seeing "they cannot be the same which cannot be made "by the same instruments." [i. 127.]

may be preached well enough with both[12]. By their patience therefore be it spoken, the Apostles preached as well when they wrote as when they spake the Gospel of Christ, and our usual public Reading of the word of God for the people's instruction is Preaching[13].

[5.] Nor about words would we ever contend, were not their purpose in so restraining the same injurious to God's most sacred Word and Spirit. It is on both sides confessed that the word of God outwardly administered (his[14] Spirit inwardly concurring therewith) converteth, edifieth, and saveth souls. Now whereas the external administration of his word is as well by reading barely the Scripture, as by explaining the same when sermons thereon be made; in the one they deny that the finger of God hath *ordinarily* certain *principal operations*, which we most steadfastly hold and believe that it hath in both.

What they attribute to sermons only, and what we to reading also.

XXII. So worthy a part of divine service we should greatly wrong, if we did not esteem Preaching as the blessed ordinance of God, sermons as keys to the kingdom of heaven, as wings to the soul, as spurs to the good affections of man, unto the sound and healthy as food, as physic unto diseased minds. Wherefore how highly soever it may please them with words of truth to extol sermons, they shall not herein offend us. We seek not to derogate from any thing which they can justly esteem, but our desire is to uphold the just estimation of that from which it seemeth unto us they derogate more than becometh them[15]. That which offendeth us is first the great disgrace which they offer unto our custom of bare reading the word of God, and to his gracious Spirit, the principal virtue whereof thereby manifesting itself for the endless good of men's souls, even the virtue which it hath to convert, to edify, to save souls, this they mightily strive to obscure; and secondly the shifts wherewith they maintain their opinion of sermons, whereunto while they labour to appropriate the saving power of the Holy Ghost, they separate from all apparent hope of life and salvation thousands whom the goodness of Almighty God doth not exclude.

[2.] Touching therefore the use of Scripture, even in that it is openly read, and the inestimable good which the Church of God by that very mean hath reaped; there was, we may very well think, some cause, which moved the Apostle St. Paul to require, that those things which any one church's affairs gave particular occasion to write, might for the instruction of all be published, and that by reading[16].

1. When the very having of the books of God was a matter of no small charge and difficulty, inasmuch as they could not be had otherwise than only in written copies, it was the necessity not of preaching things agreeable with the word, but of reading the word itself at large to the people, which caused churches throughout the world to have public care, that the sacred oracles of God being procured by common charge, might with great sedulity be kept both entire and sincere. If then we admire the providence of God in the same continuance of Scripture, notwithstanding the violent endeavours of infidels to abolish, and the fraudulent of heretics always to deprave the same, shall we set light by that custom of reading, from whence so precious a benefit hath grown?

2. The voice and testimony of the Church acknowledging Scripture to be the law of the living God, is for the truth and certainty thereof no mean evidence. For if with reason we may presume upon things which a few men's depositions do testify, suppose we that the minds of men are not both at their first access to the school of Christ exceedingly moved, yea and for ever afterwards also confirmed much, when they consider the main consent of all the churches in the whole world witnessing the sacred authority of scriptures, ever sithence the first publication thereof, even till this present day and hour? And that they all have always so testified, I see not how we should possibly wish a proof more palpable, than this manifest received and everywhere continued custom of reading them publicly as the Scriptures. The reading therefore of the word of God, as the use hath ever been, in open audience, is the plainest evidence we have of the Church's Assent and Acknowledgment that it is his word.

3. A further commodity this custom hath, which is to furnish the very simplest and rudest sort with such infallible Axioms and Precepts of sacred truth, delivered even in the very Letter of the Law of God, as may serve them for [17] Rules whereby to judge the better all *other doctrines* and instructions which they hear. For which end and purpose I see not how the Scripture could be possibly made familiar unto all, unless far more should be read in the people's

[12] "Evangelizo manu et scriptione." Rainol. de Rom. Eccles. Idolol. Præf. ad Co. Essex.

[13] [T. C. i. 133. "The ministering of the holy "Sacraments . . . is a declaration and seal of "God's favour, and a plain *preaching*, . . . that "they be washed from their sins," &c.]

[14] John vi. 46. [45?] Matt. xvi. 17; 2 Cor. iv. 6; 1 Cor. xii. 3; Acts xvi. 14.

[15] [Adm. 7. Ans. 130—134, 208, 211, 212. T. C. i. 119. al. 158-161. Def. 568—582. T. C. ii. 374—392.]

[16] 1 Thess. v. 27; Coloss. iv. 16.

[17] John v. 39; Isa. viii. 20.

hearing, than by a sermon can be opened. For whereas in a manner the whole book of God is by reading every year published, a small part thereof in comparison of the whole may hold very well the readiest interpreter of Scripture occupied many years.

4. Besides, wherefore should any man think, but that reading itself is one of the "ordinary" means, whereby it pleaseth God of his gracious goodness to instil that celestial verity, which being but so received, is nevertheless effectual to save souls? Thus much therefore we ascribe to the reading of the word of God as the manner is in our churches.

[3.] And because it were odious if they on their part should altogether despise the same, they yield [18] that reading may "set "forward," but not begin the work of salvation; that [19] faith may be "nourished" therewith, but not bred; that [20] herein men's attention to the Scriptures, and their speculation of the creatures of God have like efficacy, both being of power to "augment," but neither to effect belief without sermons; that if [21] any *believe* by reading alone we are to account it a miracle, an "extraordinary" work of God. Wherein that which they grant we gladly accept at their hands, and wish that patiently they would examine how little cause they have to deny that which as yet they grant not.

[4.] The Scripture witnesseth that when the book of the Law of God had been sometime missing, and was after found, the king, which heard it but only read, tare his clothes, and with tears confessed, "Great "is the wrath of the Lord upon us, because "our fathers have not kept his word to do "after all things which are written in this "book [22]." This doth argue, that by bare reading (for of sermons at that time there is no mention) true repentance may be wrought in the hearts of such as fear God, and yet incur his displeasure, the deserved effect whereof is eternal death. So that their repentance (although it be not their first entrance) is notwithstanding the first step of their reentrance into life, and may be in them wrought by the word only read unto them.

Besides, it seemeth that God would have no man stand in doubt but that the reading of Scripture is effectual, as well *to lay even the first foundation*, as to add degrees of farther perfection in the fear of God. And therefore the Law saith, "Thou shalt *read* "this Law before all Israel, that men, wo"men, and *children* may hear, yea even "that their children which as yet *have not* "*known* it may hear it, and *by hearing it* "*so read*, may *learn to fear* the Lord [23]."

Our Lord and Saviour was himself of opinion, that they which would not be drawn to amendment of life by the testimony which Moses and the Prophets have given concerning the miseries that follow sinners after death, were not likely to be persuaded by other means [24], although God from the very dead should have raised them up preachers.

Many hear the books of God and believe them not. Howbeit their unbelief in that case we may not impute unto any weakness or unsufficiency in the mean which is used towards them, but to the wilful bent of their obstinate hearts against it. With minds obdurate nothing prevaileth. As well they that preach, as they that read unto such, shall still have cause to complain with the Prophets which were of old, "Who will give credit unto our teach"ing [25]?" But with whom ordinary means will prevail, surely the power of the word of God, even without the help of interpreters *in God's Church* worketh mightily, not unto their confirmation alone which are converted, but also to their conversion which are not.

It shall not boot them who derogate from reading to excuse it, when they see no other remedy, as if their intent were only to deny that *aliens* and strangers from the family of God are won, or that belief doth use to be wrought at the first in *them*, without sermons. For they know it is our custom of simple reading not for *conversion of infidels* estranged from the house of God, but for *instruction of men baptized*, bred and brought up in the bosom of the Church, which they despise as a thing uneffectual to

[18] [T. C. i. 126. al. 159. "Although reading "do help to nourish the faith which cometh by "preaching, yet this is given to the preaching κατ' "ἐξοχήν, i. e. by excellency, and for that it is the "excellentest and most ordinary means to work "by in the hearts of the hearers. The beholding "of the creatures, and the consideration of the "making of the world, and of God's wisdom and "wonderful love appearing in them, doth nourish "and strengthen faith: and yet may it not there"fore in efficacy be compared with the preaching "of the word of God."]

[19] T. C. ii. 375. ["It helpeth to nourish faith *engendered*."] 376. ["If private reading only "cannot ordinarily *engender* faith, I would know "how public reading only can do it."] 396. ["The Lord's authorized embassador, . . . without "whose ministry . . . faith cannot be *engendered*."]

[20] T. C. ii. 378. ["I compared them" (the consideration of the creatures with the reading of the Scriptures) "in that *both nourishing faith*, "*neither could ordinarily breed it*."]

[21] T. C. ii. 383. ["Of many brought to the "light of the Gospel by reading only, he" (Whitgift) "maketh not, nor, as I am persuaded, could "make it appear. Although it be confessed that "that may be done *by the Lord's extraordinary* "*working;* which feedeth sometime with quails "in the wilderness."]

[22] 2 Chron. xxxiv. 18, 19, 21.

[23] Deut. xxxi. 11—13.

[24] Luke xvi. 31.

[25] [Is. liii. 1.]

save *such* souls. In *such* they imagine that God hath no ordinary mean to work faith without sermons.

[5.] The reason, why no man can attain belief by the bare contemplation of heaven and earth, is for that they neither are sufficient to give us as much as the least spark of light concerning the very principal mysteries of our faith; and whatsoever we may learn by them, the same we can only attain to know according to the manner of natural sciences, which mere discourse of wit and reason findeth out, whereas the things which we properly believe be only such as are received upon the credit of divine testimony [26]. Seeing therefore that he which considereth the creatures of God findeth therein both these defects, and neither the one nor the other in Scriptures, because he that readeth unto us the Scriptures delivereth all the mysteries of faith, and not any thing amongst them all more than the mouth of the Lord doth warrant: it followeth in those two respects that our consideration of creatures and attention unto Scriptures are not in themselves, and without sermons, things of like disability to *breed* or *beget* faith.

[6.] Small cause also there is, why any man should greatly wonder as at an extraordinary work, if without sermons reading be found to effect thus much. For I would know by some special instance, what one article of Christian faith, or what duty required necessarily unto all men's salvation there is, which the very reading of the word of God is not *apt* to notify. Effects are miraculous and strange when they grow by unlikely means. But did we ever hear it accounted for a wonder, that he which doth read, should believe and live according to the will of Almighty God [27]? Reading doth convey to the mind that truth without addition or diminution, which Scripture hath derived from the Holy Ghost. And the end of all Scripture is the same which St. John proposeth in the writing of that most divine Gospel, namely Faith, and through faith Salvation [28]. Yea all Scripture is to this effect *in itself* available, as they which wrote it were persuaded [29]; unless we suppose that the Evangelist or others in speaking of their own intent to instruct and to save by writing, had a secret conceit which they never opened unto any, a conceit that no man in the world should ever be that way the better for any sentence by them written, till such time as the same might chance to be preached upon or alleged at the least in a sermon. Otherwise if he which writeth do that which is forcible in itself, how should he which readeth be thought to do that which in itself is of no force to work belief and to save believers?

[7.] Now although we have very just cause to stand in some jealousy and fear, lest by thus overvaluing their sermons, they make the price and estimation of Scripture otherwise notified to fall; nevertheless so impatient they are, that being but requested to let us know what causes they leave for men's encouragement to attend to the reading of the Scripture, if sermons only be the power of God to save every one which believeth; that which we move for our better learning and instruction's sake, turneth unto anger and choler in them, they grow altogether out of quietness with it; they answer fumingly that they are "ashamed to "defile their pens with making answer to "such idle questions [30]:"yet in this their mood they cast forth somewhat, wherewith under pain of greater displeasure we must rest contented. They tell us the profit of reading is singular, in that it serveth for a preparative unto sermons; it helpeth prettily towards the nourishment of faith which sermons have once engendered; it is some stay to his mind which readeth the Scripture, when he findeth the same things there which are taught in sermons, and thereby perceiveth how God doth concur in opinion with the preacher; besides it keepeth sermons in memory, and doth in that respect, although not feed the soul of man, yet help the retentive force of that stomach of the mind which receiveth ghostly food at the preacher's hand. But the principal cause of *writing* the Gospel was, *that it might be preached* upon or interpreted by public ministers apt and authorized thereunto [31].

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[26] ["Divine Faith is an assent unto something "as Credible upon the Testimony of God." Pearson on the Creed, p. 5. ed. 1692.]

[27] Exod. xxiv. 7.

[28] John xx. 31.

[29] Prov. i. 2—4; Rom. i. 16; 2 Tim. iii. 15.

[30] T. C. lib. ii. p. 375.

[31] [The following are the words referred to:

"That he" (Dr. Whitgift) "addeth, of taking "away by this means from the majesty of the "Scriptures, and making them dumb, &c. (am-"plified in the next division by asking why the "Scriptures were then written? with other such "too too idle questions, which I am ashamed to "defile my pen with) is unworthy the name of a "reason. As if in that reading maketh men fitter "to hear the word preached, and to seek after it, "in that it helpeth to nourish faith engendered, "in that it confirmeth a man in the doctrine "preached, when by reading he perceiveth it to "be as the preacher taught, in that it reneweth "the memory of that was preached, which other-"wise would decay; I say, as if in these respects, "and such like, the profit of reading and com-"mitting the word to writing, were not singular "and inestimable. Besides that it is not denied "but the Lord may extraordinarily give faith by "reading only: although the order which God "hath put is to save by foolishness (as it is es-"teemed) of preaching. Beside also that it is "absurd, that the Doctor asketh, why else the

Is it credible that a superstitious conceit (for it is no better) concerning sermons should in such sort both darken their eyes and yet sharpen their wits withal, that the only true and weighty cause why Scripture was written, the cause which in Scripture is so often mentioned, the cause which all men have ever till this present day acknowledged, this they should clean exclude as being no cause at all, and load us with so great store of strange concealed causes which did never see light till now? In which number the rest must needs be of moment, when the very chiefest cause of committing the sacred Word of God unto books, is surmised to have been, lest the preacher should want a text whereupon to scholy.

[8.] Men of learning hold it for a slip in judgment, when offer is made to demonstrate that as proper to one thing which reason findeth common unto more. Whereas therefore they take from all kinds of teaching that which they attribute to sermons, it had been their part to yield directly some strong reason why between *sermons alone* and *faith* there should be ordinarily that coherence which causes have with their usual effects, why a Christian man's belief should so naturally grow from sermons, and not possibly from any other kind of teaching.

In belief there being but these two operations, *apprehension* and *assent*, do only sermons cause belief, in that no other way is able to explain the mysteries of God, that the mind may rightly apprehend or conceive them as behoveth? We all know that many things are believed, although they be intricate, obscure, and dark, although they exceed the reach and capacity of our wits, yea although in this world they be no way possible to be understood. Many things believed are likewise so plain, that every common person may therein be unto himself a sufficient expounder. Finally, to explain even those things which need and admit explication, many other usual ways there are besides sermons. Therefore sermons are not the only ordinary means whereby we *first* come to *apprehend* the mysteries of God.

Is it in regard then of sermons only, that apprehending the Gospel of Christ we yield thereunto our unfeigned Assent as to a thing infallibly true? They which rightly consider after what sort the heart of man hereunto is framed, must of necessity acknowledge, that whoso assenteth to the words of eternal life, doth it in regard of his *authority* whose words they are. This is in man's conversion unto God τὸ ὅθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως, the first step whereat his race towards heaven beginneth. Unless therefore, clean contrary to our own experience, we shall think it a miracle if any man acknowledge the divine authority of the Scripture, till some sermon have persuaded him thereunto, and that otherwise neither conversation in the bosom of the Church, nor religious education, nor the reading of learned men's books, nor information received by conference, nor whatsoever pain and diligence in hearing, studying, meditating day and night on the Law, is so far blest of God as to work this effect in any man; how would they have us to grant that faith doth not come but only by *hearing sermons*?

[9.] Fain they would have us to believe the Apostle St. Paul himself to be the author of this their paradox, only because he hath said that "it pleaseth God by the foolishness of Preaching to save them which "believe [32];" and again, "How shall they "call on him in whom they have not believed? how shall they believe in him of whom "they have not heard? how shall they hear "without a preacher? how shall men "preach except they be sent [33]?"

To answer therefore both allegations [34] at once; the very substance of that they contain is in few but this. Life and salvation God will have offered unto all; his will is that Gentiles should be saved as well as Jews. Salvation belongeth unto none but such "as call upon the name of our Lord "Jesus Christ [35]." Which nations as yet unconverted neither do nor possibly can do till they believe. What they are to believe, impossible it is they should know till they hear it. Their hearing requireth our preaching unto them.

Tertullian [36], to draw even Paynims themselves unto Christian belief, willeth the books of the Old Testament to be

"Gospel should be written? as if there were no "other cause of writing of it, than that it should "be simply read: or as though the principal cause "was not that it should be preached." T. C. ii. 375.]

[32] T. C. lib. ii. 375; 1 Cor. i. 21.

[33] Rom. x. 14, 15.

[34] [View, &c. p. 4. T. C. i. 126. al. 159. "St. "Paul saith that faith cometh by hearing, and "hearing of the word preached; so that the ordi- "nary and especial means to work faith by is "preaching and not reading." Whitg. Def. 569; T. C. ii. 375; Sampson in Strype, An. iii. 1. 327.]

[35] [1 Cor. 1. 2.]

[36] Apologet. c. 18. [in fine "Quos diximus Præ- "dicatores, Prophetæ de officio præfandi vocan- "tur. Voces eorum itemque virtutes quas ad "fidem divinitatis edebant, in thesauris literarum "manent: nec istæ nunc latent. Ptolemæorum "eruditissimus . . . libros a Judæis quoque postu- "lavit . . . Hodie apud Serapæum Ptolemæi bib- "liothecæ com ipsis Hebraicis literis exhibentur. "Sed et Judæi palam lectitant, vectigalis libertas "vulgo aditur, sabbatis omnibus qui audierit, in- "veniet Deum; qui etiam studuerit intelligere, "cogetur et credere."]

searched, which were at that time in Ptolemy's library. And if men did not list to travel so far though it were for their endless good, he addeth that in Rome and other places the Jews had synagogues whereinto every one which would might resort, that this kind of liberty they purchased by payment of a standing tribute, that there they did openly [37] *read* the Scriptures; and whosoever "will hear" saith Tertullian, "he shall find God; whosoever will study "to know, shall be also fain to believe." But sith there is no likelihood that ever voluntarily they will seek instruction at our hands, it remaineth that unless we will suffer them to perish, salvation itself must seek them, it behoveth God to send them preachers, as he did his elect Apostles throughout the world.

There is a knowledge which God hath always revealed unto them in the works of nature. This they honour and esteem highly as profound Wisdom; howbeit this wisdom saveth them not. That which must save believers is *the knowledge of the cross of Christ*, the *only subject* of all our preaching. And in their eyes what doth this seem as yet but Folly? It pleaseth God by "the "foolishness of preaching" to save. These words declare how admirable force those mysteries have which the world doth deride as follies; they shew that the *foolishness of the cross of Christ* is the *wisdom of true believers;* they concern the *object* of our faith, the Matter preached of and believed in by Christian men [38]. This we know that the Grecians or Gentiles did account foolishness; but that they ever did think it a fond or unlikely way to seek men's conversion by sermons we have not heard. Manifest therefore it is that the Apostle applying the name of *foolishness* in such sort as they did must needs by "the foolishness of "preaching" mean the doctrine of Christ, which we learn that we may be saved; but that sermons are the only manner of teaching whereby it pleaseth our Lord to save he could not mean.

In like sort where the same Apostle proveth that as well the sending of the Apostles as their preaching to the Gentiles was necessary, dare we affirm it was ever his meaning, that unto their salvation who even from their tender infancy never knew any faith or religion than only Christian, no Kind of teaching can be available saving that which was so needful for the first universal conversion of Gentiles hating Christianity; neither the Sending of any sort allowable in the one case, except only of such as had been in the other also most fit and worthy instruments?

Belief in all sorts doth come by hearkening and attending to the word of life. Which word sometime proposeth and preacheth itself to the hearer; sometime they deliver it whom privately zeal and piety moveth to be instructors of others by conference; sometime of them it is taught whom the Church hath called to the public either reading thereof or interpreting. All these tend unto one effect; neither doth that which St. Paul or other Apostles teach, concerning the necessity of *such teaching* as theirs was, or of *sending such* as they were *for that purpose unto the Gentiles*, prejudice the efficacy of *any other way* of public instruction, or enforce the utter disability of any other men's vocation thought requisite in this Church, for the saving of souls, where means more effectual are wanting.

[10.] Their only proper and direct proof of the thing in question had been to shew, in what sort and how far man's salvation doth necessarily depend upon the knowledge of the word of God; what conditions, properties, and qualities there are, whereby sermons are distinguished from other kinds of administering the word unto that purpose; and what special property or quality that is, which being no where found but in sermons, maketh them effectual to save souls, and leaveth all other doctrinal means besides destitute of vital efficacy. These pertinent instructions, whereby they might satisfy us and obtain the cause itself for which they contend, these things which only would serve they leave, and (which needeth not) sometime they trouble themselves with fretting at the ignorance of such as withstand them in their opinion; sometime they [39] fall

[37] This they did in a tongue which to all learned men amongst the heathens and to a great part of the simplest was familiarly known: as appeareth by a supplication offered unto the emperor Justinian, wherein the Jews make request that it might be lawful for them to read the Greek translation of the LXX interpreters in their synagogues, as their custom before had been. Authent. cxlvi. coll. 10. incipit, Æquum sane. ["De Hebræis, "Quomodo oporteat eos Scripturas legere." "Per "interpelationes quæ ad nos referuntur didicimus, "quod ex ipsis quidam sola lingua tenentur Hebraica, eaque utendum esse in sacrorum libro-"rum lectione volunt: quidam etiam Græcam assumendam contendunt . . . Nos igitur de hac "re edocti, meliores esse judicavimus eos qui Græ-"cam etiam linguam in sacrorum librorum lec-"tione voluerunt assumere, et (uno verbo) omnem denique linguam, quam locus accommoda-"tiorem et magis familiarem reddat auditoribus." p. 624. ed. Plantin. 1575. The copy in Godefroi's edition is very different.]

[38] The Apostle useth the word κήρυγμα, and not κήρυξις.

[39] T. C. lib. ii. p. 373. "This tail of readers." "The bishops' more than beggarly presents." "Those rascal ministers." [The whole passage is, "So I trust appeareth that this tail of reading min-"isters ought to be cut off; and that they are none "of those princely gifts which our Saviour Christ "ascended into heaven sendeth unto his Church, "but the bishops' (to speak no grievouslier of

upon their poor brethren which can but read, and against them they are bitterly eloquent.

If we allege what the Scriptures themselves do usually speak for the saving force of the word of God, not with restraint to any one certain kind of delivery, but howsoever the same shall chance to be made known, yet by one trick or other they always restrain it unto sermons. Our Lord and Saviour hath said [40], "Search the "Scriptures, in them ye think to have eter-"nal life." But they tell us, he spake to the Jews, which Jews before "had heard "his Sermons [41];" and that peradventure it was his mind they should search, not by reading, nor by hearing them read, but by "attending" whensoever the Scriptures should happen to be "alleged in Sermons."

Furthermore, having received apostolic doctrine, the Apostle St. Paul hath taught us to esteem the same as the supreme rule whereby all other doctrines must for ever be examined [42]. Yea, but inasmuch as the Apostle doth there speak of that he had preached, he flatly maketh (as they strangely affirm) his Preachings or Sermons the rule whereby to examine all. And then I beseech you what rule have we whereby to judge or examine any? For if sermons must be our rule, because the Apostles' sermons were so to their hearers; then, sith we are not as they were hearers of the Apostles' sermons, it resteth that either the sermons which we hear should be our rule, or (that being absurd) there will (which yet hath greater absurdity) no rule at all be remaining for trial, what doctrines now are corrupt, what consonant with heavenly truth.

Again, let the same Apostle acknowledge "all Scripture profitable to teach, to im-"prove, to correct, to instruct in righteous-"ness [43]." Still notwithstanding we err, if hereby we presume to gather, that Scripture read will avail unto any one of all these uses; they teach us the meaning of the words to be, that so much the Scripture can do if the minister that way apply it in his sermons, otherwise not.

Finally, they never hear a sentence which mentioneth the Word or Scripture, but forthwith their glosses upon it are, the Word "preached," the Scripture "explain-"ed or delivered unto us *in sermons*." Sermons they evermore understand to be that Word of God, which alone hath vital operation; the dangerous sequel of which construction I wish they did more attentively weigh. For sith speech is the very image whereby the mind and soul of the speaker conveyeth itself into the bosom of him which heareth, we cannot choose but see great reason, wherefore the word which proceedeth from God, who is himself very truth and life, should be (as the Apostle to the Hebrews noteth) lively and mighty in operation, "sharper than any two-edged "sword [44]." Now if in this and the like places we did conceive that our own sermons are that strong and forcible word [45], should we not hereby impart even the most peculiar glory of the word of God unto that which is not his word? For touching our sermons, that which giveth them their very

"them) more than beggarly presents." And a little before, "The Prophet calleth the rascal min-"isters of his time, dumb dogs."]

[40] John v. 39.

[41] T. C. lib. ii. p. 377. ["When our Saviour "biddeth the Jews search the Scriptures, he refer-"reth them by that search to judge of the doctrine "he had preached before; which proveth no fruit "of reading when there is no preaching. Beside "that, it will be hard for him to refer the word "*search* unto reading only; as if one could not "search the Scriptures, when he attendeth to them "alleged in sermons."]

[42] Gal. i. 8, 9. [The words of T. C. are, "He "doth flatly make his preaching the rule to exam-"ine all other preaching by." ii. 377.]

[43] 2 Tim. iii. 16. [T. C. ubi supr. "The place of "Timothy being, as I have shewed, of the proper "duties of the minister of the word in preaching, "making no manner of mention of reading, is al-"leged without all judgment."]

[44] Heb. iv. 12.

[45] [Chr. Letter, p. 22. "We beseech you..... "to teach us by sounde demonstration, that a "man can preach the pure word of God by his "owne naturall witt, without a gift supernaturall of "the spirit to give him utterance, and to speak the "worde as he ought to speake? If all that a man "preach be the pure worde of God, what deroga-"tion is it to call such a man's sermons or preach-"ings the strong and forcible worde."

Hooker, MS. note. "If sermons be the word "of God in the same sense that Scriptures are "his word, if there be no difference between "preaching and prophecying, noe ods between tha-"postles of Christ and the preaching ministers of "every congregation, as touching that forme of de-"livering doctrine wch did exempt both the speach-"es and writings of thapostles from possibility of "error, then must we hold that Calvin's sermons "are holie Scripture. You would not have homi-"lies read in the Church, because nothing should "be there read but the word of God. How shall "this stand with your doctrine that sermons are "God's word no lesse than Scriptures? You taught "before, that the Church and all men's doctrine "must be tried by the word of God. Whereby if "you understand sermons, it were good you told "us whose sermons. Calvin's homilies read in "churches. This epistle not like St. Paule's." "Again, in p. 21. "Have you so long magnified "the word of God to bring the matter unto this "issue that your own sermons are that word? "Are you not contented to have them taken for his "word in regard of conformity therewith, unlesse "they be honoured and held of as great authoritie "as if they had come from the very mouth of "Christ himself or of Christ's Apostles? If this "be your meaning, let the people applaude unto "you, and when you speake, cry mainly out, The "voice of God and not of man."]

being is the wit of man [46], and therefore they oftentimes accordingly taste too much of that over corrupt fountain from which they come. In our speech of most holy things, our most frail affections many times are bewrayed.

Wherefore when we read or recite the Scripture, we then deliver to the people *properly* the word of God. As for our sermons, be they never so sound and perfect, his word they are not as the sermons of the prophets were; no they are but ambiguously termed his word, because his word is commonly the subject whereof they treat, and must be the rule whereby they are framed. Notwithstanding by these and the like shifts they derive unto sermons alone whatsoever is generally spoken concerning the word.

[11.] Again, what seemeth to have been uttered concerning sermons and their efficacy or necessity, in regard of divine Matter, and must consequently be verified in sundry other kinds of teaching, if the Matter be the same in all; their use is to fasten every such speech unto that one only Manner of teaching which is by sermons, that still sermons may be all in all. Thus [47] because Solomon declareth that the people decay or "perish" for want of knowledge, where [48] no "prophesying" at all is, they gather that the hope of life and salvation is cut off, where preachers are not which *prophesy by sermons* how many soever they be in number that read daily the word of God, and deliver, though in other sort, the selfsame matter which sermons do. The people which have no way to come to the knowledge of God, no prophesying, no teaching, perish. But that they should of necessity perish, where any one way of knowledge lacketh, is more than the words of Solomon import.

[12.] Another usual point of their art in this present question, is to make very large and plentiful discourses [49] how Christ is by sermons lifted up *higher* and made *more* apparent to the eye of faith; how the savour of the word [50] is *more* sweet being brayed, and *more* able to nourish being divided by preaching [51], than by only reading proposed; how sermons are the keys of the kingdom of heaven [52], and do open the Scriptures, which being but read, remain *in comparison* still clasped; how God [53] giveth

[46] [Chr. Letter, p. 21. "Here, Mai. Hoo. we are "hampered with your words, because they seeme to "us contrarie to the judgment of our Church. We "therefore desire you heartilie to resolve us, what "you meane in this place by.....the being of a "sermon, whether the logicall and dialecticall "frame by which men contrive their matter in "such and such a forme: or &c.....If you meane "the former, then everie declamation and formall "oration in the schooles may be called sermons: "for these are framed of the meere witt of man." Hooker, MS. note. "Sermons are framed by the "witt of man: therefore all things framed by "man's witt are sermons. If this be your skill "in reasoning, let a whelebarrow be a sermon. "For it is a thing made by man's witt."]

[47] [T. C. i. 126. al. 159. "It may be that God "doth sometimes work faith by reading only, espe- "cially where preaching cannot be; and so he doth "sometimes without reading, by a wonderful work "of his Spirit: but the ordinary ways whereby "God regenerateth his children is by the word of "God which is preached. And therefore Solomon "saith, that where prophecy (which is not a bare "reading, but an exposition and application of the "Scriptures) faileth, there the people perish." Comp. Whitg. Def. 572.] T. C. ii. 381.

[48] Prov. xxix. 18.

[49] T. C. [i. 126. al. 159. "To know that the "word of God preached hath more force, and is "more effectual than when it is read, it is to be "observed whereunto the preaching is compared. "It is called a lifting or heaving up of our Saviour "Christ. Like unto the displaying of a banner, as "the serpent was lift up in the wilderness." Comp. Def. 571.] T. C. ii. 378, 9.

[50] 2 Cor. ii. 14—16. [T. C. i. 126. ap. Whitg. Def. 571. "It is called also a sweet savour, and "therefore as the spices being brayed and punned, "smell sweeter and stronger than when they be "whole and unbroken; so the word by interpreta- "tion being broken and bruised carrieth a sweeter "savour unto the understanding, &c." Comp. T C. ii. 379, by which it appears that in his second edition, page 159, he substituted another figure, that of opening a door, for this of aromatic spices.]

[51] 2. Tim. ii. 15. [T. C. i. 126. al. 159. "The "same also may be said in that the preaching "is called a 'cutting' of the word of God: for "as when the meat is cut and shred, it nour- "isheth more than when it is not so: so likewise "it is in preaching and reading." Def. 571: T C. ii. 379.]

[52] Matt. xvi. 19. [T. C. i. 159. "To this also "may be well referred that the preaching is called "of St. Luke (xxiv. 32.) an *opening* of the Scrip- "tures; whereby it is declared that they be as it "were shut, or clasped, or sealed up, until such "time as they be by exposition or declaration open- "ed." ii. 380. "For this cause are the ministers of "the word said to have the keys of the kingdom "of heaven: for that without their ministry of "preaching the kingdom of heaven is as it were "locked."]

[53] 1 Cor. iii. 6. [Adm. ap. Whitg. Def. 580. "By this book bare reading is good tilling, and "single service saying is excellent building," with a reference to 1 Cor. iii. 5; Whitgift (Answer. ap. Def. 581.) remarks on this, "Belike because there "is mention made of tilling in the next verse of "that chapter, therefore you quote it in the mar- "gent, missing only the line: for this is your usu- "al manner: if you have but one word in a text "which you use in your book, you quote the place, "as though it made for your purpose." T. C. i. 126. al. 159. "That which is brought of the au- "thors of the Admonition, and so scornfully hurl- "ed away of M. Doctor, that S. Paul compareth "the preaching unto planting and watering, is a "very notable place to prove that there is no sal- "vation without preaching." Def. 572. S. Paul

richer increase of grace to the ground that is planted and watered by preaching, than by bare and simple reading. Out of which premises declaring how attainment unto life is *easier* where sermons are, they conclude an *impossibility* [54] thereof where sermons are not.

Alcidamas the sophister [55] hath many arguments, to prove that voluntary and extemporal far excelleth premeditated speech. The like whereunto and in part the same are brought by them, who commend sermons, as having (which all men I think will acknowledge) sundry [56] peculiar and proper virtues, such as no other way of teaching besides hath. Aptness to follow particular occasions presently growing, to put life into words by countenance, voice, and gesture, to prevail mightily in the sudden affections of men, this sermons may challenge. Wherein notwithstanding so eminent properties whereof lessons are haply destitute, yet lessons being free from some inconveniences whereunto sermons are more subject, they may in this respect no less take, than in other they must give the hand which betokeneth preeminence. For there is nothing which is not someway excelled even by that which it doth excel. Sermons therefore and Lessons may each excel other in some respects, without any prejudice unto either, as touching that vital force which they both have in the work of our salvation.

[13.] To which effect when we have endeavoured as much as in us doth lie to find out the strongest causes wherefore they should imagine that reading is itself so unavailable, the most we can learn at their hand is, that [57] sermons are "the ordinance "of God," the Scriptures "dark," and the labour of reading "easy."

First therefore as we know that God doth aid with his grace, and by his special providence evermore bless with happy success those things which himself appointeth, so his Church we persuade ourselves he hath not in such sort given over to a reprobate sense, that whatsoever it deviseth for the good of the souls of men the same he doth still accurse and make frustrate.

Or if he always did defeat the ordinances of his Church, is not reading the ordinance of God [58]? Wherefore then should we think that the force of his secret grace is accustomed to bless the labour of dividing his word according unto each man's private discretion in public sermons, and to withdraw itself from concurring with the public delivery thereof by such selected portions of Scripture, as the whole church hath solemnly appointed to be read for the people's good, either by ordinary course, or otherwise, according to the exigence of special occasions? Reading (saith Isidore [59]) is to the hearers no small edifying. To them whose delight and meditation is in the law seeing that happiness and bliss belongeth [60], it is not in us to deny them the benefit of heavenly grace. And I hope we may presume, that a rare thing it is not in the Church of God, even for that very word which is read to be both presently their [61] joy, and afterwards their study that hear it. St. Augustine [62] speaking of devout men,

"saith, 'I have planted, Apollos watered, but "God gave the increase.' *Ergo*, 'there is no sal- "vation without preaching:' is not this good stuff, "and a strong argument to build a matter of sal- "vation upon?" See also T. C. ii. 380.]

[54] "No salvation to be looked for, where no "preaching is." T. C. lib. ii. p. 380. [and i. 126, al. 159. and i. 173. "Unless the Lord work mi- "raculously and extraordinarily, (which is not to be "looked for of us,) the bare reading of the Scrip- "tures without the preaching cannot deliver so "much as one poor sheep from destruction." And Petition of the Communaltie to Q. Eliz. (1588.) "We pray your Highness most humbly upon our "knees, that for the redress of this our woeful "case, you would not send us to the bishops of "this land; . . because by the space of this nine and "twenty years their unfaithfulness hath manifest- "ly appeared, in that they . . either said we were al- "ready sufficiently provided for, or that it were an "impossible thing to establish a preaching minis- "try; *as if they should say, It were not possible "for us to be saved.*" And the same is the leading topic of the "Complaint of the Commonalty by "way of Supplication to the High Court of Par- "liament," which follows in the same pamphlet.]

[55] [Ad calcem Isocratis; ed. Aldin. p. 98—101.]

[56] T. C. lib. ii. p. 395.

[57] [Whitg. Def. 717, 18. "I make this only dif- "ference betwixt homilies and sermons, that the "one is pronounced within the book, the other not "so. If you object and say that the preacher is "directed by the Spirit of God, I will answer that "the writers of homilies be so likewise. And what "can you allege in this point for the one that I "cannot allege for the other? The promise of the "assistance of God's Spirit is as well given to him "that writeth homilies, and to those that hear "them, as it is to such as study for their sermons, "and such as hear them."] T. C. ii. 396. ["As if "he had said, the Lord will give testimony to his "word, as well by the means which men have de- "vised, as that himself hath ordained."]

[58] Deut. xxxi. 11—13. [See Def. 577.]

[59] De Eccles. Offic. lib. i. c. 10. ["Est autem "lectio non parva audientium ædificatio. Unde "oportet ut quando psallitur, ab omnibus psalla- "tur; cum oratur, oretur ab omnibus; quando "lectio legitur, facto silentio, æque audiatur a "cunctis. Nam et si tunc superveniat quisque "cum lectio celebratur, adoret tantum Deum, et "præsignata fronte aurem solicite accommodet. "Patet tempus orandi cum omnes orant, et patet "tempus cum volueris orare privatim. Obtentu "orationis, ne perdideris lectionem." p. 583. ed. Du Breul. Paris, 1601.]

[60] Psalm i. 2.

[61] Psalm cxix. 16.

[62] Aug. in Psal. lxvi. [t. iv. 657. "Vide formi- "cam Dei: surgit quotidie, currit ad ecclesiam

noteth how they daily frequented the church, how attentive ear they gave unto the lessons and chapters read, how careful they were to remember the same and to muse thereupon by themselves. St. Cyprian [63] observeth that reading was not without effect in the hearts of men. Their joy and alacrity were to him an argument, that there is in this ordinance a blessing, such as ordinarily doth accompany the administration of the word of life.

It were much if there should be such a difference between the hearing of sermons preached and of lessons read in the church, that he which presenteth himself at the one, and maketh his prayer with the Prophet David, "Teach me O Lord the way of thy "statutes, direct me in the path of thy commandments [64]," might have the ground of usual experience, whereupon to build his hope of prevailing with God, and obtaining the grace he seeketh; they contrariwise not so, who crave the like assistance of his Spirit, when they give ear to the reading of the other. In this therefore preaching and reading are equal, that both are approved as his ordinances, both assisted with his grace. And if his grace do assist them both to the nourishment of faith already bred, we cannot, without some very manifest cause yielded, imagine that in breeding or begetting faith, his grace doth cleave to the one and utterly forsake the other.

[14.] Touching *hardness* which is the second pretended impediment [65], as against Homilies being plain and popular instructions it is no bar, so neither doth it infringe the efficacy no not of Scriptures although but read. The force of reading, how small soever they would have it, must of necessity be granted sufficient to notify that which is plain or easy to be understood. And of things necessary to all men's salvation we have been hitherto accustomed to hold (especially sithence the publishing of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, whereby the simplest having now a key unto knowledge which the [66] Eunuch in the Acts did want [67], our children may of themselves by reading understand that, which he without an interpreter could not) they are in Scripture plain and easy to be understood. As for those things which at the first are obscure and dark, when memory hath laid them up for a time, judgment afterwards growing explaineth them. Scripture therefore is not so hard, but that the only reading thereof may give life unto willing hearers.

"Dei, orat, audit lectionem, hymnum cantat, rumi-
"nat quod audivit, apud se cogitat, recondit in-
"tus grana collecta de area. Hæc ipsa quæ mo-
"do dicuntur qui prudenter audiunt hoc agunt, et
"ab omnibus videntur procedere ad ecclesiam, re-
"dire de ecclesia, audire sermonem, audire lection-
"em, invenire librum, aperire et legere: omnia is-
"ta videntur cum fiunt. Formica illa est conte-
"rens iter, portans et recondens in conspectu cer-
"nentium."]

[63] Cyprian. lib. ii. Epist. 5. [t. ii. p. 75. ed. Fell.] "Lector personat verba sublimia, evangelium "Christi legit, a fratribus conspicitur, cum gaudio "fraternitatis auditur."

[64] Psal. cxix. 33. 35.

[65] T. C. lib. ii. p. 383. ["Where confessing the "word preached and read all one, I shew notwithstanding that as the fire stirred giveth more heat, "so the word as it were blown by preaching flameth more in the hearers than when it is read; he "answereth that this is to join with the Papists in "condemning the Scriptures of obscurity: but "reason he can shew none; and it is all one as if "one should be charged to have said that the sun "is dark, for that he affirmeth it lighter at noonday "than at the sunrising. Then he must understand "that we place not this difference of lightsomeness "in the word, which is always in itself most light-"some, read and preached; but partly in the ordi-"nance of God . . . making that the special "means; partly in the darkness of our under-"standing, which without the aid of preaching "cannot come to sufficient knowledge of it."] 384. ["The cause why the eunuch" (in Acts viii.) "could not understand, is assigned: for that he "had no teacher to shew him the way. Whereby "followeth . . . that a man cannot ordinarily not "only come to salvation, but not so much as to a "sufficient knowledge of it without preaching."] 392. ["That he saith of dissent with myself." (Def. 784.) "for that saying somewhere" (T. C. i. 173. al. 216.) "'that bare reading without a mira-"cle cannot save from famishment,' I say in an-"other place, (i. 158. al. 197.) 'that the word of "God is easy, giving understanding to idiots,' is "frivolous. If it be easy and give understanding "by preaching and reading together, although not "so by reading only, that standeth which I have "set down."

[66] Acts viii. 31.

[67] [Referring to T. C. i. 126. "Of infinite ex-"amples take one, of the eunuch, which . . . was "reading of the Prophet Esay, yet he believed not "until Philip came and preached unto him." See also Sampson's Preface to a Supplication, &c. (1584) in Strype, An. iii. 1. 327. "We do now "complain of the danger of the loss of our souls, "and of salvation, through this want of teaching "which we now do suffer. There are whole thou-"sands of us left untaught: yea by trial it will be "found, that there are in England whole thousands "of parishes destitute of this necessary help to sal-"vation; that is, of diligent preaching and teach-"ing. Salvation is promised to them only which "do believe; but we cannot believe on him of "whom we do not hear; we cannot hear without "a preacher, as the Apostle doth say. It is "preaching, and not simply reading, which is re-"quired for having of faith. The reader may him-"self read without understanding, as the eunuch "did; and likewise may the hearer hear the thing "read, and not understand it. That eunuch had "not full faith wrought in him, but by hearing "Philip's preaching to him, and opening to him "the meaning of the Scripture, which he had read "before: for then the Holy Ghost did work faith "in his heart."]

[15.] The "easy [68]" performance of which holy labour is in like sort a very cold objection to prejudice the virtue thereof. For what though an infidel, yea though a child may be able to read? There is no doubt, but the meanest and worst amongst the people under the Law had been as able as the priests themselves were to offer sacrifice. Did this make sacrifice of no effect unto that purpose for which it was instituted? In religion some duties are not commended so much by the hardness of their execution, as by the worthiness and dignity of that acceptation wherein they are held with God.

We admire the goodness of God in nature, when we consider how he hath provided that things most needful to preserve this life should be most prompt and easy for all living creatures to come by. Is it not as evident a sign of his wonderful providence over us, when that food of eternal life, upon the *utter want* whereof our endless death and destruction necessarily ensueth, is prepared and always set in such a readiness, that those very means than which nothing is more easy may suffice to procure the same? Surely if we perish it is not the lack of scribes and learned expounders that can be our just excuse. The word which saveth our souls is near us; we need for knowledge but [69] to read and live. The man which readeth the word of God the word itself doth pronounce blessed, if he also observe the same.

[16.] Now all these things being well considered, it shall be no intricate matter for any man to judge with indifferency, on which part the good of the Church is most conveniently sought; whether on ours whose opinion is such as hath been shewed, or else on theirs, who leaving no ordinary way of salvation for them unto whom the word of God is but only read, do seldom name them but with great disdain and contempt who execute that service in the Church of Christ [70]. By means whereof it hath come to pass, that churches, which cannot enjoy the benefit of usual preaching, are judged as it were even forsaken of God, forlorn, and without either hope or comfort: contrariwise those places which every day for the most part are at sermons as the flowing sea, do both by their emptiness at times of reading, and by other apparent tokens, shew to the voice of the living God this way sounding in the ears of men a great deal less reverence than were meet.

[17.] But if no other evil were known to grow thereby, who can choose but think them cruel which doth hear them so boldly teach [71], that if God (as to Him there is nothing impossible) do haply save any such as continue where they have all other means of instruction, but are not taught by continual preaching, yet this is miraculous, and more than the fitness of so poor instruments can give any man cause to hope for; that sacraments are not effectual to salvation, except men be instructed by preaching before they be made partakers of them [72]; yea that both sacraments and prayers also, where sermons are not, "do not only not "feed, but are ordinarily to further con- "demnation [73]?" What man's heart doth not rise at the mention of these things?

[68] [See hereafter, ch. xxxi. §. 2, 3.]

[69] Apoc. i. 3.

[70] T. C. lib. ii. p. 363. ["These *wofull readers* "..... Non-residence would bring little either to "filling of coffers, or bathing of them in the de- "lights of the world, or to what other thing soever "they in their absence propound, unless there were "such *hungry knights*, as would for a crust of "bread supply their absence. Now for removing "of *these sweepings* out of the church ministry," &c.] Whit. 272. [see above, §. 10.]

[71] Pag. 364. ["Bare reading is not able, with- "out God's extraordinary work, to deliver one "soul." "Prayers and sacraments, forasmuch as "they take effect by the preaching of the word, "where that is not these do not only not feed, but "are ordinarily to further condemnation."] 375. ["It is not denied but the Lord may *extraordina- "rily* give faith by reading only."] 380. ["Some of "these" (planting, watering, &c.) "in some de- "gree, or all *extraordinarily*, may be done by bare "reading."] 383. [see above, §. 3. note 21.] 384. [see above, §. 14, note 65.]

[72] Page 392. [Whitg. Def. 784. "You say that "there is not enough in the reading of the Scrip- "tures to keep the people from famishment. . . . "It is a popish and an ungodly opinion, contrary "to the worthiness and profitableness of the Scrip- "tures." T. C. ii. 392. "It is well with us, and "the Scriptures keep their honour if they bring to "the elect salvation, used and applied as the order "which the Lord hath set requireth. Unless per- "adventure he will say that the holy Sacraments "lose their honour, when it is said *they are not "effectual to salvation, without men be instructed "by preaching before they be partakers of them.*"]

[73] Page 364. [See above, note 71. See also Penry's "Exhortation unto the governors and peo- "ple of her Majesty's country of Wales, to labour "earnestly to have the preaching of the Gospel "planted among them;" 1588; p. 5. "If you "will embrace Christ and have pardon of your "sins by his passion, you must have that brought "to pass by preaching. Christ, I grant, may be "otherwise taught, but, as the Apostle saith, not "as the truth is in Jesus: and therefore without "comfort, and without salvation." And p. 12. "Enquire now of the days of heaven, which are "past, which were before you, since the day that "Adam fell from his integrity; demand from the "one end of heaven unto the other, and all with "one consent will answer, that from Adam to No- "ah, from Noah to Moses, from Moses unto Jesus "Christ, from his blessed appearing in the flesh "unto the present hour, no face of a true Church "apparent without preaching; no ordinary salva- "tion without preaching: and this decree shall "never be changed. I do not say but that the "Lord may if he will save those, who never heard

It is true that the weakness of our wits and the dulness of our affections do make us for the most part, even as our Lord's own disciples were for a certain time, hard and slow to believe what is written. For help whereof expositions and exhortations are needful, and that in the most effectual manner. The principal churches throughout the land, and no small part of the rest, being in this respect by the goodness of God so abundantly provided for, they which want the like furtherance unto knowledge, wherewith it were greatly to be desired that they also did abound, are yet we hope not left in so extreme destitution, that justly any man should think the ordinary means of eternal life taken from them, because their teaching is in public for the most part but by reading. For which cause amongst whom there are not those helps that others have to set them forward in the way of life, such to dishearten with fearful sentences, as though their salvation could hardly be hoped for, is not in our understanding so consonant with Christian charity [74]. We hold it safer a great deal and better to give them encouragement [75]; to put them in mind that it is not the deepness of their knowledge, but the singleness of their belief, which God accepteth [76]; that they which "hunger and thirst after righteous-ness shall be satisfied [77];" that no imbecility of means can prejudice the truth of the promise of God herein [78]; that the weaker their helps are, the more their need is to sharpen the edge of their own industry [79]; and that painfulness by feeble means shall be able to gain that, which in the plenty of more forcible instruments is through sloth and negligence lost [80].

[18.] As for the men, with whom we have thus far taken pains to confer about the force of the word of God, either read by itself, or opened in sermons; their speeches concerning both the one and the other are in truth such, as might give us very just cause to think, that the reckoning is not great which they make of either. For howsoever they have been driven to devise some odd kinds of blind uses, whereunto they may answer that reading doth serve, yet the reading of the word of God in public more than their preachers' bare text, who will not judge that they deem needless; when if we chance at any time to term it "necessary [81]," as being a thing which God himself did institute amongst the Jews for purposes that touch as well us as them; a thing which the Apostles commend under the Old, and ordain under the New Testament; a thing whereof the Church of God hath ever sithence the first beginning reaped singular commodity; a thing which without exceeding great detriment no Church can omit: they only are the men that ever we heard of by whom this hath been crossed and gainsaid, they only the men which have given their peremptory sentence to the contrary, "It is "untrue that simple reading is necessary in "the Church [82]." And why untrue? Because "although it be very convenient "which is used in some churches, where "before preaching-time the church assem-"bled hath the Scriptures read in such or-"der that the whole canon thereof is often-"times in one year run through; yet a "number of churches which have no such "order of simple reading cannot be in this "point charged with breach of God's com-"mandment, which they might be if simple "reading were necessary." A poor, a cold, and an hungry cavil [83]! Shall we therefore to please them change the word *necessary*, and say that it hath been a commendable order, a custom very expedient,

"nor shall hear a sermon in all their lives. But, "wretches as we are, what is that to us? We "have no warrant to hope for any such salvation."

And p. 14. "Verily, the Devil himself may as "well hope to be saved as you can, who never "saw the beauty of their feet that bring salva-"tion."

And p. 60. "The people living under our read-"ers, though they faithfully execute their ministry, "cannot hope for eternal life."]

[74] ["If ever we mind such a reformation, as God "shall thereby be glorified, and his Church edified, "we must utterly renounce all the unlearned pas-"tors, as men by no means to be tolerated to have "any charge over the Lord's flock." Learned Discourse of Eccl. Government, quoted in Bridges' Defence, p. 478; who produces also the following passage from Harrison (the Brownist) against Cartwright; "I would say, there were holiness in "the dumb ministry, if all the dumb ministers "were hanged up in the churches and public as-"semblies, for a warning and terror to the rest, "that are ready to enter such a function: then in-"deed there were a holy sign and remembrance of "judgment against such wretches: but other holi-"ness have they none in them." "Well fare these "our brethren the Learned Discoursers, that are "somewhat more pitiful to the poor unlearned pas-"tors, not to hang them up by the neck, as thieves "and robbers, but to turn them out to beg their "bread, with their wives and children, like wretch-"es, rogues, and vagabonds. And this is the "milder sort of these our brethren." Bridges, Def. 480.]

[75] Ecclus. li. 26, 27; Matt. xii. 20.

[76] 1 Tim. i. 5; Rom. xiv. 1; 1 Thess. iii. 10.

[77] Matt. v. 6.

[78] Phil. i. 6; 1 Pet. v. 10; Matt. iii. 9.

[79] 1 Thess. iv. 18; Heb. x. 24; Jude 20, 21; 1 Pet. iv. 10.

[80] Luke xi. 31.

[81] [Whitg. Def. 572. "Both reading and preach-"ing be necessary in the Church, and most profit-"able."]

[82] T. C. lib. ii. p. 381.

[83] [Cicero pro A. Cæcina, 21. "Cave in ista "tam frigida, tam jejuna calumnia delitescas."]

or an ordinance "*most* profitable" (whereby they know right well that we mean exceedingly behoveful) to read the word of God at large in the church, whether it be as our manner is, or as theirs is whom they prefer before us? It is not this that will content or satisfy their minds. They have against it a marvellous deep and profound axiom, that "Two things to one and the "same end cannot but very improperly be "said most profitable [84]." And therefore if preaching be "most profitable" to man's salvation, then is not reading; if reading be, then preaching is not.

[19.] Are they resolved then at the least-wise, if preaching be the only ordinary mean whereby it pleaseth God to save our souls, what kind of preaching it is which doth save? Understand they how or in what respect there is that force and virtue in preaching? We have reason therefore to make these demands, for that although their pens run all upon *preaching* and *sermons*, yet when themselves do practise that whereof they write, they change their dialect, and those words they shun as if there were in them some secret sting. It is not their phrase to say they "preach," or to give to their own instructions and exhortations the name of sermons; the pain they take themselves in this kind is either "opening," or "lecturing," or "reading," or "exercising," but in no case "preach-"ing." And in this present question they also warily protest, that what they ascribe to the virtue of preaching, they still mean it of "good preaching [85]." Now one of them saith that a good sermon must "expound" and "apply" a "large" portion of the text of Scripture at one time [86]. Another [87] giveth us to understand, that sound preaching "is not to do as one did at Lon-"don, who spent the most of his time in in-"vectives against good men, and told his "audience how the magistrate should have "an eye to such as troubled the peace of "the Church." "The best of them hold it "for no good preaching when a man en-"deavoureth to make a glorious show of "eloquence and learning, rather than to ap-"ply himself to the capacity of the simple [88]."

But let them shape us out a good preacher by what pattern soever it pleaseth them best, let them exclude and inclose whom they will with their definitions, we are not desirous to enter into any contention with them about this, or to abate the conceit they have of their own ways, so that when once we are agreed what sermons shall currently pass for good, we may at the length understand from them what that is in a good sermon which doth make it the word of life unto such as hear. If substance of matter, evidence of things, strength and validity of arguments and proofs, or if any other virtue else which words and sentences may contain; of all this what is there in the best sermons being uttered, which they lose by being read? But they utterly deny that the reading either of scriptures or homilies and sermons can ever by the ordinary grace of God save any soul. So that although we had all the sermons word for word which James, Paul, Peter, and the

[84] T. C. lib. ii. p. 382.

[85] T. C. lib. ii. p. 385.

[86] Complaint of the Commonalty. ["Some "take but one word for their text, and afterwards "run into the mountains, that we cannot follow "them, not knowing how they went up, or how "they will come down again: whereas if they "had taken a good portion of the text, and had "naturally expounded and pithily applied the "same, by occasion of that large text, we should "have remembered a good part of the sermon long "time after."]

[87] Dr. Some's Painter, p. 21. [The tract here quoted is "M. Some laid open in his colours: "wherein the indifferent reader may easily see, "how wretchedly and loosely he hath handled "the cause against M. Penry. Done by an Ox-"ford man to his friend in Cambridge." No date nor printer's name. Some was Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, and his principles had been those of a moderate Puritan, of which party in the University Whitaker seems to have been the head. In 1588 he published, "A godly Treatise "containing and deciding certain questions mov-"ed of late in London and other places, touching "the Ministry, Sacraments, and Church ..... After the end of the book you shall find a Defence "of such points as M. Penry had dealt against, "and a confutation of many gross errors broached "in M. Penry's last treatise." The first part of this work had been published separately, May 5, and was met by "A Defence of that which hath "been written in the questions of the ignorant "ministry and the communicating with them. "By John Penri." Some rejoined in September by the Defence above mentioned: which rejoinder called forth the pamphlet quoted in the text. The place referred to is p. 21. "I speak here of "sound preaching, i. e. of dividing the word "aright, which the Apostle calleth ὀρθοτομεῖν: "I speak not of babbling, nor of handling a text "with a currycomb: in that I join with M. Some "with all my heart, and therefore I wish he had "been with me the 10th of November last, at "a certain church by the Exchange, I think they "call it Bartholomew church, where it may be "his ears would have glowed, and if he durst "have been so bold, I do not think but he would "have condemned the preacher, and that worthi-"ly, for his babbling." (Note in margin, "This "preacher, as I understood since, was M. Some "himself.") "For then he might have heard him "fetch many vagaries, and spend the most of his "time in invectives against good men; telling th' "audience to this effect: that for the Papists, "thanks be to God, we need not so greatly fear "them .... but now the magistrate was only to "cast his eye on the phantastical crew, such as "troubled the peace of the church: otherwise "there might fall out many mischiefs."]

[88] T. C. lib. ii. p. 385.

rest of the Apostles made, some one of which sermons was of power to convert thousands of the hearers unto Christian faith; yea although we had all the instructions, exhortations, consolations, which came from the gracious lips of our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and should read them ten thousand times over, to faith and salvation no man could hereby hope to attain.

Whereupon it must of necessity follow, that the vigour and vital efficacy of sermons doth grow from certain accidents which are not in them but in their maker: his virtue, his gesture, his countenance, his zeal, the motion of his body, and the inflection of his voice who first uttereth them as his own, is that which giveth them the form, the nature, the very essence of instruments available to eternal life. If they like neither that nor this, what remaineth but that their final conclusion be, "sermons we know are the "only ordinary means to salvation, but why "or how we cannot tell?"

[20.] Wherefore to end this tedious controversy, wherein the too great importunity of our over eager adversaries hath constrained us much longer to dwell, than the barrenness of so poor a cause could have seemed at the first likely either to require or to admit, if they which without partialities and passions are accustomed to weigh all things, and accordingly to give their sentence, shall here sit down to receive our audit, and to cast up the whole reckoning on both sides; the sum which truth amounteth unto will appear to be but this, that as medicines provided of nature and applied by art for the benefit of bodily health, take effect sometimes under and sometimes above the natural proportion of their virtue, according as the mind and fancy of the patient doth more or less concur with them: so whether we barely read unto men the Scriptures of God, or by homilies concerning matter of belief and conversation seek to lay before them the duties which they owe unto God and man; whether we deliver them books to read and consider of in private at their own best leisure, or call them to the hearing of sermons publicly in the house of God; albeit every of these and the like unto these means do truly and daily effect that in the hearts of men for which they are each and all meant, yet the operation which they have in common being most sensible and most generally noted in one kind above the rest, that one hath in some men's opinions drowned altogether the rest, and injuriously brought to pass that they have been thought, not *less effectual* than the other, but without the other *uneffectual* to save souls. Whereas the cause why sermons only are observed to prevail so much while all means else seem to sleep and do nothing, is in truth nothing but that singular affection and attention which the people sheweth every where towards the one, and their cold disposition to the other; the reason hereof being partly the art which our adversaries use for the credit of their sermons to bring men out of conceit with all other teaching besides; partly a custom which men have to let those things carelessly pass by their ears, which they have oftentimes heard before, or know they may hear again whensoever it pleaseth themselves; partly the especial advantages which sermons naturally have to procure attention, both in that they come always new, and because by the hearer it is still presumed, that if they be let slip for the present, what good soever they contain is lost, and that without all hope of recovery. This is the true cause of odds between sermons and other kinds of wholesome instruction.

As for the difference which hath been hitherto so much defended on the contrary side, making sermons the only ordinary means unto faith and eternal life, sith this hath neither evidence of truth nor proof sufficient to give it warrant, a cause of such quality may with far better grace and conveniency ask that pardon which common humanity doth easily grant, than claim in challenging manner that assent which is as unwilling when reason guideth it to be yielded where it is not, as withheld where it is apparently due.

All which notwithstanding, as we could greatly wish that the rigour of this their opinion were allayed and mitigated, so because we hold it the part of religious ingenuity to honour virtue in whomsoever, therefore it is our most hearty desire, and shall be always our prayer unto Almighty God, that in the selfsame fervent zeal wherewith they seem to affect the good of the souls of men, and to thirst after nothing more than that all men might by all means be directed in the way of life, both they and we may constantly persist to the world's end. For in this we are not their adversaries, though they in the other hitherto have been ours.

Of Prayer.

XXIII. Between the throne of God in heaven and his Church upon earth here militant if it be so that Angels have their continual intercourse, where should we find the same more verified than in these two ghostly exercises, the one Doctrine, and the other Prayer? For what is the assembling of the Church to learn, but the receiving of Angels descended from above? What to pray but the sending of Angels upward? His heavenly inspirations and our holy desires are as so many Angels of intercourse and commerce between God and us. As teaching bringeth us to know that God is our supreme truth; so prayer testifieth that we acknowledge him our sovereign good.

Besides, sith on God as the most high all inferior causes in the world are dependent; and the higher any cause is, the more it coveteth to impart virtue unto things beneath it; how should any kind of service we do or can do find greater acceptance than prayer, which sheweth our concurrence with him in desiring that wherewith his very nature doth most delight?

Is not the name of prayer usual to signify even all the service that ever we do unto God? And that for no other cause, as I suppose, but to shew that there is in religion no acceptable duty which devout invocation of the name of God doth not either presuppose or infer. Prayers are those "calves of men's lips [89];" those most gracious and sweet odours [90]; those rich presents and gifts, which being carried up into heaven [91] do best testify our dutiful affection, and are for the purchasing of all favour at the hands of God the most undoubted means we can use.

On others what more easily, and yet what more fruitfully bestowed than our prayers? If we give counsel, they are the simpler only that need it; if alms, the poorer only are relieved; but by prayer we do good to all. And whereas every other duty besides is but to shew itself as time and opportunity require, for this all times are convenient [92]: when we are not able to do any other thing for men's behoof, when through maliciousness or unkindness they vouchsafe not to accept any other good at our hands, prayer is that which we always have in our power to bestow, and they never in theirs to refuse. Wherefore "God forbid," saith Samuel, speaking unto a most unthankful people, a people weary of the benefit of his most virtuous government over them, "God forbid that I should sin against the "Lord, and cease to pray for you [93]." It is the first thing wherewith a righteous life beginneth, and the last wherewith it doth end.

The knowledge is small which we have on earth concerning things that are done in heaven. Notwithstanding thus much we know even of Saints in heaven, that they pray [94]. And therefore prayer being a work common to the Church as well triumphant as militant, a work common unto men with Angels, what should we think but that so much of our lives is celestial and divine as we spend in the exercise of prayer? For which cause we see that the most comfortable visitations, which God hath sent men from above, have taken especially the times of prayer as their most natural opportunities [95].

[89] Hosea xiv. 2.
[90] Rev. v. 8.
[91] Acts x. 4.
[92] Rom. i. 9; 1 Thess. v. 17; Luke xviii. 1.
[93] 1 Sam. xii. 23.
[94] [Apoc. vi. 9.]
[95] Dan. ix. 20; Acts x. 30.

XXIV. This holy and religious duty of service towards God concerneth us one way in that we are men, and another way in that we are joined as parts to that visible mystical body which is his Church. As men, we are at our own choice, both for time, and place, and form, according to the exigence of our own occasions in private [96]; but the service, which we do as members of a public body, is public, and for that cause must needs be accounted by so much worthier than the other, as a whole society of such condition exceedeth the worth of any one. In which consideration unto Christian assemblies there are most special promises made [97]. St. Paul, though likely to prevail with God as much as [any] one [98], did notwithstanding think it much more both for God's glory and his own good, if prayers might be made and thanks yielded in his behalf by a number of men [99]. The prince and people of Nineveh assembling themselves as a main army of supplicants, it was not in the power of God to withstand them [1]. I speak no otherwise concerning the force of public prayer in the Church of God, than before me Tertullian hath done [2], "We come by troops to the place of as- "sembly, that being banded as it were "together, we may be supplicants enough "to besiege God with our prayers. These "forces are unto him acceptable." Of public Prayer.

[2.] When we publicly make our prayers, it cannot be but that we do it with much more comfort than in private, for that the things we ask publicly are approved as needful and good in the judgment of all, we hear them sought for and desired with common consent. Again, thus much help and furtherance is more yielded, in that if so be our zeal and devotion to Godward be slack, the alacrity and fervour of others serveth as a present spur [3]. "For [4] even "prayer itself" (saith St. Basil) "when it "hath not the consort of many voices to

[96] Psalm lv. 17; Dan. ix. 3; Acts x. 9.
[97] Matt. xviii. 20.
[98] [The word "any" is not in the text of the original edition, nor in Spencer's reprint. It seems to have been inserted by Gauden.]
[99] 2 Cor. i. 11.
[1] Jonah iv. 11.
[2] Apolog. c. 39. ["Coimus ad Deum, quasi "manu facta precationibus ambiamus. Hæc vis "Deo grata est."] Ambros. lib. i. de Pœn. "Mul- "ti minimi dum congregantur unanimes sunt mag- "ni; et multorum preces impossibile est contem- "ni." [Rather in the Commentary on the Romans, ascribed to St. Ambrose, c. xvi. 31. The last clause stands thus: "Multorum preces im- "possibile est ut non impetrent." ed. Bened. App. 108. A.]
[3] Psalm cxxii. 1.
[4] Καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ προσευχὴ μὴ ἔχουσα τοὺς συμφωνοῦντας ἀδρανεστέρα ἐστὶ πολλῷ ἑαυτῆς. Basil. Epist. lxviii. [al. xcvii. t. iii. 191. B.]

"strengthen it, is not itself." Finally, the good which we do by public prayer is more than in private can be done, for that besides the benefit which here is no less procured to ourselves, the whole Church is much bettered by our good example; and consequently whereas secret neglect of our duty in this kind is but only our own hurt, one man's contempt of the common prayer of the Church of God may be and oftentimes is most hurtful unto many. In which considerations the Prophet David so often voweth unto God the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving in the congregation [5]; so earnestly exhorteth others to sing praises unto the Lord in his courts, in his sanctuary, before the memorial of his holiness [6]; and so much complaineth of his own uncomfortable exile, wherein although he sustained many most grievous indignities, and endured the want of sundry both pleasures and honours before enjoyed, yet as if this one were his only grief and the rest not felt, his speeches are all of the heavenly benefit of public assemblies, and the happiness of such as had free access thereunto [7].

Of the Form of Common Prayer.

XXV. A great part of the cause, wherefore religious minds are so inflamed with the love of public devotion, is that virtue, force, and efficacy, which by experience they find that the very form and reverend solemnity of common prayer duly ordered hath, to help that imbecility and weakness in us, by means whereof we are otherwise of ourselves the less apt to perform unto God so heavenly a service, with such affection of heart, and disposition in the powers of our souls as is requisite. To this end therefore all things hereunto appertaining have been ever thought convenient to be done with the most solemnity and majesty that the wisest could devise. It is not with public as with private prayer. In this rather secresy is commended than outward show [8], whereas that being the public act of a whole society, requireth accordingly more care to be had of external appearance. The very assembling of men therefore unto this service hath been ever solemn.

[2.] And concerning the place of assembly, although it serve for other uses as well as this, yet seeing that our Lord himself hath to this as to the chiefest of all other plainly sanctified his own temple, by entitling it "the House of Prayer [9]," what preeminence of dignity soever hath been either by the ordinance or through the special favour and providence of God annexed unto his Sanctuary, the principal cause thereof must needs be in regard of Common Prayer. For the honour and furtherance whereof, if it be as the gravest of the ancient Fathers seriously were persuaded, and do oftentimes plainly teach, affirming that the house of prayer is a Court beautified with the presence of celestial powers; that there we stand, we pray, we sound forth hymns unto God, having his Angels intermingled as our associates [10]; and that with reference hereunto the Apostle doth require so great care to be had of decency for the Angels' sake [11]; how can we come to the house of prayer, and not be moved with the very glory [12] of the place itself, so to frame our affections praying, as doth best beseem them, whose suits the Almighty doth there sit to hear, and his Angels attend to further? When this was ingrafted in the minds of men, there needed no penal statutes to draw them unto public prayer. The warning sound was no sooner heard, but the churches were presently filled [13], the pavements covered with bodies prostrate, and washed with their tears of devout joy.

[3.] And as the place of public prayer is a circumstance in the outward form thereof, which hath moment to help devotion; so the person much more with whom the people of God do join themselves in this action, as with him that standeth and speaketh in the presence of God for them. The authority of his place, the fervour of his zeal, the piety and gravity of his whole behaviour must needs exceedingly both grace and set forward the service he doth.

The authority of his calling is a furtherance, because if God have so far received him into favour, as to impose upon him by the hands of men that office of blessing the people in his name, and making intercession to him in theirs; which office he hath sanctified with his own most gracious promise [14], and ratified that promise by manifest actual performance thereof, when [15] others before in like place have done the same; is not his very ordination a seal as it were to us, that the selfsame divine love, which hath chosen the instrument to work with, will by that instrument effect the thing whereto he ordained it, in

[5] Psalm xxvi. 12; xxxiv. 1.
[6] Psalm xxx. 4; xcvi. 9.
[7] Ps. xxvii. 4; xlii. 4; lxxxiv. 1.
[8] Matt. vi. 5, 6. [9] Matt. xxi. 13.

[10] Chrysost. Hom. xv. ad Hebr. et xxiv. in Act. [t. iv. 516. ἄκουε δὲ ὅτι ἄγγελοι πάρεισι πανταχοῦ, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ παρεστήκασι τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ πάντα ἐμπέπλησται τῶν ἀσωμάτων ἐκείνων δυναμέων. And p. 753. l. 40. ἕστηκας ἀτάκτως· οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι μετὰ ἀγγέλων ἕστηκας; μετ' ἐκείνων ᾄδεις, μετ' ἐκείνων ὑμνεῖς, καὶ ἕστηκας γελῶν;]

[11] 1 Cor. xi. 10 [S. Chrys. in loc. εἰ γὰρ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καταφρονεῖς, φησι, τοὺς ἀγγέλους αἰδέσθητι.]

[12] "Power and beauty are in his sanctuary." Psal. xcvi. 6.

[13] "Ad domos statim Dominicas currimus, cor-" pora humi sternimus, mixtis cum fletu gaudiis " supplicamus." Salvian. de Prov. lib. vi. [ad. fin. in Bibl. Patr. Colon. t. v. 351. H.]

[14] Numb. vi. 23. [15] 2 Chron. xxx. 27.

blessing his people and accepting the prayers which his servant offereth up unto God for them? It was in this respect a comfortable title which the ancients used to give unto God's ministers, terming them usually *God's most beloved* [16], which were ordained to procure by their prayers his love and favour towards all.

Again, if there be not zeal and fervency in him which proposeth for the rest those suits and supplications which they by their joyful acclamations must ratify; if he praise not God with all his might; if he pour not out his soul in prayer; if he take not their causes to heart, or speak not as Moses, Daniel, and Ezra did for their people: how should there be but in them frozen coldness, when his affections seem benumbed from whom theirs should take fire?

Virtue and godliness of life are required at the hands of the minister of God, not only in that he is to teach and to instruct the people, who for the most part are rather led away by the ill example, than directed aright by the wholesome instruction of them, whose life swerveth from the rule of their own doctrine; but also much more in regard of this other part of his function; whether we respect the weakness of the people, apt to loathe and abhor the sanctuary when they which perform the service thereof are such as the sons of Eli were; or else consider the inclination of God himself, who requireth the lifting up of pure hands in prayer [17], and hath given the world plainly to understand that the wicked although they cry shall not be heard [18]. They are no fit supplicants to seek his mercy in behalf of others, whose own unrepented sins provoke his just indignation. Let thy Priests therefore, O Lord, be evermore clothed with righteousness, that thy saints may thereby with more devotion rejoice and sing [19].

[4.] But of all helps for due performance of this service the greatest is that very set and standing order itself, which framed with common advice, hath both for matter and form prescribed whatsoever is herein publicly done. No doubt from God it hath proceeded, and by us it must be acknowledged a work of his singular care and providence, that the Church hath evermore held a prescript form of common prayer, although not in all things every where the same, yet for the most part retaining still the same analogy. So that if the liturgies of all ancient churches throughout the world be compared amongst themselves, it may be easily perceived they had all one original mould, and that the public prayers of the people of God in churches thoroughly settled did never use to be voluntary dictates proceeding from any man's extemporal wit [20].

[5.] To him which considereth the grievous and scandalous inconveniences whereunto they make themselves daily subject, with whom any blind and secret corner is judged a fit house of common prayer; the manifold confusions which they fall into where every man's private spirit and gift (as they term it) is the only Bishop that ordaineth him to this ministry; the irksome deformities whereby through endless and senseless effusions of indigested prayers they oftentimes disgrace in most unsufferable manner the worthiest part of Christian duty towards God, who herein are subject to no certain order, but pray both what and how they list: to him I say which weigheth duly all these things the reasons cannot be obscure, why God doth in public prayer so much respect the solemnity of places where [21], the authority and calling of persons by whom [22], and the precise appointment even with what words or sentences his name should be called on amongst his people [23].

Of them which like not to have any set Form of Common Prayer.

XXVI. No man hath hitherto been so impious as plainly and directly to condemn prayer. The best stratagem that satan hath, who knoweth his kingdom to be no one way more shaken than by the public devout prayers of God's Church, is by traducing the form and manner of them to bring them into contempt, and so to shake the force of all men's devotion towards them. From this and from no other forge hath proceeded a strange conceit, that to serve God with any set form of common prayer is superstitious [24].

[2.] As though God himself did not frame to his Priests the very speech wherewith they were charged to bless the people [25]; or as if our Lord, even of purpose to prevent this fancy of extemporal and voluntary prayers, had not left us of his own framing one, which might both remain as a part of the church liturgy, and serve as a pattern whereby to frame all other prayers with efficacy, yet without superfluity of words. If prayers were no otherwise accepted of God than being conceived always new, according to the exigence of

[16] [θεοφιλεστάτους. Justin.] Cod. lib. i. tit. 3. de. Episc. et Cler. 43 et 44. s. pe.

[17] 1 Tim. ii. 8.

[18] John ix. 31; Jer. xi 11; Ezek. viii. 18.

[19] Psal. cxxxii. 9.

[20] [See Palmer's Orig. Lit.]

[21] 2 Chron. vi. 20.

[22] Joel ii. 17.

[23] 2 Chron. xxix. 30.

[24] [2d. Adm. 38. "If it were praying, and "that there were never an ill woorde nor sentence "in all the prayers, yet to appoynt it to be used, "or so to use it as Papistes did their mattens "and evensong, for a set service to God, though "the woordes be good, the use is naught."]

[25] Num. vi. 23.

present occasions; if it be right to judge him by our own bellies, and to imagine that he doth loathe to have the selfsame supplications often iterated, even as we do to be every day fed without alteration or change of diet; if prayers be actions which ought to waste away themselves in the making; if being made to remain that they may be resumed and used again as prayers, they be but instruments of superstition: surely we cannot excuse Moses, who gave such occasion of scandal to the world, by not being contented to praise the name of Almighty God according to the usual naked simplicity of God's Spirit for that admirable victory given them against Pharaoh, unless so dangerous a precedent were left for the casting of prayers into certain poetical moulds, and for the framing of prayers which might be repeated often, although they never had again the same occasions which brought them forth at the first. For that very hymn of Moses grew afterwards to be a part of the ordinary Jewish liturgy [26]; nor only that, but sundry others sithence invented. Their books of common prayer contained partly hymns taken out of the holy Scripture, partly benedictions, thanksgivings, supplications, penned by such as have been from time to time the governors of that synagogue. These they sorted into their several times and places, some to begin the service of God with, and some to end, some to go before, and some to follow, and some to be interlaced between the divine readings of the Law and Prophets. Unto their custom of finishing the Passover with certain Psalms, there is not any thing more probable, than that the Holy Evangelist doth evidently allude saying, That after the cup delivered by our Saviour unto his apostles, "they sung [27]." and went forth to the mount of Olives.

[3.] As the Jews had their songs of Moses and David and the rest, so the Church of Christ from the very beginning hath both used the same, and besides them other of like nature, the song of the Virgin Mary, the song of Zachary, the song of Simeon, such hymns as the Apostle doth often speak of saying "I will pray and sing with the "Spirit [28]:" again, "in psalms, hymns, and "songs, making melody unto the Lord, and "that heartily [29]." Hymns and psalms are such kinds of prayer as are not wont to be conceived upon a sudden, but are framed by meditation beforehand, or else by prophetical illumination are inspired, as at that time it appeareth they were when God by extraordinary gifts of the Spirit enabled men to all parts of service necessary for the edifying of his Church [30].

XXVII. Now albeit the Admonitioners did seem at the first to allow no prescript form of prayer at all [31], but thought it the best that their minister should always be left at liberty to pray as his own discretion did serve; yet because this opinion upon better advice they afterwards retracted, their defender and his

Of them who allowing a set Form of Prayer, yet allow not ours.

[26] ["At the evening sacrifice (on the Sabbaths) "they sung the Song of Moses, I will sing unto "the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously," &c. Lewis's Hebrew Republic, b. ii. c. 12. The Song of Moses occurs in the Jewish morning service both of Rome, Germany, and Spain: and is found, as the editor is informed, in several of the old liturgies of the Arabic Christians: who may be supposed to have retained it out of the Jewish service.]

[27] Matt. xxvi. 30. Ὑμνήσαντες having sung the Psalms which were usual at that Feast, those Psalms which the Jews call the great Hallelujah, beginning at the 113th and continuing to the end of the 118th. See Paul Burgens. in Psal. cxii. [Heb. 113.] addit. 1. ["Iste psalmus cum quinque "sequentibus, usque ad psalmum, *Beati immacu-* "*lati*, exclusive vocatur ab Hebræis Hallelujah "magnum, i. e. Hymnus magnus; de quo singu- "larem faciunt solennitatem; nam in tribus præ- "cipuis festis et in neomeniis stantes istum hym- "num cum majori cantant solennitate quam "cæteros psalmos totius psalterii. Insuper in "nocte paschæ quando agnus paschalis comede- "batur, post ejus comestionem recumbentes ad "mensam ipsum hymnum solenniter dicebant. "Unde de hoc hymno ex istis sex psalmis com- "posito intelligi debet illud quod imminente passi- "one, Matt. 26. cap. legitur . . . quod etiam He- "bræi hodie agno paschali carentes in illa nocte "scil. paschæ istum hymnum cum azymis solen- "niter prout possunt cantant; in quo videntur "prophetizare nescientes, sicut legitur de Caiapha." Bibl. cum Glossa Ordin. et Lyrani. iii. 1307. Lugd. 1589. The Jewish origin of Paul of Burgos, who died A. D. 1435, made his testimony particularly apposite.] And Scaliger de Emendat. Tempor. [536, 537. Scaliger however explains the word ὑμνήσαντες not of the Hallelujah Psalms, but of a short parting hymn, of which he gives the form from the Talmud. But he subjoins this testimony, not without its value in Hooker's argument, proceeding as it does from a great favourite of the Puritans. "Si Christus, ut qui- "dam hostes bonarum literarum pertendunt, non "obstrinxit se ritibus Judæorum; quare igitur "omnia hic fiunt, quæ in Rituali Judaico extant? "Quare omnia simillima sunt? Et tamen illis "Criticis videtur impium, Christum illis legibus "obnoxium facere," &c. Compare also Lighf. ii. 258.]

[28] 1 Cor. xiv. 15.

[29] Ephes. v. 19.

[30] [Compare Mede's Works, i. 59. ed. 1672, in which "prophesying" in the first Epistle to the Corinthians is explained to "mean praising God "in Psalms and Hymns."]

[31] [Adm. ap. Whitg. Def. 488. "Then minis- "ters were not so tied to any form of prayers in- "vented by man, but as the Spirit moved them, "so they poured forth hearty supplications to the "Lord. Now they are bound of necessity to a "prescript order of service, and book of Common

associates have sithence proposed to the world a form such as themselves like [32], and to shew their dislike of ours, have taken against it those exceptions, which whosoever doth measure by number, must needs be greatly out of love with a thing that hath so many faults; whosoever by weight, cannot choose but esteem very highly of that, wherein the wit of so scrupulous adversaries hath not hitherto observed any defect which themselves can seriously think to be of moment. "Gross errors and manifest "impiety" they grant we have "taken "away [33]." Yet many things in it they say are amiss [34]; many instances they give of things in our common prayer not agreeable as they pretend with the word of God. It hath in their eye too great affinity with the form of the church of Rome; it differeth too much from that which churches elsewhere reformed allow and observe; our attire disgraceth it; it is not orderly read nor gestured as beseemeth; it requireth nothing to be done which a child may not lawfully do; it hath a number of short cuts or shreddings which may be better called wishes than prayers; it intermingleth prayings and readings, in such manner as if supplicants should use in proposing their suits unto mortal princes, all the world would judge them mad; it is too long and by that mean abridgeth preaching; it appointeth the people to say after the minister; it spendeth time in singing and in reading the Psalms by course from side to side; it useth the Lord's prayer too oft; the songs of *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc Dimittis*, it might very well spare; it hath the Litany, the Creed of Athanasius, and *Gloria Patri*, which are superfluous; it craveth earthly things too much; for deliverance from those evils against which we pray it giveth no thanks; some things it asketh unseasonably when they need not to be prayed for, as deliverance from thunder and tempest when no danger is nigh; some in too abject and diffident manner, as that God would give us that which we for our unworthiness dare not ask; some which ought not to be desired, as the deliverance from sudden death, riddance from all adversity, and the extent of saving mercy towards all men. These and such like are the imperfections, whereby our form of common prayer is thought to swerve from the word of God.

A great favourer of that part, but yet (his error that way excepted) a learned, a painful, a right virtuous and a good man did not fear sometime to undertake, against popish detractors, the general maintenance and defence of our whole church service, as having in it nothing repugnant to the word of God [35]. And even they which would file

"Prayer." See also Second Admonition, 38. But in "Certain Articles," &c.) printed the same year in defence of the Admonition,) p. 4, they say, "There is no such thing meant, that there "should be none at all, but that this of theirs "ought not to be tolerated. A form of prayers "they deny not." And T. C. i. 105. "We agree "of a prescript form of prayer to be used in the "Church." See also Whitg. Def. 782.]

[32] [It appears from Strype, Whitg. i. 347, 487, that in 1584, and 1586, attempts were made in Parliament to obtain sanction for "The Form "of Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments "used in the English Church at Geneva: approv-"ed and received by the Church of Scotland." Which Book is for the most part reprinted in the Phœnix, ii. 204, &c. It was first printed in Latin, 1556, by the exiles at Geneva, with Calvin's approbation. Strype, Mem. iii. 538. Bancroft, Sermon at Paul's Cross, p. 53, says, "About "four years since" (from 1588) "some two or "three private men in a corner framed a book of "the form of Common Prayer, Administration of "the Sacraments, &c. and without any authority "published the same, as meet to be embraced and "used in all the parish churches in England. . . . "The next year another Book of Common Prayer, "&c. with like authority was cast abroad . . with "not so few as 600 alterations. . . . Within another "year a third book is begotten and brought forth."]

[33] [T. C. i. 102. al. 131.]

[34] T. C. lib. i. p. 135. [106.] "Whereas Mr. "Doctor affirmeth, that there can be nothing "shewed in the whole book, which is not agreea-"ble unto the word of God; I am very loth," &c. "Notwithstanding, my duty of defending the "truth, and love which I have first towards God, "and then towards my country, constraineth me "being thus provoked to speak a few words more "particularly of the form of prayer, that when the "blemishes thereof do appear, it may please the "Queen's Majesty, and her honourable council, "with those of parliament," &c.

[35] ["Of this book a certain learned man" (marg. Dering) "writing against Mr. Harding, uttereth "these words by way of challenge: 'Our service "is good and godly; every tittle grounded on holy "Scripture: and with what face do you call "it darkness? Surely with the same that the "prophecies of the Holy Ghost were sometimes "called dreams, the doctrine of the Apostles, her-"esy, and our Saviour Christ a Samaritan. As "Elias said to the Priests of Baal, let us take "either our bullocks (meaning the Pope's portuise, "and our Common Prayer Book) and lay the "pieces on our altars, and on which God sendeth "his fire, let that be the light.' And a little be-"fore, 'O M. Harding, turn to your writings, ex-"amine your authors, consider your councils, "apply your examples; look if any line be blame-"able in our service book; I think M. Jewel will "accept it as an Article.'" Bancroft, Sermon at Paul's Cross, 1588. p. 48. The book from which he quotes is "A sparing Restraint of many lavish "Untruths, which Mr. D. Harding doth challenge "in the first Article of my Lord of Sarisbury's "Reply, 1568." Whitgift, Defence, 490, refers to the same passage. Of Dering, see Strype, Parker, ii. 174, 240, 265, 377; Ann. ii. 1. 282, 400; Life of Hooker, supr. p. 76, vol. i. Part of his "Readings on the Ep. to the Hebrews," (Strype, Park. ii. 177.) as also some prayers of his, were se-

away most from the largeness of that offer, do notwithstanding in more sparing terms acknowledge little less. For when those opposite judgments which never are wont to construe things doubtful to the better, those very tongues which are always prone to aggravate whatsoever hath but the least show whereby it may be suspected to savour of or to sound towards any evil, do by their own voluntary sentence clearly free us from "gross errors," and from "manifest impiety" herein; who would not judge us to be discharged of all blame, which are confessed to have no great fault even by their very word and testimony, in whose eyes no fault of ours hath ever hitherto been accustomed to seem small.

[2.] Nevertheless what they seem to offer us with the one hand, the same with the other they pull back again. They grant we err not in palpable manner, we are not openly and notoriously impious; yet errors we have which the sharp insight of their wisest men doth espy, there is hidden impiety which the profounder sort are able enough to disclose. Their skilful ears perceive certain harsh and unpleasant discords in the sound of our common prayer, such as the rules of divine harmony, such as the laws of God cannot bear.

XXVIII. Touching our conformity with the church of Rome, as also of the difference between some reformed churches and ours, that which generally hath been already answered may serve for answer to that exception which in these two respects they take particularly against the form of our common prayer. To say that in nothing they may be followed which are of the church of Rome were violent and extreme. Some things they do in that they are men, in that they are wise men and Christian men some things, some things in that they are men misled and blinded with error. As far as they follow reason and truth, we fear not to tread the selfsame steps wherein they have gone, and to be their followers. Where Rome keepeth that which is ancienter and better, others whom we much more affect leaving it for newer and changing it for worse; we had rather follow the perfections of them whom we like not, than in defects resemble them whom we love.

The Form of our Liturgy too near the Papists, too far different from that of other reformed Churches as they pretend.

[2.] For although they profess they agree with us touching "a prescript form of prayer to be used in the church [36]," yet in that very form which they say is "agreeable to "God's word and the use of reformed "churches [37]," they have by special protestation declared, that their meaning is not it shall be prescribed as a thing whereunto they will tie their minister. "It shall not" (they say) "be necessary for the minister "daily to repeat all these things before-mentioned, but beginning with *some like* confession to proceed to the sermon, which "ended, he *either* useth the prayer for all "states before-mentioned, *or else prayeth as "the Spirit of God shall move his heart* [38]." Herein therefore we hold it much better with the church of Rome to appoint a prescript form which every man shall be bound to observe, than with them to set down a kind of direction, a form for men to use if they list, or otherwise to change as pleaseth themselves.

[3.] Furthermore, the church of Rome hath rightly also considered, that public prayer is a duty entire in itself, a duty requisite to be performed much oftener than sermons can possibly be made. For which cause, as they, so we have likewise a public form how to serve God both morning and evening, whether sermons may be had or no. On the contrary side, their form of reformed prayer sheweth only what shall be done "upon the days appointed for the preaching "of the word [39];" with what words the minister shall begin, "when the hour ap"pointed for the sermon is come [40];" what shall be said or sung before *sermon*, and what after. So that, according to this form of theirs, it must stand for a rule, "No ser"mon, no service." Which oversight occasioned the French spitefully to term religion in that sort exercised a mere "preach [41]." Sundry other more particular defects there are, which I willingly forbear to rehearse, in consideration whereof we cannot be induced to prefer their reformed form of prayer before our own, what church soever we resemble therein.

XXIX. The attire [42] which the minister

lected to be read to Dr. Reynolds on his deathbed; as appears by a letter in Fulm. MSS. ix. 123.]

[36] T. C. lib. i. p. 135. [106.]

[37] A Book of the Form of Common Prayer tendered to the Parliament, p. 46.

[38] [See "The Form of Common Prayer used by "the English at Geneva," &c. in Phœnix, ii. 219.]

[39] Page 22.

[40] Page 24.

[41] [E. g. Spon. Hist. de Geneve, i. 342. "Pro"posant que chacun fût en liberté pour la Messe "et pour la Prêche." Dict. de l'Acad. voc. Prêche "'*Se rendre au Preche*,' *quitter la Preche*,' em"brasser la religion protestante, ou la quitter."]

[42] T. C. lib. i. p. 71. [51.] "We think the surplice "especially unmeet for a minister of the Gospel "to wear." p. 75. [55.] "It is easily seen by Solo"mon, Eccles. ix. 8, that to wear a white garment "was greatly esteemed in the east parts, and was "ordinary to those that were in any estimation, as "black with us: and therefore was no several ap"parel for the ministers to execute their ministry "in." [See Adm. ap. Whitg. 281...3, 286, 292, 3, 5. Answ. 149, 290, &c. T. C. i. 52, &c. Def. 256, &c. T. C. ii. 402...464. iii. 242.]

Attire belonging to the service of God.

of God is by order to use at times of divine service being but a matter of mere formality, yet such as for comeliness-sake hath hitherto been judged by the wiser sort of men not unnecessary to concur with other sensible notes betokening the different kind or quality of persons and actions whereto it is tied; as we think not ourselves the holier because we use it, so neither should they with whom no such thing is in use think us therefore unholy, because we submit ourselves unto that, which in a matter so indifferent the wisdom of authority and law hath thought comely. To solemn actions of royalty and justice their suitable ornaments are a beauty. Are they only in religion a stain?

[2.] "Divine religion," saith St. Jerome, (he speaketh of the priestly attire of the Law,) "hath one kind of habit wherein to "minister before the Lord, another for ordinary uses belonging unto common "life [43]." Pelagius having carped at the curious neatness of men's apparel in those days, and through the sourness of his disposition spoken somewhat too hardly thereof, affirming that "the glory of clothes and "ornaments was a thing contrary to God "and godliness [44]; St. Jerome, whose custom is not to pardon over easily his adversaries if any where they chance to trip, presseth him as thereby making all sorts of men in the world *God's enemies.* "Is it "enmity with God" (saith he) "if I wear "my coat somewhat handsome? *If a "Bishop, a Priest, a Deacon, and the rest "of the ecclesiastical order* come to administer the usual sacrifice in a white garment [45], *are they hereby God's adversaries?* Clerks, Monks, Widows, Virgins, "take heed, it is dangerous for you to be "otherwise seen than in foul and ragged "clothes. Not to speak any thing of secular men, which are proclaimed to have "war with God, as oft as ever they put on "precious and shining clothes." By which words of Jerome we may take it at the least for a probable collection that his meaning was to draw Pelagius into hatred, as condemning by so general a speech even the neatness of that very garment itself, wherein the clergy did then use to administer publicly the holy Sacrament of Christ's most blessed Body and Blood. For that they did then use some such ornament, the words of Chrysostom [46] give plain testimony, who speaking to the clergy of Antioch, telleth them that if they did suffer notorious malefactors to come to the Table of our Lord and not put them by, it would be as heavily revenged upon them, as if themselves had shed his blood; that for this purpose God had called them to the rooms which they held in the church of Christ; that this they should reckon was *their dignity, this their safety, this their whole crown and glory;* and therefore this they should carefully intend, and not when the Sacrament is administered imagine themselves called only *to walk up and down in a white and shining garment.*

[3.] Now whereas these speeches of Jerome and Chrysostom do seem plainly to allude unto such ministerial garments as were then in use, to this they answer, that by Jerome nothing can be gathered but only that the ministers came to church in handsome holiday apparel, and that himself did not think them bound by the law of God to go like slovens, but the weed which we mean he defendeth not; that Chrysostom meaneth indeed the same which we defend [47], but seemeth rather to reprehend than to allow it as we do. Which answer wringeth out of Jerome and Chrysostom that which their words will not gladly yield. They both speak of the same persons, namely the Clergy; and of their weed

[43] Hieron. in xliv. Ezech. [t. v 668. "Religio "divina alterum habitum habet in ministerio, alterum in usu vitaque communi."]

[44] Hieron. adver. Pelag. lib. i. c. 9. [t. ii. 274. "Adjungis, gloriam vestium et ornamentorum Deo "esse contrariam. Quæ sunt, rogo, inimicitiæ "contra Deum, si tunicam habuero mundiorem: "si Episcopus, Presbyter, et Diaconus, et reliquus ordo ecclesiasticus in administratione sacrificiorum candida veste processerint? Cavete "clerici, cavete monachi, viduæ et virgines: pericitamini, nisi sordidas vos atque pannosas vulgus aspexerit. Taceo de hominibus sæculi, quibus aperte bellum indicitur, et inimicitiæ contra "Deum, si pretiosis atque nitentibus utantur exuviis."]

[45] T. C. lib. i. p. 77. [57.] "By a white garment "is meant a comely apparel and not slovenly."

[46] Chrysost. ad. Popul. Antioch. tom. v. serm. 60. [in S. Mat. Hom. 82. t. ii. 515. Οὐ γὰρ μικρὰ κόλασις ὑμῖν ἐστὶν, εἴ τινι συνειδότες τινὰ πονηρίαν, συγχωρήσητε μετασχεῖν ταύτης τῆς τραπέζης, ὅτι τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐκζητηθήσεται. κἂν στρατηγός τις ᾖ, κἂν ὕπαρχος, κἂν αὐτὸς ὁ τὸ διάδημα περικείμενος, ἀναξίως δὲ προσίῃ, κώλυσον. μείζονα ἐκείνου τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχεις. σὺ δὲ εἰ μὲν πηγὴν ὕδατος ἐνεχειρίσθης φυλάττειν ποιμνίῳ καθαρὰν, εἶτα εἶδες πρόβατον πολὺν ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος φέρον τὸν βόρβορον, οὐκ ἂν εἴασας ἐπίκυψαι κάτω, καὶ θολῶσαι τὸ ῥεῖθρόν· νυνὶ δὲ οὐχ ὕδατος, ἀλλ' αἵματος καὶ πνεύματος πηγὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένος, καὶ ὁρῶν τοὺς βορβόρου χαλεπωτέραν ἁμαρτίαν ἔχοντας καὶ προσίοντας οὐκ ἀγανακτεῖς, οὐδὲ ἀπείργεις; καὶ τίνα ἂν σχοίης συγγνώμην; διὰ τοῦτο ὑμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ἐτίμησε ταύτῃ τῇ τιμῇ, ἵνα τὰ τοιαῦτα διακρίνητε. τοῦτο ὑμῶν ἡ ἀξία, τοῦτο ἡ ἀσφάλεια, τοῦτο ὁ στέφανος ἅπας, οὐχ ἵνα λευκὸν χιτωνίσκὸν καὶ ἀποστίλβοντα περιβαλλόμενοι περιΐητε.]

[47] T. C. lib. i. p. 75. [55.] "It is true, Chrysos-"tom maketh mention of a white garment, but not "in commendation of it, but rather to the contra-"ry: for he sheweth that the dignity of their min-"istry was in taking heed that none unmeet were "admitted to the Lord's Supper, not in going about "the church with a white garment."

at the same time, when they administer the blessed Sacrament; and of the selfsame kind of weed, a white garment, so far as we have wit to conceive; and for any thing we are able to see, their manner of speech is not such as doth argue either the thing itself to be different whereof they speak, or their judgments concerning it different; although the one do only maintain it against Pelagius, as a thing not therefore unlawful, because it was fair or handsome, and the other make it a matter of small commendation in itself, if they which wear it do nothing else but air the robes which their place requireth. The honesty, dignity, and estimation of white apparel in the eastern part of the world, is a tokenof greaterfitness for this sacred use, wherein it were not convenient that any thing basely thought of should be suffered. Notwithstanding I am not bent to stand stiffly upon these probabilities, that in Jerome's and Chrysostom's time any such attire was made several to this purpose. Yet surely the words of Solomon are very impertinent to prove it an ornament *therefore* not several for the ministers to execute their ministry in, because men of credit and estimation wore their ordinary apparel white. For we know that when Solomon wrote those words, the several apparel for the ministers of the Law to execute their ministry in was such.

[4.] The wise man, which feared God from his heart, and honoured the service that was done unto him, could not mention so much as the garments of holiness but with effectual signification of most singular reverence and love [48]. Were it not better that the love which men bear to God should make the least things that are employed in his service amiable, than that their overscrupulous dislike of so mean a thing as a vestment should from the very service of God withdraw their hearts and affections? I term it the rather a mean thing, a thing not much to be respected, because even they so account now of it, whose first disputations against it were such as if religion had scarcely any thing of greater weight.

[5.] Their allegations were then, "That "if a man were assured to gain a thousand "by doing that which may offend any one "brother, or be unto him a cause of falling, "he ought not to do it [49]; that this popish "apparel, the surplice especially, hath been "by Papists abominably abused [50]; that it "hath been a mark and a very sacrament "of abomination [51]; that remaining, it serv-"eth as a monument of idolatry, and not "only edifieth not, but as a dangerous "and scandalous ceremony doth exceeding "much harm to them of whose good we "are commanded to have regard [52]; that "it causeth men to perish and make ship-"wreck of conscience;" for so themselves profess they mean, when they say the weak are offended herewith [53]; "that it harden-"eth Papists, hindereth the weak from pro-"fitting in the knowledge of the Gospel, "grieveth godly minds, and giveth them "occasion to think hardly of their minis-"ters [54]; that if the magistrate may com-"mand, or the Church appoint rites and "ceremonies, yet seeing our abstinence "from things in their own nature indiffer-"ent if the weak brother should be offend-"ed is a flat commandment of the Holy "Ghost, which no authority either of church "or commonwealth can make void, there-"fore neither may the one nor the other "lawfully ordain this ceremony, which hath "great incommodity and no profit, great "offence and no edifying [55]; that by the "Law it should have been burnt and con-"sumed with fire as a thing infected with "leprosy [56]; that the example of Ezekias "beating to powder the brazen serpent, "and of Paul abrogating those abused "feasts of charity, enforceth upon us the "duty of abolishing altogether a thing "which hath been and is so offensive [57]; "finally, that God by his Prophet hath giv-"en an express commandment, which in "this case toucheth us no less than of old it "did the Jews [58]. Ye shall pollute the cov-"ering of the images of silver, and the rich "ornament of your images of gold, and cast "them away as a stained rag; thou shalt "say unto it, get thee hence [59]."

These and such like were their first discourses touching that church attire which with us for the most part is usual in public prayer; our ecclesiastical laws so appointing, as well because it hath been of reasonable continuance, and by special choice was taken out of the number of those holy garments which (over and besides their mystical reference) served for "comeliness" under the Law [60], and is in the number of those ceremonies which may with choice and discretion be used to that purpose in the Church of Christ; as also for that it suiteth so fitly with that lightsome affection of joy, wherein God delighteth when

[48] Eccles. xlv. 7.
[49] T. C. lib. i. p. 79. [58.]
[50] Page 71. [52.]
[51] Page 75. [55.]
[52] Page 72. [52.]
[53] T. C. ii. 403.
[54] T. C. i. 73. [53.]
[55] Lib. i. 76. [56.] ii. 403.
[56] [Decl. of Disc. transl. by T. C. 109, and 135. Also T. C. i. 57; iii. 259. And Eccl. Disc. fol. 82, 101. "Non abluenda sed cremanda, nec aquæ "effusione purganda sed ignis incendio consum-"enda."]
[57] Page 78. [60.]
[58] Isa. xxx. 22.
[59] [Adm. p. 31. al. 17. T. C. iii. 257.]
[60] Exod. xxviii. 2; xxxix. 27.

his saints praise him [61]; and so lively resembleth the glory of the saints in heaven, together with the beauty wherein Angels have appeared unto men [62], that they which are to appear for men in the presence of God as Angels, if they were left to their own choice and would choose any, could not easily devise a garment of more decency for such a service.

[6.] As for those fore-rehearsed vehement allegations against it, shall we give them credit when the very authors from whom they come confess they believe not their own sayings? For when once they began to perceive how many both of them in the two universities, and of others who abroad having ecclesiastical charge do favour mightily their cause and by all means set it forward, might by persisting in the extremity of that opinion hazard greatly their own estates, and so weaken that part which their places do now give them much opportunity to strengthen; they asked counsel as it seemeth from some abroad [63], who wisely considered that the body is of far more worth than the raiment. Whereupon for fear of dangerous inconveniences, it hath been thought good to add, that sometimes authority "must and may with good "conscience be obeyed, even where com-"mandment is not given upon good "ground [64];" that "the duty of preaching "is one of the absolute commandments of "God, and therefore ought not to be for-"saken for the bare inconvenience of a "thing which in its own nature is indiffer-"ent;" that [65] "one of the foulest spots in "the surplice is the offence which it giveth "in occasioning the weak to fall and the "wicked to be confirmed in their wicked-"ness," yet hereby there is no unlawfulness proved, but "only an inconveniency" that such things should be established, howbeit no such inconveniency neither "as may not "be borne with [66];" that when God doth flatly command us to abstain from things in their own nature indifferent if they offend our weak brethren, his meaning is not we should obey his commandment herein, unless we may do it "and not leave undone "that which the Lord hath absolutely com-"manded [67]." Always provided that whosoever will enjoy the benefit of this dispensation to wear a scandalous badge of idolatry, rather than forsake his pastoral charge, do "as occasion serveth teach" nevertheless still "the incommodity of the thing itself, ad-"monish the weak brethren that they be not,

[61] Psal. cxlix. 2.

[62] Apoc. xv. 6; Mark xvi. 5.

[63] [In 1565, Sampson and Humfiey wrote to Bullinger and Gualter at Zurich, and to Beza at Geneva, on this subject. Their answers, to the effect here stated, may be found in Strype, Ann. I. ii. 505, from Bullinger, May, 1566: and in the Life of Grindal, 511, from Beza, Oct. 1567. Bullinger (p. 508.) says, "Mirum sane mihi videtur (vestra "pace, viri ornatissimi, et fratres charissimi, dixe-"rim) quod vobis persuadetis, salva conscientia, "vos et ecclesias servituti vestiariæ subjicere se "non posse; et non potius expenditis, si re poli-"tica et indifferenti uti nolitis, et perpetuo contenda-"tis odiosius, cujusmodi servituti et vos et ecclesi-"as subjiciatis; quod vestra statione cedentes lu-"pis exponitis ecclesias, aut saltem parum idoneis "doctoribus." Beza (having first endeavoured to stir up the church of Zurich to a public interference, Ann. I. ii. 522.) advises as follows: "Peti-"tur etiam a nobis utrum istam in pileis et vesti-"bus tum in communi usu tum in ministerii func-"tione distinctionem probemus . . . Respondemus "igitur ingenue, si ita res habent ut audimus, no-"bis videri pessime mereri de Ecclesia Dei, et co-"ram Christi tribunali rationem hujus facti reddi-"turos, qui sunt istius rei auctores . . . Sunt "(dicet aliquis) res per se mediæ. Concedimus "sane ita esse, si per se considerentur. Sed quis "ilias ita considerabit? Nam qui Papistæ sunt, "quicquid lex civilis prætexat, sane hac ratione in "sua superstitione inveterata confirmantur. Qui "cœperunt superstitiones eo usque detestari, ut "etiam illarum vestigia cœperint execrari, quanto-"pere offenduntur! Qui melius sunt instituti, "quem fructum inde percipient? Anne vero tanti "est ista distinctio, ut propterea tam multorum "conscientias perturbari oporteat, repetita videlicet "ab ipsis manifestis et juratis sanæ doctrinæ hos-"tibus istius distinctionis ratione? Quid quod ex "iis qui Ecclesiastici vocantur non minima pars "dicitur adhuc Papismum in pectore gestare? An "isti vero in melius proficient, restituto hoc habitu, "ac non potius instaurandi quoque ipsius Papismi "spe cristas erigent? . . . Quid ergo, inquiunt "fratres, nobis quibus ista obtruduntur faciendum "censetis? Respondemus distinctione hic opus es-"se; alia enim est ministrorum alia gregis conditio. "Deinde possunt ac etiam debent multa tolerari "quæ tamen recte non præcipiuntur. Itaque pri-"mum respondemus, etsi nostro quidem judicio "non recte revehuntur in Ecclesiam, tamen cum "non sint ex earum rerum genere, quæ per se im-"piæ sunt, non videri nobis illas tanti momenti, ut "propterea vel pastoribus deserendum sit potius "ministerium quam ut vestes illas assumant, vel "gregibus omittendum publicum pabulum, potius "quam ita vestitos pastores audiant. Tantum, ut "et pastores et greges in conscientia non peccent, "(modo salva sit doctrinæ ipsius sive dogmatum "puritas,) suademus pastoribus, ut postquam et "coram Regia Majestate et apud episcopos suas "conscientias modesta quidem (sicut Christianos "ab omni tumultu et seditione alienos decet) et ta-"men gravi, prout rei magnitudo requirit, obtes-"tatione liberarint; aperte quidem apud suos gre-"ges ea inculcent, quæ ad tollendum hoc offendi-"culum pertinent, et in istorum etiam abusuum "emendationem, prudentur simul ac placide, prout "occasionem offeret Dominus, incumbant: sed "ista tamen quæ mutare non possunt ferant potius "quam ecclesias ob eam causam deserendo ma-"joribus et periculosioribus malis occasionem Sa-"tanæ nihil aliud quærenti præbeant." Tract Theol. iii. 219.]

[64] T. C. lib. i. p. 74. [54.] et lib. iii. p. 250; Index, lib. iii. c. 8.

[65] T. C. iii. 262.

[66] T. C. iii. 262, 263. [67] Lib. iii. p. 263.

"and pray unto God so to strengthen them "that they may not be offended thereat[68]." So that whereas before they which had authority to institute rites and ceremonies were denied to have power to institute this, it is now confessed that this they may also "lawfully" but not so "conveniently" appoint; they did well before and as they ought, who had it in utter detestation and hatred, as a thing abominable, they now do well which think it may be both borne and used with a very good conscience; before, he which by wearing it were sure to win thousands unto Christ ought not to do it if there were but one which might be offended, now though it be with the offence of thousands, yet it may be done rather than that should be given over whereby notwithstanding we are not certain we shall gain one: the examples of Ezekias and of Paul, the charge which was given to the Jews by Esay, the strict apostolical prohibition of things indifferent whensoever they may be scandalous, were before so forcible laws against our ecclesiastical attire, as neither church nor commonwealth could possibly make void; which now one of far less authority than either hath found how to frustrate, by dispensing with the breach of inferior commandments, to the end that the greater may be kept.

[7.] But it booteth them not thus to soder up a broken cause, whereof their first and last discourses will fall asunder do what they can. Let them ingenuously confess that their invectives were too bitter, their arguments too weak, the matter not so dangerous as they did imagine. If those alleged testimonies of Scripture did indeed concern the matter to such effect as was pretended, that which they should infer were unlawfulness, because they were cited as prohibitions of that thing which indeed they concern. If they prove not our attire unlawful because in truth they concern it not, it followeth that they prove not any thing against it, and consequently not so much as uncomeliness or inconveniency. Unless therefore they be able thoroughly to resolve themselves that there is no one sentence in all the Scriptures of God which doth control the wearing of it in such manner and to such purpose as the church of England alloweth; unless they can fully rest and settle their minds in this most sound persuasion, that they are not to make themselves the only competent judges of decency in these cases, and to despise the solemn judgment of the whole Church, preferring before it their own conceit, grounded only upon uncertain suspicions and fears, whereof if there were at the first some probable cause when things were but raw and tender, yet now very tract of time hath itself worn that out also; unless I say thus resolved in mind they hold their pastoral charge with the comfort of a good conscience, no way grudging at that which they do, or doing that which they think themselves bound of duty to reprove, how should it possibly help or further them in their course to take such occasions as they say are requisite to be taken, and in pensive manner to tell their audience, "Brethren, "our hearts' desire is that we might enjoy "the full liberty of the Gospel as in other "reformed churches they do elsewhere, "upon whom the heavy hand of authority "hath imposed no grievous burden. But "such is the misery of these our days, that "so great happiness we cannot look to at"tain unto. Were it so, that the equity of "the Law of Moses could prevail, or the "zeal of Ezekias be found in the hearts of "those guides and governors under whom "we live; or the voice of God's own "prophets be duly heard; or the example "of the Apostles of Christ be followed; yea "or their precepts be answered with full "and perfect obedience: these abominable "rags, polluted garments, marks and sa"craments of idolatry, which power as you "see constraineth us to wear and conscience "to abhor, had long ere this day been re"moved both out of sight and out of mem"ory. But as now things stand, behold to "what narrow straits we are driven. On "the one side we fear the words of our Sa"viour Christ, 'Wo be to them by whom "scandal and offence cometh;' on the other "side at the Apostle's speech we cannot "but quake and tremble, 'If I preach not "the Gospel wo be unto me.' Being thus "hardly beset, we see not any other remedy "but to hazard your souls the one way, "that we may the other way endeavour to "save them. Touching the offence of the "weak therefore, we must adventure it. If "they perish, they perish. Our pastoral "charge is God's absolute commandment. "Rather than that shall be taken from us, "we are resolved to take this filth and to "put it on, although we judge it to be so "unfit and inconvenient, that as oft as ever "we pray or preach so arrayed before you, "we do as much as in us lieth to cast away "your souls that are weak-minded, and to "bring you unto endless perdition. But "we beseech you brethren have care of "your own safety, take heed to your steps "that ye be not taken in those snares which "we lay before you. And our prayer in "your behalf to Almighty God is, that the "poison which we offer you may never "have the power to do you harm."

[8.] Advice and counsel is best sought for at their hands which either have no part at all in the cause whereof they instruct, or else so far engaged that themselves are to bear the greatest adventure in the success

[68] Page 263.

of their own counsels. The one of which two considerations maketh men the less respective, and the other the more circumspect. Those good and learned men which gave the first direction to this course had reason to wish that their own proceedings at home might be favoured abroad also, and that the good affection of such as inclined towards them might be kept alive. But if themselves had gone under those sails which they require to be hoisted up, if they had been themselves to execute their own theory in this church, I doubt not but easily they would have seen being nearer at hand, that the way was not good which they took of advising men, first to wear the apparel, that thereby they might be free to continue their preaching, and then of requiring them so to preach as they might be sure they could not continue, except they imagine that laws which permit them not to do as they would, will endure them to speak as they list even against that which themselves do by constraint of laws; they would have easily seen that our people being accustomed to think evermore that thing evil which is publicly under any pretence reproved, and the men themselves worse which reprove it and use it too, it should be to little purpose for them to salve the wound by making protestations in disgrace of their own actions, with plain acknowledgment that they are scandalous, or by using fair entreaty with the weak brethren; they would easily have seen how with us it cannot be endured to hear a man openly profess that he putteth fire to his neighbour's house, but yet so halloweth the same with prayer that he hopeth it shall not burn. It had been therefore perhaps safer and better for ours to have observed St. Basil's advice [69] both in this and in all things of like nature: "Let him which approveth not "his governors' ordinances either plainly "(but privately always) shew his dislike if "he have λόγον ἰσχυρὸν, strong and invincible reason against them, according to the "true will and meaning of Scripture; or "else let him quietly with silence do what "is enjoined." Obedience with professed unwillingness to obey is no better than manifest disobedience.

XXX. Having thus disputed whether the surplice be a fit garment to be used in the service of God, the next question whereunto we are drawn is, whether it be a thing allowable or no that the minister should say service in the chancel, or turn his face at any time from the people, or before service ended remove from the place where it was begun [70]. By them which trouble us with these doubts we would more willingly be resolved of a greater doubt; whether it be not a kind of taking God's name in vain to debase religion with such frivolous disputes, a sin to bestow time and labour about them. Things of so mean regard and quality, although necessary to be ordered, are notwithstanding very unsavoury when they come to be disputed of: because disputation presupposeth some difficulty in the matter which is argued, whereas in things of this nature they must be either very simple or very froward who need to be taught by disputation what is meet.

Of Gesture in praying and of different Places chosen to that purpose.

[2.] When we make profession of our faith, we stand; when we acknowledge our sins, or seek unto God for favour, we fall down: because the gesture of constancy becometh us best in the one, in the other the behaviour of humility. Some parts of our liturgy consist in the reading of the word of God, and the proclaiming of his law, that the people may thereby learn what their duties are towards him; some consist in words of praise and thanksgiving, whereby we acknowledge unto God what his blessings are towards us; some are such as albeit they serve to singular good purpose even when there is no communion administered, nevertheless being devised at the first for that purpose are at the table of the Lord for that cause also commonly read; some are uttered as from the people, some as with them unto God, some as from God unto them, all as before his sight whom we fear, and whose presence to offend with any the least unseemliness we would be surely as loth as they who most reprehend or deride that we do [71].

[3.] Now because the Gospels which are weekly read to all historically declare something which our Lord Jesus Christ himself either spake, did, or suffered, in his own person, it hath been the custom of Christian men then especially in token of the greater reverence to stand [72], to utter

[69] Basil. Ascet. Respons. ad Interrog. 47. [in later editions called "Regulæ fusius tractatæ." t. ii. p. 493. Paris 1618; t. ii. p. 393. ed. Bened. Τὸν μὴ καταδεχόμενον τὰ παρὰ τοῦ προεστῶτος ἐγκριθέντα, χρὴ φανερῶς ἢ ἰδίᾳ αὐτῷ ἀντιλέγειν, εἴ τινα ἔχοι λόγον ἰσχυρὸν κατὰ τὸ βούλημα τῶν γραφῶν, ἢ σιωπήσαντα τὸ προστεταγμένον ποιεῖν.]

[70] T. C. lib. i. p. 134. [105. See hereafter p. 353.]

[71] T. C. lib. i. p. 203. [163.]

[72] [1 Admon. p. 14. ed. 1617. "Now the people "sit, and now they stand up: when the old Tes"tament is read, or the lessons, they make no rev"erence, but when the Gospel cometh then they "all stand up, for why? they think that to be of "greatest authority, and are ignorant that the "Scriptures came from one Spirit." To which their marginal note is, "Standing at the Gospel "came from Anastasius the Pope, in anno 404." But in the Apostolical Constitutions, which are quoted by S. Epiphanius, who died 403, we read, Ὅταν ἀναγινωσκόμενον ᾖ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, πάντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ οἱ διάκονοι, καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς στηκέτωσαν μετὰ

certain words of acclamation[73], and at the name of Jesus to bow[74]. Which harmless ceremonies as there is *no man constrained to use;* so we know no reason wherefore any man should yet imagine it an unsufferable evil. It sheweth a reverend regard to the Son of God above other messengers[75], although speaking as from God also. And against infidels, Jews, Arians, who derogate from the honour of Jesus Christ, such ceremonies are most profitable[76]. As for any erroneous "estimation[77]" advancing the Son "above the Father and the Holy Ghost," seeing that the truth of his equality with them is a mystery so hard for the wits of mortal men to rise unto, of all heresies that which may give him superiority above them is least to be feared.

[4.] But to let go this as a matter scarce worth the speaking of, whereas if fault be in these things any where justly found, law hath referred the whole disposition and redress thereof to the ordinary of the place: they which eleswhere complain that disgrace and "injury[78]" is offered even to the meanest parish minister, when the magistrate appointeth him what to wear, and leaveth not so small a matter as that to his own discretion, being presumed a man discreet and trusted with the care of the people's souls, do think the gravest prelates in the land no competent judges to discern and appoint where it is fit for the minister to stand, or which way convenient to look praying[79]. From their ordinary therefore they appeal to themselves, finding great fault that we neither reform the thing against the which they have so long sithence given sentence, nor yet make answer unto that they bring, which is that[80] St. Luke declaring how Peter stood up "in the midst "of the disciples," did thereby deliver[81] an

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πολλῆς ἡσυχίας; Lib. ii. c. 57: see Cotelerius in loc. The Decretal Epistle of Anastasius, which the admonitioners quote, is spurious. And were it genuine, it proves nothing against the antiquity of the practice which it recommends: being in fact an admonition that the clergy as well as others should stand "venerabiliter curvi" when the Gospels are read, "and give attentive hearing to the "words of our Lord." See Concil. ii. 1191.]

[73] [The Liturgy under the name of S. Chrysostom, of which the probable date is the fourth century, (Palmer, Orig. Lit. i. 79.) directs that after the title of the Gospel has been given out, the people should respond, "Glory to Thee, O Lord, Glo-"ry to Thee."]

[74] [By injunction, 1 Eliz. (ap. Collier, Eccl. Hist. t. ii. 433.) "The customary reverences in church-"es were ordered to be continued. For instance, "where the name of Jesus was pronounced, all per-"sons were to bow, or shew some other suitable "mark of respect." Adm. ap. Wh. Def. 739. "When Jesus is named, then of goeth the cap, and "downe goeth the knee, wyth suche a scraping on "the grounde, that they cannot heare a good while "after, so that the word is hindered; but when "other names of God are mentioned, they make "no curtesie at all, as though the names of God "were not equal; or as though all reverence ought "to be given to the syllables."]

[75] Mark xii. 6.

[76] [Whitg. Def. 742. "One reason that moved "Christians in the beginning the rather to bow at "the name of Jesus than at any other name of "God, was because this name was most hated "and most contemned of the wicked Jews and "other persecutors of such as professed the name "of Jesus."]

[77] T. C. lib. iii. p. 215. [and i. 163.]

[78] T. C. lib. i. p. 74. [al. 54. "Whatsoever ap-"parel it be, this commandment cannot be with-"out some injury done to the minister. For seeing "that the magistrate doth allow of him as of a "wise, learned, and discreet man, and trusteth him "with the government of his people in matters be-"tween God and them, it were somewhat hard not "to trust him with the appointing of his own ap-"parel."]

[79] T. C. lib. i. p. 134. [al. 105. "If it be further "said that the book leaveth that to the discretion "of the ordinary, and that he may reform it if there "be any thing amiss:.....it is against reason that "the commodity and edifying of the Church "should depend upon one man... Besides... we "see by experience... that if it were lawful to "commit such authority unto one man, yet that it "is not safe to do so."] lib. iii. 187. ["The sum of "his" (Whitgift's) "defence is, that the Bishop "hath power to order it to the most edification; "wherein how unlawful it is that he alone should "have the order thereof, is before declared; and "how dangerous it is, let the practice in that point "be judge."]

[80] Acts i. 15.

[81] T. C. lib. i. p. 134. [105. "There is a third "fault, which likewise appeareth almost in the "whole body of this service and liturgy of England; "and that is that the profit which might have "come by it unto the people is not reaped: where-"of the cause is, for that he which readeth is in "some places not heard and in the most places "not understanded of the people, through the dis-"tance of place between the people and the minis-"ter, so that a great part of the people cannot of "knowledge tell whether he hath cursed them or "blessed them, whether he hath read in Latin or "in English; all the which riseth upon the words "of the book of service, which are that the minis-"ter should stand 'in the accustomed place.' "For thereupon the minister in saying morning "and evening prayer sitteth in the chancel with "his back to the people, as though he had some "secret talk with God, which the people might "not hear. And hereupon it is likewise, that af-"ter morning prayer, for saying another number "of prayers he climbeth up to the further end of "the chancel, and runneth as far from the people as "the wall will let him, as though there were some "variance between the people and the minister, or "as though he were afraid of some infection of "plague. And indeed it reneweth the memory of "the Levitical priesthood, which did withdraw "himself from the people into the place called the "holiest place, where he talked with God, and of-"fered for the sins of the people.

"Likewise for marriage he cometh back again

"unchangeable" rule, that "whatsoever" is done in the church "ought to be done" in the midst of the church [82], and therefore not baptism to be administered in one place, marriage solemnized in another, the supper of the Lord received in a third, in a fourth sermons, in a fifth prayers to be made; that the custom which we use is Levitical, absurd, and such as hindereth the understanding of the people; that if it be meet for the minister at some time to look towards the people, if the body of the church be a fit place for some part of divine service, it must needs follow that whensoever his face is turned any other way, or any thing done any other where, it hath absurdity. "All "these reasons [83]" they say have been brought, and were hitherto never answered; besides a number of merriments and jests unanswered likewise, wherewith they have pleasantly moved much laughter at our manner of serving God. Such is their evil hap to play upon dull spirited men. We are still persuaded that a bare denial is answer sufficient to things which mere fancy objecteth; and that the best apology to words of scorn and petulancy is Isaac's apology to his brother Ishmael, the apology which patience and silence maketh. Our answer therefore to their reasons is no; to their scoffs nothing.

XXXI. When they object that our Book requireth nothing to be done which a child may not do as "lawfully, "and as well as that man "wherewith the book content- "eth itself [84]," is it their meaning that the service of God ought to be a matter of great difficulty, a labour which requireth great learning and deep skill, or else that the book containing it should teach what men are fit to attend upon it, and forbid either men unlearned or children to be admitted thereunto? In setting down the form of common prayer, there was no need that the book should mention either the learning of a fit, or the unfitness of an ignorant minister, more than that he which describeth the manner how to pitch a field should speak of moderation and sobriety in diet. Easiness of praying after our form.

[2.] And concerning the duty itself, although the hardness thereof be not such as needeth much art, yet surely they seem to be very far carried besides themselves to whom the dignity of public prayer doth not discover somewhat more fitness in men of gravity and ripe discretion than in "children of ten years of age [85]," for the decent discharge and performance of that office. It cannot be that they who speak thus should thus judge. At the board and in private it very well becometh children's innocency to pray, and their elders to say Amen. Which being a part of their virtuous education, serveth greatly both to nourish in them the fear of God, and to put us in continual remembrance of that powerful grace which openeth the mouths of infants to sound his praise. But public prayer, the service of God in the solemn assembly of saints, is a work though easy yet withal so weighty and of such respect, that the great

"into the body of the church, and for baptism un- "to the church door; what comeliness, what de- "cency, what edifying is this? Decency, I say, "in running and trudging from place to place: "edifying, in standing in that place, and after that "sort, where he can worst be heard and under- "standed. St. Luke sheweth that in the primi- "tive Church both the prayers and preachings, "and the whole exercise of religion, was done oth- "erwise. For he sheweth how St. Peter sitting "amongst the rest to the end he might be the bet- "ter heard rose, and not that only, but that he "stood in the midst of the people, that his voice "might as much as might be come indifferently to "all their ears, and so standing both prayed and "preached. Now if it be said, for the chapters "and litany there is commandment given, that "they should be read in the body of the church: "indeed it is true, and thereof is easily perceived "this disorder, which is in saying the rest of the "prayers partly in the hither end and partly in the "further end of the chancel. For seeing that those "are read in the body of the church, that the peo- "ple may both hear and understand what is read; "what should be the cause why the rest should be "read farther off? unless it be that either those "things are not to be heard of them, or at the "least not so necessary for them to be heard as the "other: which are recited in the body or midst of "the church."]

[82] Lib. iii. p. 187. [T. C. iii. 187. "The place "of St. Luke" (Acts i. 15.) "is an unchangeable "rule to teach, that all that which is done in the "church ought to be done where it may be best "heard."]

[83] [T. C. iii. 186. "To all these reasons he an- "swereth nothing worth the naming."]

[84] T. C. lib. i. p. 133. [104.] et lib. iii. p. 184. "Another fault in the whole service or liturgy of "England is, for that it maintaineth an unpreach- "ing ministry, in requiring nothing to be done by "the minister which a child of ten years old can- "not do as well and as lawfully as that man "wherewith the book contenteth itself." [and Learned Discourse, ap. Bridges, p. 521. "While "the whole office of a pastor shall be thought to "consist in reading only a prescript number of "psalms and chapters of the Scriptures, with oth- "er appointed forms of prayer, and that he may "be allowed a sufficient pastor which doth the "things which a child of ten years old may do as "well as he: so long shall we never lack unlearn- "ed pastors." Whitg. Def. 482. "You might as "well say that because a child of ten years old "can read the Bible translated into English, there- "fore the Bible translated into English maintain- "eth an unpreaching ministry."]

[85] [2d Adm. 46, 47. ed. 1617. "If to read the "Scriptures, the homilies, and the course of our "Book of Common Prayers were enough, . . . then "a boy of ten years old may do the minister's of- "fice."]

facility thereof is but a slender argument to prove it may be as well and as lawfully committed to children as to men of years, howsoever their ability of learning be but only to do that in decent order wherewith the book contenteth itself.

[3.] The book requireth but orderly reading. As in truth what should any prescript form of prayer framed to the minister's hand require, but only so to be read as behoveth? We know that there are in the world certain voluntary overseers of all books, whose censure in this respect would fall as sharp on us as it hath done on many others, if delivering but a form of prayer, we should either express or include anything, more than doth properly concern prayer. The minister's greatness or meanness of knowledge to do other things, his aptness or insufficiency otherwise than by reading to instruct the flock, standeth in this place as a stranger with whom our form of common prayer hath nothing to do.

[4.] Wherein their exception against easiness, as if that did nourish ignorance, proceedeth altogether of a needless jealousy. I have often heard it inquired of by many, how it might be brought to pass that the Church should every where have able preachers to instruct the people; what impediments there are to hinder it, and which were the speediest way to remove them. In which consultations the multitude of parishes, the paucity of schools, the manifold discouragements which are offered unto men's inclinations that way, the penury of the ecclesiastical estate, the irrecoverable loss of so many livings of principal value clean taken away from the Church long sithence by being appropriated, the daily bruises that spiritual promotions use to take by often falling [86], the want of somewhat in certain statutes which concern the state of the Church, the too great facility of many bishops, the stony hardness of too many patrons' hearts not touched with any feeling in this case: such things oftentimes are debated, and much thought upon by them that enter into any discourse concerning any defect of knowledge in the clergy. But whosoever be found guilty, the communion book hath surely deserved least to be called in question for this fault. If all the clergy were as learned as themselves are that most complain of ignorance in others, yet our book of prayer might remain the same; and remaining the same it is, I see not how it can be a let unto any man's skill in preaching. Which thing we acknowledge to be God's good gift, howbeit no such necessary element that every act of religion should be thought imperfect and lame wherein there is not somewhat exacted that none can discharge but an able preacher.

XXXII. Two faults there are which our Lord and Saviour himself especially reproved in prayer: the one when ostentation did cause it to be open; the other when superstition made it long [87]. As therefore prayers the one way are faulty, not whensoever they be openly made, but when hypocrisy is the cause of open praying: so the length of prayer is likewise a fault, howbeit not simply, but where error and superstition causeth more than convenient repetition or continuation of speech to be used. "It is not, as some do imagine," saith St. Augustine, "that long praying is "that fault of much speaking in prayer "which our Saviour did reprove; for then "would not he himself in prayer have con- "tinued whole nights [88]." "Use in prayer "no vain superfluity of words as the hea- "thens do, for they imagine that their much "speaking will cause them to be heard [89]", whereas in truth the thing which God doth regard is how virtuous their minds are, and not how copious their tongues in prayer; how well they think, and not how long they talk who come to present their supplications before him.

The length of our service.

[2.] Notwithstanding forasmuch as in public prayer we are not only to consider what is needful in respect of God, but there is also in men that which we must regard; we somewhat the rather incline to length, lest over-quick dispatch of a duty so important should give the world occasion to deem that the thing itself is but little accounted of, wherein but little time is bestowed. Length thereof is a thing which the gravity and weight of such actions doth require.

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[86] [Christian Letter, 37. "What be the bruises "and falls that spiritual promotions ordained by "Christ do or can take?" Hooker MS. note. "O witte!" Fuller, C. H. b. ix. p. 98. "Many a "bishopric so *bruised* itself when it *fell* vacant, "that it lost some land before a new Bishop was "settled therein; where the elects contracted with "the promoters on unworthy conditions."]

[87] T. C. lib. i. p. 133. [104. "The liturgy of "England ..... appointeth a number of psalms "and other prayers and chapters to be read, "which may occupy the time which is to be "spent in preaching: wherein notwithstanding it "ought to have been more wary, considering that "the Devil under this colour of long prayer did "thus in the kingdom of Antichrist banish preach- "ing."] et lib. iii. p. 184.

[88] August. Ep. 121. [130. §. 19. tom. ii. 389. "Neque enim, ut quidam putant, hoc est orare in "multiloquio, si diutius oretur. Aliud est sermo "multus, aliud diuturnus affectus. Nam et de "ipso Domino scriptum est quod pernoctaverit in "orando, et quod prolixius oraverit: ubi quid "aliud quam nobis præbebat exemplum, in tempo- "re precator opportunus, cum Patre exauditor æter- "nus?"] Luke vi. 12.

[89] [Matt. vi. 7.]

Besides, this benefit also it hath, that they whom earnest lets and impediments do often hinder from being partakers of the whole, have yet through the length of divine service opportunity left them at the least for access unto some reasonable part thereof.

Again it should be considered, how doth it come to pass that we are so long. For if that very service of God in the Jewish synagogues, which our Lord did approve and sanctify with the presence of his own person, had so large portions of the Law and the Prophets together with so many prayers and psalms read day by day as equal in a manner the length of ours, and yet in that respect was never thought to deserve blame, is it now an offence that the like measure of time is bestowed in the like manner? Peradventure the Church hath not now the leisure which it had then, or else those things whereupon so much time was then well spent, have sithence that lost their dignity and worth. If the reading of the Law, the Prophets, and Psalms, be a part of the service of God as needful under Christ as before, and the adding of the New Testament as profitable as the ordaining of the Old to be read; if therewith instead of Jewish prayers it be also for the good of the Church to annex that variety which the Apostle doth commend [90], seeing that the time which we spend is no more than the orderly performance of these things necessarily requireth, why are we thought to exceed in length? Words be they never so few are too many when they benefit not the hearer. But he which speaketh no more than edifieth is undeservedly reprehended for much speaking.

[3.] That as "the Devil under colour of "long prayer drave preaching out of the "Church" heretofore, so we "in appointing "so long time of prayers and reading, "whereby the less can be spent in preach-"ing, maintain an unpreaching ministry [91]," is neither advisedly nor truly spoken. They reprove long prayer, and yet acknowledge it to be in itself a thing commendable. For so it must needs be, if the Devil have used it as "a colour" to hide his malicious practices [92]. When malice would work that which is evil, and in working avoid the suspicion of any evil intent, the colour wherewith it overcasteth itself is always a fair and plausible pretence of seeking to further that which is good. So that if we both retain that good which Satan hath pretended to seek, and avoid the evil which his purpose was to effect, have we not better prevented his malice than if as he hath under colour of long prayer driven preaching out of the Church, so we should take the quarrel of sermons in hand and revenge their cause by requital, thrusting prayer in a manner out of doors under colour of long preaching?

In case our prayers being made at their full length did necessarily enforce sermons to be the shorter, yet neither were this to uphold and maintain an "unpreaching min-"istry," unless we will say that those ancient Fathers, Chrysostom, Augustine, Leo, and the rest, whose homilies in that consideration were shorter for the most part than our sermons are, did then not preach when their speeches were not long. The necessity of shortness causeth men to cut off impertinent discourses, and to comprise much matter in few words. But neither doth it maintain inability, nor at all prevent opportunity of preaching, as long as a competent time is granted for that purpose.

[4.] "An hour and a half" is, they say, in reformed churches "ordinarily" thought reasonable "for their whole liturgy or ser-"vice [93]." Do we then continue as Ezra did [94] in reading the Law from morning till midday? or as the Apostle St. Paul did in prayer and preaching [95], till men through weariness be taken up dead at our feet? The huge length whereof they make such complaint is but this, that if our whole form of prayer be read, and besides an hour allowed for a sermon, we spend ordinarily in both more time than they do by half an hour [96]. Which half-hour being such a

[90] 1 Tim. ii. 1.

[91] T. C. lib. iii. p. 184. [and i. 104. al. 133.]

[92] The same kind of argument is used by St. Augustine to Deogratias, Opp. t. ii. 279. "Tem-"plum, sacerdotium, sacrificium, et alia quæcun-"que ad hæc pertinentia, nisi uni vero Deo deberi "nossent Dii falsi, hoc est dæmones, qui sunt "prævaricatores angeli, nunquam hæc sibi a cul-"toribus suis, quos decipiunt, expetissent." And by Tertullian, ad Uxor. i. 7. "Sacerdotium vidu-"itatis et celebratum est apud Nationes pro dia-"boli scilicet æmulatione. Regem sæculi, Ponti-"ficem Maximum, rursus nubere nefas est. Quan-"tum Deo sanctitas placet, cum illam etiam in-"imicus affectat! non utique ut alicujus boni "affinis, sed ut Dei Domini placita cum contu-"melia affectans."]

[93] [T. C. iii. 185. "There is to be considered "the common infirmity; whereby, through such "continuance, the powers of the mind standing "so long bent are dulled, and often also a most "dangerous loathsomeness occasioned. Against "which our Church (as others have done) should "by a godly policy have provided, where for this "cause the whole liturgy or service is not ordina-"rily above an hour and a half."]

[94] Neh. viii. 3.

[95] Acts. xx. 9.

[96] So Whitgift, Def. 482. "The longest time "(if there be no communion) is not more than an "hour." And Bridges Def. of Gov. p. 625. "All "the forms of prayer that are prescribed in any "part of our ordinary divine service may be so-"berly and with decent pauses uttered forth, "either for the ministers or for the people's part, in "the space of little more than one hour, yea, the

matter as the "age of some and the infirm-"ity of other some are not able to bear [97];" if we have any sense of the "common imbe-"cility," if any care to preserve men's wits from being broken with the very "bent of "so long attention," if any love or desire to provide that things most holy be not with "hazard" of men's souls abhorred and "loathed," this half-hour's tediousness must be remedied, and that only by cutting off the greatest part of our common prayer. For no other remedy will serve to help so dangerous an inconvenience.

XXXIII. The brethren in Egypt (saith St. Augustine, epist. 121 [98],) are reported to have many prayers, but every of them very short, as if they were darts thrown out with a kind of sudden quickness, lest that vigilant and erect attention of mind, which in prayer is very necessary, should be wasted or dulled through continuance, if their prayers were few and long. But that which St. Augustine doth allow they condemn. Those prayers whereunto devout minds have added a piercing kind of brevity, as well in that respect which we have already mentioned, as also thereby the better to express that quick and speedy expedition, wherewith ardent affections, the very wings of prayer, are delighted to present our suits in heaven, even sooner than our tongues can devise to utter them, they in their mood of contradiction spare not openly to deride, and that with so base terms as do very ill beseem men of their gravity[99]. Such speeches are scandalous, they savour not of God in him that useth them, and unto virtuously disposed minds they are grievous corrosives. Our case were miserable, if that wherewith we most endeavour to please God were in his sight so vile and despicable as men's disdainful speech would make it.

Instead of such prayers as the primitive Churches have used, and those that be reformed now use; we have (they say) "divers short "cuts or "shreddings, "rather wish-"es than "prayers."

XXXIV. Again, forasmuch as effectual prayer is joined with a vehement intention of the inferior powers of the soul, which cannot therein long continue without pain, it hath been therefore thought good so by turns to interpose still somewhat for the higher part of the mind, the understanding, to work upon, that both being kept in continual exercise with variety, neither might feel any great weariness, and yet each be a spur to other. For prayer kindleth our desire to behold God by speculation; and the mind delighted with that contemplative sight of God, taketh every where new inflammations to pray, the riches of the mysteries of heavenly wisdom continually stirring up in us correspondent desires towards them. So that he which prayeth in due sort is thereby made the more attentive to hear, and he which heareth the more earnest to pray, for the time which we bestow as well in the one as the other.

Lessons intermingled with our prayers.

[2.] But for what cause soever we do it, this intermingling of lessons with prayers is [1] in their taste a thing as unsavoury, and

"lessons, and all the rest of the divine service, "within one hour and a half, even where the ser-"vice is longest in saying, though also much and "solemn singing do protract it." These passages seem to indicate, that the services of Morning Prayer, the Litany, and the Communion were united in Queen Elizabeth's time according to the present practice. The final rubric in the first Prayer Book of K. Edward is, "If there be a "sermon, or for other great cause, the curate by "his discretion may leave out the Letanie, Gloria "in Excelsis, the Crede, the Homely, and thexhor-"tation to the Communion." Archbishop Grindal directs "the minister not to pause or stay be-"tween the Morning Prayer, Litany and Com-"munion, but to continue and say the Morning "Prayer, Litany and Communion, or the service "appointed to be said when there was no com-"munion, together without any intermission: to "the intent the people might continue together in "prayer and hearing the word of God, and not "depart out of the Church during all the time of "the whole divine Service." Injunctions to the Province of York, 1571, in Strype, Grind. 249.]

[97] [T. C. iii. 184. "He asketh" (Def. 482.) "whether we can spend an hour better, than in "praying, and hearing the Scripture read. Where-"unto I answer, that if with that hour he allow "another for the sermon, the time will be longer "than the age of some and infirmities of other "some can ordinarily well bear: whereunto also "if another hour at the least be added for the cel-"ebration of the holy communion, he may see "that either the preaching must be abridged, or "not so due regard had of men's infirmities."]

[98] [Al. 130. §. 20. t. ii. p. 389. "Dicuntur fratres "in Ægypto crebras quidem habere orationes, sed "eas tamen brevissimas, et raptim quodammodo "jaculatas, ne illa vigilanter erecta, quæ oranti "plurimum necessaria est per productiores moras "evanescat atque hebetetur intentio."]

[99] T. C. lib. i. 138. [al. 108. "Concerning the "form there is also to be misliked: a great cause "whereof is the following of the form used in "popery; against which I have before spoken. "For whilst that service was set in many points "as a pattern of this, it cometh to pass, that in-"stead of such prayers as the primitive churches "have used, and those that be reformed now use, "we have divers short cuts and shreddings, "which may be better called wishes than prayers." Whitg. Def. 499. marg. "These are unseemly "terms for godly prayers be they never so short." And 500. "Will you still more and more utter "your contempt against God, against His Church, "against a most pure and godly kind of public "prayer and service, and that with such unreve-"rent speeches? But I omit them: it is enough "to have noted them in the margent, for they are "confutation to themselves."] And [T. C.] lib. iii. 210, 211.

[1] "We have no such forms in the Scripture as "that we should pray in two or three lines, and

as unseemly in their sight, as if the like should be done in suits and supplications before some mighty prince of the world. Our speech to worldly superiors we frame in such sort as serveth best to inform and persuade the minds of them, who otherwise neither could nor would greatly regard our necessities: whereas, because we know that God is indeed a King, but a *great* king, who understandeth all things beforehand, which no other king besides doth, a king which needeth not to be informed what we lack, a king readier to grant than we to make our requests; therefore in prayer we do not so much respect what precepts art delivereth touching the method of persuasive utterance in the presence of great men, as what doth most avail to our own edification in piety and godly zeal. If they on the contrary side do think that the same rules of decency which serve for things done unto terrene powers should universally decide what is fit in the service of God; if it be their meaning to hold it for a maxim, that the Church must deliver her public supplications unto God in no other form of speech than such as were decent, if suit should be made to the great Turk, or some other monarch, let them apply their own rule unto their own form of common prayer. Suppose that the people of a whole town with some chosen man before them did continually twice or thrice in a week resort to their king, and every time they come first acknowledge themselves guilty of rebellions and treasons, then sing a song, after that explain some statute of the land to the standers-by, and therein spend at the least an hour, this done, turn themselves again to the king, and for every sort of his subjects crave somewhat of him, at the length sing him another song, and so take their leave. Might not the king well think that either they knew not what they would have, or else that they were distracted in mind, or some other such like cause of the disorder of their supplication? This form of suing unto kings were absurd. This form of praying unto God they allow.

[3.] When God was served with legal sacrifices, such was the miserable and wretched disposition of some men's minds, that the best of every thing they had being culled out for themselves, if there were in their flocks any poor starved or diseased thing not worth the keeping, they thought it good enough for the altar of God, pretending (as wise hypocrites do when they rob God to enrich themselves) that the fatness of calves doth benefit him nothing; to us the best things are most profitable, to him all as one if the mind of the offerer be good, which is the only thing he respecteth. In reproof of which their devout fraud, the Prophet Malachi allegeth that gifts are offered unto God not as supplies of his want indeed [2], but yet as testimonies of that affection wherewith we acknowledge and honour his greatness. For which cause, sith the greater they are whom we honour, the more regard we have to the quality and choice of those presents which we bring them for honour's sake, it must needs follow that if we dare not disgrace our worldly superiors with offering unto them such refuse as we bring unto God himself, we shew plainly that our acknowledgment of his greatness is but feigned, in heart we fear him not so much as we dread them. "If "ye offer the blind for sacrifice it is not "evil [3]. Offer it now unto thy prince. Will "he be content, or accept thy person? "saith the Lord of hosts. Cursed be the "deceiver which hath in his flock a male, "and having made a vow sacrificeth unto "the Lord a corrupt thing. For I am a "great king, saith the Lord of hosts." Should we hereupon frame a rule that what form of speech or behaviour soever is fit for suitors in a prince's court, the same and no other beseemeth us in our prayers to Almighty God?

XXXV. But in vain we labour to persuade them that any thing can take away the tediousness of prayer, except it be brought to the very same both measure and form which themselves assign. Whatsoever therefore our liturgy hath more than theirs,

The number of our prayers for earthly things, and our oft rehearsing of the Lord's Prayer.

"then after having read awhile some other thing, "come and pray as much more, and so the twen- "tieth or thirtieth time, with pauses between. If "a man should come to a prince, and having very "many things to demand, after he had demanded "one thing, would stay a long time, and then de- "mand another, and so the third: the prince "might well think that either he came to ask be- "fore he knew what he had need of, or that he "had forgotten some piece of his suit, or that he "was distracted in his understanding, or some "other such like cause of the disorder of his sup- "plication." T. C. lib. i. p. 138. [al. 108. Whitgift replies, Def. 500, "As much difference as there is "betwixt man and God, so far is this similitude "of yours from proving your purpose: except you "will admit the like similitude used by Papists, to "prove praying to Saints."] "This kind of rea- "son the Prophet in the matter of sacrifices doth "use." T. C. lib. iii. p. 210.

[2] Μέρη τιμῆς τὰ δῶρα, τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις τίμια. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ δωρόν ἐστι κτήματος δόσις καὶ τιμῆς σημεῖον. Διὸ καὶ οἱ φιλοχρήματοι καὶ οἱ φιλότιμοι ἐφίενται αὐτῶν. Ἀμφοτέροις γὰρ ἔχει ὧν δέονται. Καὶ γὰρ κτῆμά ἐστιν οὗ ἐφίενται οἱ φιλοχρήματοι, καὶ τιμὴν ἔχει οὗ οἱ φιλότιμοι. Arist. Rhet. lib. i. cap. 5.

[3] Mal. i. 8, 14. [This quotation has been altered in most editions, to suit the version in K. James's Bible, thus: "Is it not evil?" In the Geneva version, which Hooker generally followed, the sentence is not read interrogatively, but as an affirmation, put into the mouth of those whom the Prophet is reproving. So also in the Bishop's

under one devised pretence or other they cut it off. We have of prayers for earthly things in their opinion too great a number [4]; so oft to rehearse the Lord's Prayer in so small a time is as they think a loss of time [5]; the people's praying after the minister they say both wasteth time, and also maketh an unpleasant sound; the Psalms they would not have to be made (as they are) a part of our common prayer, nor to be sung or said by turns, nor such music to be used with them; those evangelical hymns they allow not to stand in our liturgy; the Litany, the Creed of Athanasius [6], the sentence of glory wherewith we use to conclude psalms, these things they cancel, as having been instituted in regard of occasions peculiar to the times of old, and as being therefore now superfluous.

[2.] Touching prayers for things earthly, we ought not to think that the Church hath set down so many of them without cause. They peradventure, which find this fault, are of the same affection with Solomon, so that if God should offer to grant them whatsoever they ask, they would neither crave riches, nor length of days [7], nor yet victory over their enemies, but only an understanding heart; for which cause themselves having eagles' wings, are offended to see others fly so near the ground. But the tender kindness of the Church of God it very well beseemeth to help the weaker sort, which are by so great odds more in number, although some few of the perfecter and stronger may be therewith for a time displeased.

Ignorant we are not, that of such as resorted to our Saviour Christ being present on earth, there came not any unto him with better success for the benefit of their souls' everlasting happiness, than they whose bodily necessities gave them the first occasion to seek relief, where they saw willingness and ability of doing every way good unto all.

The graces of the Spirit are much more precious than worldly benefits; our ghostly evils of greater importance than any harm which the body feeleth. Therefore our desires to heavenward should both in measure and number no less exceed than their glorious object doth every way excel in value. These things are true and plain in the eye of a perfect judgment. But yet it must be withal considered, that the greatest part of the world are they which be farthest from perfection. Such being better able by sense to discern the wants of this present life, than by spiritual capacity to apprehend things above sense, which tend to their happiness in the world to come, are in that respect the more apt to apply their minds even with hearty affection and zeal at the least unto those branches of public prayer, wherein their own particular is moved. And by this mean there stealeth upon them a double benefit: first because that good affection, which things of smaller account have once set on work, is by so much the more easily raised higher; and secondly in that the very custom of seeking so particular aid and relief at the hands of God, doth by a secret contradiction withdraw them from endeavouring to help themselves by those wicked shifts which they know can never have his allowance, whose assistance their prayer seeketh. These multiplied petitions of worldly things in prayer have therefore, besides their direct use, a service, whereby the Church underhand, through a kind of heavenly fraud, taketh therewith the souls of men as with certain baits [8].

Bible: "When ye bryng the blynde for sacrifice, "[you saye,] It is not evyl: and when ye bring "the lame and sicke, [you saye,] It is not evyl." The error in the copies of Hooker occurs as early as the edition of 1632.]

[4] T. C. lib. i. p. 136. [107.] "I can make no "geometrical and exact measure, but verily I be- "lieve there shall be found more than a third part "of the prayers, which are not psalms and texts "of Scripture, spent in praying for and praying "against the commodities and incommodities of "this life, which is contrary to all the arguments "or contents of the prayers of the Church set "down in the Scripture, and especially of our Sa- "viour Christ's prayer, by which ours ought to be "directed."

[5] T. C. lib. i. p. 219. [176.] "What a reason is "this, we must repeat the Lord's Prayer often- "times, therefore oftentimes in half an hour, and "one on the neck of another! ..... Our Saviour "Christ doth not there give a prescript form of "prayer whereunto he bindeth us: but giveth us "a rule and square to frame all our prayers by. "I know it is necessary to pray, and pray often. "I know also that in a few words it is impossible "for any man to frame so pithy a prayer and I "confess that the Church doth well in concluding "their prayers with the Lord's Prayer: but I "stand upon this, that there is no necessity laid "upon us to use these very words and no more."

[6] [2 Adm. 57. "I would know what there is in "Athanasius's Creed, that that must be upon "high days, (as they term them) rather than the "Apostles' Creed."]

[7] [1 Kings iii. 11.]

[8] [Chr. Letter, p. 36. "Did you see in the moun- "taine of God the patterne of that heavenlie "fraude which you say is to catch men by multi- "plied petitions of worldlie things?"

Hooker, MS. note. "What is it which displeas- "eth you in this speech? Why not the fraud of "man to catch men by multiplied petitions, as "well as the fraud of God to catch them by mul- "tiplied promises of wordly things? I cannot "think you are so dull that the use of the word "*fraud* in that sort should offend your taste. If "the matter be that you mislike, let men guesse "what an unfained favourer you are of the exer- "cise of religion now authorised, when you make "so speciall exception against our publique "prayers."]

If then their calculation be true (for so they reckon) that a full third of our prayers be allotted unto earthly benefits, for which our Saviour in his platform hath appointed but one petition amongst seven, the difference is without any great disagreement; we respecting what men are, and doing that which is meet in regard of the common imperfection; our Lord contrariwise proposing the most absolute proportion that can be in men's desires, the very highest mark whereat we are able to aim.

[3.] For which cause also our custom is both to place it in the front of our prayers as a guide[9], and to add it in the end of some principal limbs or parts as a complement which fully perfecteth whatsoever may be defective in the rest. Twice we rehearse it ordinarily, and oftener as occasion requireth more solemnity or length in the form of divine service; not mistrusting, till these new curiosities sprang up, that ever any man would think our labour herein misspent, the time wastefully consumed, and the office itself made worse by so repeating that which otherwise would more hardly be made familiar to the simpler sort; for the good of whose souls there is not in Christian religion any thing of like continual use and force throughout every hour and moment of their whole lives.

I mean not only because prayer, but because this very prayer, is of such efficacy and necessity. For that our Saviour did but set men a bare example how to contrive or devise prayers of their own, and no way bind them to use this, is no doubt an error. John the Baptist's disciples which had been always brought up in the bosom of God's Church from the time of their first infancy till they came to the school of John, were not so brutish that they could be ignorant how to call upon the name of God; but of their master they had received a form of prayer amongst themselves, which form none did use saving his disciples, so that by it as by a mark of special difference they were known from others. And of this the Apostles having taken notice, they request that as John had taught his, so Christ would likewise teach them to pray[10].

Tertullian and St. Augustine[11] do for that cause term it *Orationem legitimam*, the Prayer which Christ's own law hath tied his Church to use in the same prescript form of words wherewith he himself did deliver it; and therefore what part of the world soever we fall into, if Christian religion have been there received, the ordinary use of this very prayer hath with equal continuance accompanied the same as one of the principal and most material duties of honour done to Jesus Christ. "Seeing that we "have" (saith St. Cyprian) "an Advocate "with the Father for our sins, when we that "have sinned come to seek for pardon, let "us allege unto God the words which our "Advocate hath taught. For sith his pro-"mise is our plain warrant, that in his name "what we ask we shall receive, must we "not needs much the rather obtain that for "which we sue if not only his name do "countenance but also his speech present "our requests[12]?"

Though men should speak with the tongues of Angels, yet words so pleasing to the ears of God as those which the Son of God himself hath composed were not possible for men to frame. He therefore which made us to live hath also taught us to pray, to the end that speaking unto the Father in the Son's own prescript form without scholy or gloss of ours, we may be sure that we utter nothing which God will either disallow or deny. Other prayers we use many besides this, and this oftener than any other; although not tied so to do by any commandment of Scripture, yet moved with such considerations as have been before set down: the causeless dislike whereof which others have conceived, is no sufficient reason for us as much as once to forbear in any place a thing which uttered with true devotion and zeal of heart affordeth to God himself that glory, that aid to the weakest sort of men, to the most perfect that solid comfort which is unspeakable.

XXXVI. With our Lord's Prayer they would find no fault, so that they might persuade us to use it before or after sermons only (because so their manner is) and not (as all Christian people have been of old accustomed) insert it so often into the liturgy. But the people's custom to repeat any thing after the minister they utterly mislike[13]. Twice we appoint that the

The people's saying after the Minister.

[9] Tertull. de Orat. [c. 9.] "Præmissa legitima "et ordinaria oratione quasi fundamento, acci "dentium jus est desideriorum, jusest superstruendi "extrinsecus petitiones."

[10] Luke xi. 1.

[11] [Enarr. in Psalm. 142. t. iv. p. 1592. "Ipsis "(Apostolis) data est regula postulandi a Jurispe-"rito cælesti. 'Sic orate,' inquit."]

[12] Cypr. de Orat. Dom. [c. 2. t. i. 140. "Cum "ipsum habeamus apud Patrem advocatum pro "peccatis nostris, quando peccatores pro delictis "nostris petimus, advocati nostri verba promamus. "Nam cum dicat, quia quodcunque petierimus a "Patre in nomine ejus, dabit nobis; quanto effi-"cacius impetramus quod petimus in Christi "nomine, si petamus ipsius oratione."]

[13] "Another fault is that all the people are ap-"pointed in divers places to say after the minister, "whereby not only the time is unprofitably wasted, "and a confused noise of the people one speaking "after another caused, but an opinion bred in their "heads that those only be their prayers which "they pronounce with their own mouths after the "minister, otherwise than the order which is left

words [14] which the minister first pronounceth, the whole congregation shall repeat after him. As first in the public confession of sins, and again in rehearsal of our Lord's Prayer presently after the blessed Sacrament of his Body and Blood received. A thing no way offensive, no way unfit or unseemly to be done, although it had been so appointed oftener than with us it is. But surely with so good reason it standeth in those two places, that otherwise to order it were not in all respects so well.

[2.] Could there be any thing devised better than that we all at our first access unto God by prayer should acknowledge meekly our sins, and that not only in heart but with tongue, all which are present being made ear-witnesses even of every man's distinct and deliberate assent unto each particular branch of a common indictment drawn against ourselves? How were it possible that the Church should any way else with such ease and certainty provide, that none of her children may as Adam [15] dissemble that wretchedness, the penitent confession whereof is so necessary a preamble, especially to common prayer?

[3.] In like manner if the Church did ever devise a thing fit and convenient, what more than this, that when together we have all received those heavenly mysteries wherein Christ imparteth himself unto us, and giveth visible testification of our blessed communion with him, we should in hatred of all heresies, factions, and schisms, the pastor as a leader, the people as willing followers of him step by step declare openly ourselves united as brethren in one [16], by offering up with all our hearts and tongues that most effectual supplication, wherein he unto whom we offer it hath himself not only comprehended all our necessities, but in such sort also framed every petition, as might most naturally serve for many, and doth though not always require yet always import a multitude of speakers together? For which cause communicants have ever used it, and we at that time by the form of our very utterance do shew we use it, yea every word and syllable of it, as communicants.

In the rest we observe that custom whereunto St. Paul alludeth [17], and whereof the Fathers of the Church in their writings make often mention, to shew indefinitely what was done, but not universally to bind forever all prayers unto one only fashion of utterance.

[4.] The reasons which we have alleged induce us to think it still "a good work," which they in their pensive care for the well bestowing of time account "waste." As for unpleasantness of sound if it happen, the good of men's souls doth either deceive our ears that we note it not, or arm them with patience to endure it. We are not so nice as to cast away a sharp knife, because the edge of it may sometimes grate. And such subtile opinions as few but Utopians are likely to fall into, we in this climate do not greatly fear.

Our manner of reading the Psalms otherwise than the rest of the Scripture.

XXXVII. The complaint which they make about Psalms and Hymns, might as well be overpast without any answer, as it is without any cause brought forth. But our desire is to content them if it may be, and to yield them a just reason even of the least things wherein undeservedly they have but as much as dreamed or suspected that we do amiss. They seem sometimes so to speak, as if it greatly offended them, that such Hymns and Psalms as are Scripture should in common prayer be otherwise used than the rest of the Scripture is wont [18]; sometime displeased they are at the artificial music which we add unto psalms of this kind, or of any nature else; sometime the plainest and most intelligible rehearsal of them yet they savour not, because it is done by interlocution, and with a mutual return of sentences from side to side.

[2.] They are not ignorant what difference there is between other parts of Scripture and Psalms. The choice and flower of all things profitable in other books [19] the Psalms do both more briefly contain, and

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"to the Church doth bear, 1 Cor. xiv. 16, and oth-
"erwise than Justin Martyr sheweth the custom
"of the churches to have been in his time." T. C. lib. i. p. 139. [al. 109.] and lib. iii. p. 211, 212, 213. [The passage in St. Justin Martyr is not specified, but if he mean p. 97. D. Paris. 1636, (*συντελέσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, πᾶς ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπεύφημει λέγων, ἀμήν*) this relates to the consecration of the Eucharist. In p. 98. E. the form of common prayer on Sundays is described; first the Lessons, then the Sermon, *ἔπειτα ἀνιστάμεθα* KOINH ΠΑΝΤΕΣ, *καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν· καὶ, ὡς προέφημεν, πανσαμένων ἡμῶν τῆς εὐχῆς, ἄρτος προσφέρεται καὶ οἶνος καὶ ὕδωρ· καὶ ὁ προεστως εὐχας ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας ὁσὴ δύναμις αὐτῳ ἀναπέμπει, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων τὸ ἀμήν.* The "*κοινῃ πάντες*," as Whitgift observes, Def. 502, seems to favour the received practice.]

[14] The same rule at the review after the Restoration was extended to the Lord's Prayer, wheresoever it is used in divine service.]

[15] [Job. xxxi. 33.]

[16] *Τίς γὰρ ἔτι ἐχθρὸν ἡγεῖσθαι δύναται, μεθ' οὗ μίαν ἀφῆκε πρὸς Θεὸν τὴν φωνήν.* Basil. Præf. in Psal. i. [p. 126. ed. Par. 1618.]

[17] 1 Cor. xiv. 16.

[18] T. C. lib. iii. p. 206. "They have always the "same profit to be studied in, to be read, and "preached upon, which other Scriptures have, "and this above the rest, that they are to be "sung. But to make daily prayers of them hand "over head, or otherwise than the present estate "wherein we be doth agree with the matter con-"tained in them, is an abusing of them."

[19] *Ἡ περιεκτικὴ τῶν πανιέρων ὑμνολογία.* Dionys. Hierar. Eccles. cap. iii. § 4, 5.

more movingly also express, by reason of that poetical form wherewith they are written. The ancient when they speak of the Book of Psalms use to fall into large discourses, shewing how this part above the rest doth of purpose set forth and celebrate all the considerations and operations which belong to God; it magnifieth the holy meditations and actions of divine men; it is of things heavenly an universal declaration, working in them whose hearts God inspireth with the due consideration thereof, an habit or disposition of mind whereby they are made fit vessels both for receipt and for delivery of whatsoever spiritual perfection. What is there necessary for man to know which the Psalms are not able to teach? They are to beginners an easy and familiar introduction, a mighty augmentation of all virtue and knowledge in such as are entered before, a strong confirmation to the most perfect among others. Heroical magnanimity, exquisite justice, grave moderation, exact wisdom, repentance unfeigned, unwearied patience, the mysteries of God, the sufferings of Christ, the terrors of wrath, the comforts of grace, the works of Providence over this world, and the promised joys of that world which is to come, all good necessarily to be either known or done or had, this one celestial fountain yieldeth. Let there be any grief or disease incident into the soul of man, any wound or sickness named, for which there is not in this treasure-house a present comfortable remedy at all times ready to be found. Hereof it is that we covet to make the Psalms especially familiar unto all. This is the very cause why we iterate the Psalms oftener than any other part of Scripture besides; the cause wherefore we inure the people together with their minister, and not the minister alone to read them as other parts of Scripture he doth.

XXXVIII. Touching musical harmony whether by instrument or by voice, it being but of high and low in sounds a due proportionable disposition, such notwithstanding is the force thereof, and so pleasing effects it hath in that very part of man which is most divine, that some have been thereby induced to think that the soul itself by nature is or hath in it harmony [20]. A thing which delighteth all ages and beseemeth all states; a thing as seasonable in grief as in joy; as decent being added unto actions of greatest weight and solemnity, as being used when men most sequester themselves from action. The reason hereof is an admirable facility which music hath to express and represent to the mind, more inwardly than any other sensible mean, the very standing, rising, and falling, the very steps and inflections every way, the turns and varieties of all passions whereunto the mind is subject; yea so to imitate them, that whether it resemble unto us the same state wherein our minds already are, or a clean contrary, we are not more contentedly by the one confirmed, than changed and led away by the other. In harmony the very image and character even of virtue and vice is perceived, the mind delighted with their resemblances, and brought by having them often iterated into a love of the things themselves. For which cause there is nothing more contagious and pestilent than some kinds of harmony; than some nothing more strong and potent unto good. And that there is such a difference of one kind from another we need no proof but our own experience, inasmuch as we are at the hearing of some more inclined unto sorrow and heaviness; of some, more mollified and softened in mind; one kind apter to stay and settle us, another to move and stir our affections; there is that draweth to a marvellous grave and sober mediocrity, there is also that carrieth as it were into ecstasies, filling the mind with an heavenly joy and for the time in a manner severing it from the body. So that although we lay altogether aside the consideration of ditty or matter, the very harmony of sounds being framed in due sort and carried from the ear to the spiritual faculties of our souls, is by a native puissance and efficacy greatly available to bring to a perfect temper whatsoever is there troubled, apt as well to quicken the spirits as to allay that which is too eager, sovereign against melancholy and despair, forcible to draw forth tears of devotion if the mind be such as can yield them, able both to move and to moderate all affections.

Of Music with Psalms.

[2.] The Prophet David having therefore singular knowledge not in poetry alone but in music also, judged them both to be things most necessary for the house of God, left behind him to that purpose a number of divinely indited poems, and was farther the author [20] of adding unto poetry melody in public prayer, melody both vocal and instrumental, for the raising up of men's hearts, and the sweetening of their affections towards God. In which considerations the Church of Christ doth likewise at this present day retain it as an ornament to God's service, and an help to our own devotion. They which, under pretence of the Law ceremonial abrogated [21], require the

[20] [Vid. Plat. Phæd. c. 36, 41.. 43.]

[20] [See Eccles. xlvii. 8, 9.]

[21] [Whitg. Def. 606. "Touching singing, piping "(as you call it), surplice and cope wearing, I an- "swer with Œcolampadius, 'These things be free "unto Christians, which holy or godly bishops "may either add . . . or take away . . . as the time "requireth. . . . Those things that be indifferent "are not repugnant to the word of God.'" T. C.

abrogation of instrumental music[22], approving nevertheless the use of vocal melody to remain, must shew some reason wherefore the one should be thought a legal ceremony and not the other.

[3.] In church music curiosity and ostentation of art, wanton or light or unsuitable harmony, such as only pleaseth the ear, and doth not naturally serve to the very kind and degree of those impressions, which the matter that goeth with it leaveth or is apt to leave in men's minds, doth rather blemish and disgrace that we do than add either beauty or furtherance unto it. On the other side, these faults prevented, the force and equity of the thing itself, when it drowneth not utterly but fitly suiteth with matter altogether sounding to the praise of God, is in truth most admirable, and doth much edify if not the understanding because it teacheth not, yet surely the affection, because therein it worketh much. They must have hearts very dry and tough, from whom the melody of psalms doth not sometime draw that wherein a mind religiously affected delighteth. Be it as Rabanus Maurus[23] observeth, that at the first

ii. 214. "Under pretence of *indifferent things*, "he seemeth to allow of organs; which beside the "popish abuse *reneweth Judaism*."]

[22] [1 Adm. ap. Whitg. Def. 742. "As for or-"gans and curious singing, though they be proper "to popish dens, I mean to cathedral churches, yet "some others must also have them. The Queen's "Chapel, and these Churches must be patterns "and precedents to the people of all superstitions." Id. ibid. 605. "They ministered the Sacraments "plainly, we pompously, with *singing*, *piping*, "surplice, and cope wearing."] Whitg. Answ. ap. Def. 606. "As for piping, it is not prescribed to "be used at the Communion by any rule that I "know. Singing I am sure you do not disallow, "being used in all reformed churches, an art al-"lowed in Scriptures, and used in praising of God "by David." T. C. i. 168. al. 133. "I have an-"swered before . . . . . especially seeing that M. "Doctor will not defend the piping and organs, "nor no other singing than is used in the reformed "churches: which is in the singing of two psalms, "one in the beginning and another in the ending, "in a plain tune, easy both to be sung of those "which have no art in singing, and understanded "of those which because they cannot read cannot "sing with the rest of the church." Whitg. Def. 607. "I have heard no reasons as yet to im-"prove the manner of singing used in this church "of England, neither do I say that I allow no "other 'singing than is used in other reformed "Churches.' For I would not have any church "to arrogate that perfection unto itself, that it "should think all other churches to be bound unto "it: it was the original cause of the pride of the "Church of Rome. I have only said that other "reformed Churches allow singing: which is "true."]

[23] [De Instit. Cleric. II. 48. in Auctar. Biblioth. Patr. Colon. i. 618. "Primitiva Ecclesia ita psalle-"bat, ut modico flexu vocis faceret resonare psal-

the Church in this exercise was more simple and plain than we are, that their singing was little more than only a melodious kind of pronunciation, that the custom which we now use was not instituted so much for their cause which are spiritual, as to the end that into grosser and heavier minds, whom bare words do not easily move, the sweetness of melody might make some entrance for good things. St. Basil himself acknowledging as much, did not think that from such inventions the least jot of estimation and credit thereby should be derogated[24]: "For" (saith he) "where-"as the Holy Spirit saw that mankind is "unto virtue hardly drawn, and that right-"eousness is the less accounted of by rea-"son of the proneness of our affections to "that which delighteth; it pleased the "wisdom of the same Spirit to borrow from "melody that pleasure, which mingled "with heavenly mysteries, causeth the "smoothness and softness of that which "toucheth the ear, to convey as it were by "stealth the treasure of good things into "man's mind. To this purpose were those "harmonious tunes of psalms devised for "us, that they which are either in years "but young, or touching perfection of virtue "as not yet grown to ripeness, might when "they think they sing, learn. O the wise "conceit of that heavenly Teacher, which "hath by his skill, found out a way, that "doing those things wherein we delight, "we may also learn that whereby we "profit!"

XXXIX. And if the Prophet David did think that the very meeting of men together, and their accompanying one another to the house of God, should make the bond of their love insoluble, and tie them in a league of inviolable amity (Psal. lv. 14); how much more may we judge it reasonable to hope, that the like effects may grow in each

Of singing or saying Psalms and other parts of Common Prayer wherein the people and Minister answer one another by course [25].

"lentem: ita ut pronuncianti vicinior esset quam "canenti. Propter carnales autem in Ecclesia, "non propter spiritales, consuetudo cantandi est "instituta: ut, quia verbis non compunguntur, "suavitate modulaminis movcantur."]

[24] Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶδε τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον δυσάγωγον πρὸς ἀρετὴν τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ διὰ τὸ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐπιῤῥεπὲς τοῦ ὀρθοῦ βιοῦ καταμελοῦντας ἡμᾶς, τί ποιεῖ; τὸ ἐκ τῆς μελῳδίας τερπνὸν τοῖς δόγμασιν ἐγκατέμιξεν ἵνα τῷ προσηνεῖ καὶ λείῳ τῆς ἀκοῆς τὸ ἐκ τῶν λόγων ὠφέλιμον λανθανόντως ὑποδεξώμεθα.—Διὰ τοῦτο, τὰ ἐναρμόνια ταῦτα μέλη τῶν ψαλμῶν ἡμῖν ἐπινενόηται, ἵνα οἱ παῖδες τὴν ἡλικίαν ᾖ καὶ ὅλως οἱ νεαροὶ τὸ ἦθος τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν μελῳδῶσι τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκπαιδεύωνται.—Ὦ τῆς σοφῆς ἐπινοίας τοῦ διδασκάλου ὁμοῦ τε ᾄδειν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰ λυσιτελῆ μανθάνειν μηχανωμένου. Basil. in Psal. [i. p. 125.]

[25] [1 Adm. ap. Whitg. Def. 739. "They tosse "the Psalmes in most places like Tennice Balles."

of the people towards other, in them all towards their pastor, and in their pastor towards every of them, between whom there daily and interchangeably pass, in the hearing of God himself, and in the presence of his holy Angels, so many heavenly acclamations, exultations, provocations, petitions, songs of comfort, psalms of praise and thanksgiving: in all which particulars, as when the pastor maketh their suits, and they with one voice testify a general assent thereunto; or when he joyfully beginneth, and they with like alacrity follow, dividing between them the sentences wherewith they strive which shall most shew his own and stir up others' zeal, to the glory of that God whose name they magnify; or when he proposeth unto God their necessities, and they their own requests for relief in every of them; or when he lifteth up his voice like a trumpet to proclaim unto them the laws of God, they adjoining though not as Israel did by way of generality a cheerful promise, "All that the Lord hath com-"manded we will do [26]," yet that which God doth no less approve, that which savoureth more of meekness, that which testifieth rather a feeling knowledge of our common imbecility, unto the several branches thereof, several, lowly and humble requests for grace at the merciful hands of God to perform the thing which is commanded; or when they wish reciprocally each other's ghostly happiness; or when he by exhortation raiseth them up, and they by protestation of their readiness declare he speaketh not in vain unto them: these interlocutory forms of speech what are they else, but most effectual partly testifications and partly inflammations of all piety?

[2.] When and how this custom of singing by course came up in the Church it is not certainly known [27]. Socrates maketh Ignatius the Bishop of Antioch in Syria the first beginner thereof, even under the Apostles themselves [28]. But against Socrates they set the authority of Theodoret, who draweth the original of it from Antioch as Socrates doth; howbeit ascribing the invention to others, Flavian and Diodore, men which constantly stood in defence of the apostolic faith against the Bishop of that church, Leontius, a favourer of the Arians [29]. Against both Socrates and Theodoret, Platina [30] is brought as a witness, to testify that Damasus Bishop of Rome began it in his time. Of the Latin Church it may be true which Platina saith. And therefore the eldest of that church which maketh any mention thereof is St. Ambrose [31], Bishop of Milan at the same time when Damasus was of Rome. Amongst the Grecians [32] St. Basil having brought it into his church before they of Neocæsarea used it, Sabellius the heretic and Marcellus took occasion thereat to incense the churches against him, as being an author of new devices in the service of God [33]. Whereupon to avoid the opinion of novelty

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Whitg. Ans. ibid. 740. "You disallow that "which is both commendable and of great antiqui-"ty, as it appeareth in an Epistle that Basilius "Magnus did write to the ministers of Neocæsa-"rea."] T. C. i. 203. [al. 163.] "For the singing "of Psalms by course and side after side, although "it be very ancient yet it is not commendable, and "so much the more to be suspected, for that the "Devil hath gone about to get it so great authority, "partly by deriving it from Ignatius's time, and "partly in making the world believe that this "came from heaven, and that the Angels were "heard to sing after this sort: which as it is a "mere fable, so is it confuted by historiographers, "whereof some ascribe the beginning of this to "Damasus, some other unto Flavianus and Di-"odorus."

[26] Exod. xix. 8; xxiv. 3; Deut. v. 27; xxvi. 17; Josh. xxiv. 16.

[27] [As used in Christian families, it seems to be mentioned by Tertullian: Ad Uxor. ii. 9. "So-"nant inter duos Psalmi et Hymni, et mutuo pro-"vocant quis melius Deo suo canet. Talia Chris-"tus videns et audiens gaudet. His pacem suam "mittit."]

[28] Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. c. 8. [Λεκτέον δὲ καὶ ὅθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν ἡ κατὰ τοὺς ἀντιφώνους ὕμνους ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ συνήθεια· Ἰγνάτιος Ἀντιοχείας τῆς Συρίας τρίτος ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου Πέτρου ἐπίσκοπος, ὃς καὶ τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῖς συνεστρίψεν, ὑπτασίαν εἶδεν ἀγγέλων διὰ τῶν ἀντιφώνων ὕμνων τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα ὑμνοῦντων, καὶ τὸν τρόπον τοῦ ὁράματος τῇ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρέδωκεν· ὅθεν καὶ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις αὕτη ἡ παράδοσις διεδόθη· οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ περὶ τῶν ἀντιφώνων ὕμνων λόγος ἐστίν.]

[29] Theod. lib. ii. cap. 24. Ἡ δὲ ἀξιάγαστος ξυνωρὶς, Φλαβιανὸς καὶ Διόδωρος, ἱερατικῆς μὲν λειτουργίας μηδέπω τετυχηκότες, τῷ δὲ λαῷ συντεταγμένοι, νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν εἰς τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας ζῆλον διέγειρον ἅπαντας· οὗτοι πρῶτοι διχῇ διέλοντες τοὺς τῶν ψαλλόντων χοροὺς ἐκ διαδοχῆς ᾄδειν τὴν Δαυϊτικὴν ἐδίδαξαν μελῳδίαν· καὶ τοῦτο ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ πρῶτον ἀρξάμενον, πάντοσε διέδραμε, καὶ κατέλαβε τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ τέρματα· οὗτοι τῶν θείων τοὺς ἐραστὰς εἰς τοὺς τῶν μαρτύρων σηκοὺς συναγείροντες, πάννυχοι διετέλουν σὺν ἐκείνοις τὸν Θεὸν ἀνυμνοῦντες.]

[30] Plat. in Vita Damasi. ["Ut Psalmi quoque "alternis vicibus in ecclesia canerentur, in fine-"que eorum verba hæc ponerentur, Gloria Patri, "&c. instituit."]

[31] "Bene mari plerumque comparatur ecclesia, "quæ primo ingredientis populi agmine totis vesti-"bulis undas vomit: deinde in oratione totius "plebis tanquam undis refluentibus stridet; tum "responsoriis psalmorum, cantu virorum, mulie-"rum, virginum, parvulorum, consonus undarum "fragor resultat.' Hexam. lib. ii. cap. 5.

[32] Basil Epist. 63. [al. 207. t. iii. 310, 311.]

[33] Not Sabellius (who flourished a century before) nor Marcellus, personally; but partisans of their heresy who were then disturbing the Church of Neocæsarea. Σαβέλλιος ὁ Λίβυς, καὶ Μάρκελλος ὁ Γαλάτης μόνοι ἐκ πάντων ἐτόλμησαν καὶ διδάξαι ταῦτα καὶ γράψαι, ἅπερ νῦν παρ' ὑμῖν ὡς ἴδια ἑαυτῶν εὑρέματα ἐπιχειροῦσι προφέρειν οἱ καθηγούμενοι τοῦ λαοῦ... οὗτοι ῥητὰ καὶ ἄῤῥητα καθ' ἡμῶν δημηγοροῦσι.... κἀν τὴν αἰτίαν

and singularity, he allegeth for that which himself did the example of the churches of Egypt, Libya, Thebes, Palestina, the Arabians, Phœnicians, Syrians, Mesopotamians, and in a manner all that reverenced the custom of singing psalms together [34]. If the Syrians had it then before Basil, Antioch the mother church of those parts must needs have used it before Basil, and consequently before Damasus. The question is then how long before, and whether so long that Ignatius or as ancient as Ignatius may be probably thought the first inventors. Ignatius in Trajan's days suffered martyrdom. And of the churches in Pontus and Bithynia to Trajan the emperor his own vicegerent there affirmeth, that the only crime he knew of them was, they used to meet together at a certain day, and to praise Christ with hymns as a God, *secum invicem*, "one to another amongst themselves [35]." Which for any thing we know to the contrary might be the selfsame form which Philo Judæus expresseth, declaring how the Essenes were accustomed with hymns and psalms to honour God, sometime all exalting their voices together in one, and sometime one part answering another, wherein as he thought, they swerved not much from the pattern [36] of Moses and Miriam [37].

Whether Ignatius did at any time hear the angels praising God after that sort or no, what matter is it? If Ignatius did not, yet one which must be with us of greater authority did. "I saw the Lord (saith the "Prophet Esay) on an high throne; the "Seraphim stood upon it; *one cried to an-*"*other* saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God "of Hosts, the whole world is full of his "glory [38]."

But whosoever were the author, whatsoever the time, whencesoever the example of beginning this custom in the Church of Christ; sith we are wont to suspect things only before trial, and afterwards either to approve them as good, or if we find them evil, accordingly to judge of them; their counsel must needs seem very unseasonable, who advise men now to suspect that wherewith the world hath had by their own account twelve hundred years' acquaintance and upwards, enough to take away suspicion and jealousy. Men know by this time if ever they will know whether it be good or evil which hath been so long retained.

[3.] As for the Devil, which way it should greatly benefit him to have this manner of singing psalms accounted an invention of Ignatius, or an imitation of the angels of heaven, we do not well understand. But we very well see in them who thus plead a wonderful celerity of discourse. For perceiving at the first but only some cause of suspicion and fear lest it should be evil, they are presently in one and the selfsame breath resolved, that "what beginning so-"ever it had, there is no possibility it should "be good [39]." The potent arguments

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ἐρωτηθῶσι τοῦ ἀκηρύκτου τούτου καὶ ἀσπόνδου πολέμου, ψαλμοὺς λέγουσι καὶ τρόπον μελῳδίας τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν κεκρατηκυίας συνηθείας παρηλλαγμένον. p. 310.]

[34] [Ibid. p. 311. *Πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ ταῖς ψαλμῳδίαις ἔγκλημα, ὦ μάλιστα τοὺς ἁπλουστέρους φοβοῦσιν οἱ διαβάλλοντες ἡμᾶς, ἐκεῖνο εἰπεῖν ἔχω· ὅτι τὰ νῦν κεκρατηκότα ἔθη πάσαις ταῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαις σύνῳδα ἐστὶ καὶ σύμφωνα· ἐκ νυκτὸς γὰρ ὁρθρίζει παρ' ἡμῖν ὁ λαὸς ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον τῆς προσευχῆς, καὶ ἐν πόνῳ καὶ θλίψει καὶ συνοχῇ δακρύων ἐξομολογούμενοι τῷ Θεῷ, τελευταῖον ἐξαναστάντες τῶν προσευχῶν, εἰς τὴν ψαλμῳδίαν καθίστανται. καὶ νῦν μὲν δίχῃ διανεμηθέντες, ἀντιψάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις, ὁμοῦ μὲν τὴν μελέτην τῶν λογίων ἐντεῦθεν κρατύνοντες, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ τὴν προσοχὴν καὶ τὸ ἀμετεώριστον τῶν καρδιῶν ἑαυτοῖς διοικούμενοι. ἔπειτα πάλιν ἐπιτρέψαντες ἑνὶ κατάρχειν τοῦ μέλους οἱ λοιποὶ ὑπηχοῦσι· καὶ οὕτως ἐν τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τῆς ψαλμῳδίας, τὴν νύκτα διενέγκοντες μεταξὺ προσευχόμενοι, ἡμέρας ἤδη ὑπολαμπούσης, πάντες κοινῇ, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος καὶ μιᾶς καρδίας, τὸν τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως ψαλμὸν ἀναφέρουσι τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἴδια ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστος τὰ ῥήματα τῆς μετανοίας ποιούμενοι. ἐπὶ τούτοις λοιπὸν εἰ ἡμᾶς ἀποφεύγετε, φεύξεσθε μὲν Αἰγυπτίους, φεύξεσθε δὲ καὶ Λίβυας ἀμφοτέρους, Θηβαίους, Παλαιστίνους, Ἄραβας, Φοινίκας, Σύρους, καὶ τοὺς πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ κατῳκισμένους· καὶ πάντας ἁπαξαπλῶς, παρ' οἷς ἀγρυπνίαι καὶ προσευχαὶ καὶ αἱ κοιναὶ ψαλμῳδίαι τετίμηνται.]*

[35] Plin. Secund. Epist. lib. x. [Ep. 101.]

[36] Exod. xv. 1. 21.

[37] [De Vita Contemplativa. p. 902. *Ἀιδουσι ποιηθέντας εἰς τὸν Θεὸν ὕμνους πολλοῖς μέτροις καὶ μέλεσι, τῇ μὲν συνηχοῦντες τῇ δὲ καὶ ἀντιφώνοις ἁρμονίαις ἐπιχειρονομοῦντες καὶ ἐπορχούμενοι, καὶ ἐπιθειάζοντες τότε μὲν τὰ προσόδια, τότε δὲ τὰ στάσιμα, στροφάς τε τὰς ἐν χορείᾳ καὶ ἀντιστρόφους ποιούμενοι· .... μίμημα τοῦ πάλαι συστάντος (χόρου) κατὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν, ἕνεκα τῶν θαυματουργηθέντων ἐκεῖ· ... ἐνθουσιῶντες ἄνδρες ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναῖκες, εἷς γενόμενοι χορὸς, τοὺς εὐχαριστηρίους ὕμνους εἰς τὸν σωτῆρα Θεὸν ᾖδον· ἐξῆρχε τοῦ χοροῦ τοῖς μὲν ἀνδράσι Μωσέως τοῦ προφήτου, ταῖς δὲ γυναιξὶ Μαριὰμ τῆς προφήτιδος.]*

[38] Isa. vi. 1—3.

[39] T. C. lib. i. p. 203. [al. 163.] "From whence-"soever it came it cannot be good, considering "that when it is granted that all the people may "praise God (as it is in singing of psalms) then "this ought not to be restrained unto a few; and "where it is lawful both with heart and voice to "sing the whole psalm, there it is not meet that "they should sing but the one half with their "heart and voice, and the other with their heart "only. For where they may both with heart and "voice sing, there the heart is not enough. There-"fore besides the incommodity which cometh this "way, in that being tossed after this sort, men "cannot understand what is sung, those other two "inconveniences come of this form of singing, and "therefore it is banished in all reformed churches." [Whitgift's Defence, 741. "How you forget "yourself! before you found fault with the book "because the people repeated their prayers after "the minister, and that because 'the minister is "the only mouth of the people unto the Lord;' "now, as though you were not the same man, but "played some other part, you find fault with the

which did thus suddenly break in upon them and overcome them are first, that it is not unlawful for the people all jointly to praise God in singing of psalms; secondly, that they are not any where forbidden by the law of God to sing every verse of the whole psalm both with heart and voice quite and clean throughout; thirdly, that it cannot be understood what is sung after our manner. Of which three, forasmuch as lawfulness to sing one way proveth not another way inconvenient, the former two are true allegations, but they lack strength to accomplish their desire; the third so strong that it might persuade, if the truth thereof were not doubtful.

[4.] And shall this enforce us to banish a thing which all Christian churches in the world have received; a thing which so many ages have held; a thing which the most approved councils and laws have so oftentimes ratified; a thing which was never found to have any inconvenience in it; a thing which always heretofore the best men and wisest governors of God's people did think they could never commend enough; a thing, which as Basil was persuaded, did both strengthen the meditation of those holy words which were uttered in that sort, and serve also to make attentive, and to raise up the hearts of men [40]; a thing whereunto God's people of old did resort, with hope and thirst that thereby especially their souls might be edified; a thing which filleth the mind with comfort and heavenly delight, stirreth up flagrant desires and affections correspondent unto that which the words contain, allayeth all kind of base and earthly cogitations, banisheth and driveth away those evil secret suggestions which our invisible enemy is always apt to minister, watereth the heart to the end it may fructify, maketh the virtuous in trouble full of magnanimity and courage, serveth as a most approved remedy against all doleful and heavy accidents which befall men in this present life, to conclude, so fitly accordeth with the Apostle's own exhortation [41], "Speak to yourselves in psalms and "hymns and spiritual songs, making melo- "dy, and singing to the Lord in your hearts," that surely there is more cause to fear lest the want thereof be a maim, than the use a blemish to the service of God.

[5.] It is not our meaning, that what we attribute unto the Psalms should be thought to depend altogether on that only form of singing or reading them by course as with us the manner is; but the end of our speech is to shew that because the Fathers of the Church, with whom the selfsame custom was so many ages ago in use, have uttered all these things concerning the fruit which the Church of God did then reap, observing that and no other form, it may be justly avouched that we ourselves retaining it and besides it also the other more newly and not unfruitfully devised, do neither want that good which the latter invention can afford, nor lose any thing of that for which the ancients so oft and so highly commend the former. Let novelty therefore in this give over endless contradictions, and let ancient custom prevail.

XL. We have already given cause sufficient for the great conveniency and use of reading the Psalms oftener than other Scriptures. Of reading or singing likewise *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc Dimittis* [42] oftener than the rest of the Psalms, the causes are no whit less reasonable, so that if the one may very well monthly the other may as well even daily be iterated. They are songs which concern us so much more than the songs of David, as the Gospel toucheth us more than the Law, the New Testament than the Old. And if the Psalms for the excellency of their use deserve to be oftener repeated than they are, but that the multitude of them permitteth not any oftener repetition, what disorder is it if these few Evangelical Hymns which are in no respect less worthy, and may be by reason of their paucity imprinted with much more ease in all men's memories, be for that cause every day rehearsed? In our own behalf it is convenient and orderly enough that both they and we make day by day prayers and supplications the very same; why not as fit and convenient to magnify the name of God day by day with certain the very selfsame psalms of praise and thanksgiving? Either let them not allow the one, or else cease to reprove the other. Of Magnificat, Benedictus, and Nunc Dimittis.

[2.] For the ancient received use of intermingling hymns and psalms with divine readings, enough hath been written. And if any may fitly serve unto that purpose, how should it better have been devised than

"order of service because they be not their own "mouths to the Lord: then to pray with heart "was sufficient; now it is not enough: whence "this contrariety should spring I cannot imagine, "except I should ascribe it to a froward and pre- "posterous desire that you have to deface this "Church."]

[40] [Vid. supr. No. 2. note 34.]

[41] Eph. v. 19.

[42] [1 Adm. ap. Whitg. Def. 494. "They sing "Benedictus, Nunc Dimittis, and Magnificat, we "knowe not to what purpose, except some of them "were ready to die, or except they would celebrate "the memory of the Virgine, and John Baptist, "&c. Thus they prophane the holy Scripture." Whitg. Ans. ibid. "By this your reason we may "not use any of the Psalms, until we be in like "case as David was, or other, when they were "first made."

that a competent number of the old being first read, these of the new should succeed in the place where now they are set? In which place notwithstanding there is joined with *Benedictus* the hundredth Psalm; with *Magnificat* the ninety-eighth; the sixty-seventh with *Nunc Dimittis*, and in every of them the choice left free for the minister to use indifferently the one or the other. Seeing therefore they pretend no quarrel at other psalms, which are in like manner appointed also to be daily read, why do these so much offend and displease their taste? They are the first gratulations wherewith our Lord and Saviour was joyfully received at his entrance into the world by such as in their hearts, arms, and very bowels embraced him; being prophetical discoveries of Christ already present, whose future coming the other psalms did but foresignify, they are against the obstinate incredulity of the Jews, the most luculent testimonies that Christian religion hath; yea the only sacred hymns they are that Christianity hath peculiar unto itself, the other being songs too of praise and thanksgiving, but songs wherewith as we serve God, so the Jew likewise.

[3.] And whereas they tell us these songs were fit for that purpose, when Simeon and Zachary and the Blessed Virgin uttered them, but cannot so be to us which have not received like benefit [43]; should they not remember how expressly Ezechias amongst many other good things is commended for this also, that the praises of God were through his appointment daily set forth by using in public divine service the songs of David and Asaph unto that very end [44]? Either there wanted wise men to give Ezechias advice, and to inform him of that which in his case was as true as it is in ours, namely, that without some inconvenience and disorder he could not appoint those Psalms to be used as ordinary prayers, seeing that although they were songs of thanksgiving such as David and Asaph had special occasion to use, yet not so the whole Church and people afterwards whom like occasions did not befall: or else Ezechias was persuaded as we are that the praises of God in the mouths of his saints are not so restrained to their own particular, but that others may both conveniently and fruitfully use them: first, because the mystical communion of all faithful men is such as maketh every one to be interested in those precious blessings which any one of them receiveth at God's hands: secondly, because when any thing is spoken to extol the goodness of God whose mercy endureth for ever, albeit the very particular occasion whereupon it riseth do come no more, yet the fountain continuing the same, and yielding other new effects which are but only in some sort proportionable, a small resemblance between the benefits which we and others have received, may serve to make the same words of praise and thanksgiving fit though not equally in all circumstances fit for both; a clear demonstration whereof we have in all the ancient Fathers' commentaries and meditations upon the Psalms: last of all because even when there is not as much as the show of any resemblance, nevertheless by often using their words in such manner, our minds are daily more and more inured with their affections.

XLI. The public estate of the Church of God amongst the Jews hath many rare and extraordinary occurrents, which also were occasions of sundry [46] open solemnities and offices, whereby the people did with general

Of the Litany 45.

[43] T. C. lib. iii. p. 208. [and 1. 107. al. 137.] "These thanksgivings were made by occasion of "certain particular benefits, and are no more to "be used for ordinary prayers than the *Ave* "*Maria*. So that both for this cause and the "other before alleged of the Psalms, it is not con-"venient to make ordinary prayers of them."

[44] 2 Chron. xxix. 30.

[45] [1 Adm. ap. Whitg. Def. 494. "They pray "that they may be delivered from thundering and "tempest when no danger is nigh."] T. C. lib. i. 137. [107.] "We pray for the avoiding of those "dangers which are nothing near us, as from "lightning and thundering in the midst of winter, "from storm and tempest when the weather is "most fair and the seas most calm. It is true "that upon some urgent calamity a prayer may "and ought to be framed which may beg either "the commodity for want whereof the Church is "in distress, or the turning away of that mischief "which either approacheth or is already upon it: "but to make those prayers which are for the "present time and danger ordinary and daily "prayers, I cannot hitherto see any either Scrip-"ture or example of the primitive Church. And "here for the simples' sake I will set down after "what sort this abuse crept into the Church. "There was, one Mamercus Bishop of Vienna, "which in the time of great earthquakes which were "in France instituted certain supplications, which "the Grecians (and we of them) call the Litany, "which concerned that matter: there is no doubt "but as other discommodities rose in other coun-"tries they likewise had prayers accordingly. "Now Pope Gregory either made himself, or "gathered the supplications that were made "against the calamities of every country, and "made of them a great Litany or Supplication as "Platina calleth it, and gave it to be used in all "churches: which thing albeit all churches might "do for the time in respect of the case of the ca-"lamity which the churches suffered, yet there is "no cause why it should be perpetual that was "ordained but for a time, and why all lands should "pray to be delivered from the incommodities that "some land hath been troubled with." [See also T. C. iii. 204.]

[46] Exod. xv. 20; Wisd. x. 20; 2 Samuel vi. 2; 1 Chron. xiii. 5; 2 Chron. xx. 3; Joel ii. 15.

consent make show of correspondent affection towards God. The like duties appear usual in the ancient Church of Christ, by that which Tertullian speaketh of Christian women matching themselves with infidels. "She cannot content the Lord with per-"formance of his discipline, that hath at her "side a vassal whom Satan hath made his "vice-agent to cross whatsoever the faith-"ful should do. If her presence be requir-"ed at the time of station or standing pray-"er, he chargeth her at no time but that to "be with him in his baths; if a fasting-day "come he hath on that day a banquet to "make; if there be cause for the church to "go forth in solemn procession, his whole "family have such business come upon them "that no one can be spared [47]."

[2.] These processions as it seemeth were first begun for the interring of holy martyrs, and the visiting of those places where they were entombed. Which thing the name itself applied by heathens unto the office of exequies [48], and partly the speeches of some of the ancients delivered concerning Christian processions [49], partly also the very dross which superstition thereunto added, I mean the custom of invoking saints in processions, heretofore usual, do strongly insinuate. And as things invented to one purpose are by use easily converted to more [50], it grew that supplications with this solemnity for the appeasing of God's wrath, and the averting of public evils, were of the Greek church termed Litanies; [51] Rogations, of the Latin. To the people of Vienna (Mamercus being their Bishop, about 450 years after Christ) there befell many things, the suddenness and strangeness whereof so amazed the hearts of all men, that the city they began to forsake as a place which heaven did threaten with imminent ruin. It beseemed not the person of so grave a prelate to be either utterly without counsel as the rest were, or in a common perplexity to shew himself alone secure. Wherefore as many as remained he earnestly exhorteth to prevent portended calamities, using those virtuous and holy means wherewith others in like case have prevailed with God. To which purpose he perfecteth the Rogations or Litanies before in use, and addeth unto them that which the present necessity required. Their good success moved Sidonius Bishop of Arverna to use the same so corrected Rogations [52],

[47] Tertull. lib. ii. ad Uxor. [c. 4. "Domino certe non "potest pro disciplina satisfacere, habens in late-"re diaboli servum, procuratorem domini sui ad "impedienda fidelium studia et officia. Ut si "statio facienda est, maritus de die condicat ad "balneas: si jejunia observanda sunt, maritus "eadem die convivium exerceat: *si procedendum* "*erit*, nunquam magis familiæ occupatio adve-"niat."]

[48] Terent. Andr. [1. i. 100. "funus *procedit*." Phorm. v. 8. 37. "*Exsequias* Chremeti, quibus est "commodum ire, hoc tempus est."]

[49] "Martyres tibi quærantur in cubiculo tuo. "Nunquam causa deerit procedendi, si semper "quando necesse est progressura sis." Hier. Epist. xxii. ad Eust. [al. xviii. §. 17.]

[50] Socrat. lib. vi. c. 8. [Οἱ Ἀρειανίζοντες, ὥσπερ ἔφημεν, ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τὰς συναγωγὰς ἐποιοῦντο· ἡνίκα οὖν ἑκάστης ἑβδομάδος ἑορταὶ κατελάμβανον, φημὶ δὴ τό τε σάββατον καὶ ἡ κυριακὴ, ἐν αἷς αἱ συνάξεις κατὰ τὰς ἐκκλησίας εἰῴθασι γίνεσθαι, αὐτοὶ ἔντος τῶν τῆς πόλεως πυλῶν περὶ τὰς στοὰς ἀθροιζόμενοι, καὶ ᾠδὰς ἀντιφώνους πρὸς τὴν Ἀριάνων δόξαν συντιθέντες ᾖδον· καὶ τοῦτο ἐποίουν κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τῆς νυκτός· ὑπὸ δὲ ὄρθρον, τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀντίφωνα λέγοντες, διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως ἐξήεσαν τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ τοὺς τόπους ἔνθα συνῆγον κατελάμβανον.... τότε δὴ καὶ Ἰωάννης [Χρυσόστομος] εὐλαβήθεις, μήτις τῶν ἁπλουστέρων ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ᾠδῶν ἀφελκυσθῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀντιτίθησιν αὐτοῖς τοὺς τοῦ ἰδίου λαοῦ, ὅπως ἂν καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῖς νυκτεριναῖς ὑμνολογίαις σχολάζοντες, ἀμαυρώσωσι μὲν τὴν ἐκείνων περὶ τοῦτον σπουδὴν, βεβαίους δὲ τοὺς οἰκείους πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πίστιν ἐργάσωνται.] Sozom. lib. viii. c. 8; Theod. lib. ii. c. 24; lib. iii. c. 10. [Julian having permitted the remains of St. Babylas to be removed from Daphne the Christians ἀσμένως τὸ ἄλσος καταλάβοντες, καὶ ἐπὶ ζεύγους τεθεικότες τὴν λάρνακα, πανδημεὶ ταύτης ἠγοῦντο, χορεύοντες καὶ τὴν Δαυϊτικὴν ᾀδοντες μελῳδίαν, καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον κῶλον ἐπιφθεγγόμενοι, "αἰσχυνθήτωσαν πάντες "οἱ προσκυνοῦντες τοῖς γλυπτοῖς."] Novel. lxviii. 51. [lxvii. 1. p. 261. ed. Gothofred. 1688. "Nulli li-"centiam esse neque monasterium neque ecclesiam "neque orationis domum incipere ædificare, ante-"quam civitatis Deo amabilis [Θεοφιλέστατος] epis-"copus orationem in loco faciat, et crucem figat, "*publicum processum* [δημοσίαν πρόσοδον] ipse fa-"ciens, et causam manifestam omnibus statuens." Ibid. cxxiii. cap. 31, 32, are laws for the protection of the litany services from disturbance, and forbidding them to be solemnized except by the clergy. Both enactments are by Justinian.]

[51] Basil. Epist. lxiii. [al. 207. t. iii. 311. *αἱ Λιτανεῖαι, ἃς ὑμεῖς νῦν ἐπιτηδεύε ε.* But it is truly observed by the Benedictine editor, that the word Litany is not employed here in its technical sense; no procession being mentioned or implied.] Niceph. lib. xiv. c. 3. ["The younger Theodosius, having "to preside at the Circensian games in a time of "excessive rain, which threatened famine, said to "the people, 'It were better for us, deferring the "festivity, to appease God:' and they went forth "in procession with the Litany, offering hymns to "God: and the city with accordant voice became "in a moment one Church."] Cedren. in Theodos. [juniore, p. 281, ed. Xyland. Σεισμοὶ μεγάλοι γεγόνασιν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει'... τοῦ γοῦν... πατριάρχου μετὰ τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ ταῖς λιταῖς [ἔξω τῆς πόλεως] προσκαρτεροῦντος, περὶ ὥραν τρίτην, ἄφνω πάντων ὁρώντων ἡρπάγη νεάνιας εἰς τὸν ἀερὰ, καὶ ἤκουσε θείας φωνῆς παρεγγυώσης αὐτῳ, ἀναγγεῖλαι τῳ ἐπισκοπῳ καὶ τῳ λαῳ, λιτανεύειν οὕτω, καὶ λέγειν, Ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς, ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμας· καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον προστιθέναι· καὶ εὐθέως τοῦτο ψάλλοντος τοῦ λαοῦ, ἔστη ὁ σεισμός. Ὅθεν ὁ βασίλευς Θεοδόσιος, καὶ ἡ μακαρία Πουλχερία, ὑπεραγασθέντες τῳ θαύματι, ἐθέσπισαν κατὰ πᾶσαν οἰκουμένην οὕτω ψάλλεσθαι τὸν θεῖον ὕμνον.]

[52] Sidon. lib. vii. Epist. 1. [ad Mamercum. "Rumor est, Gothos in Romanum solum castra "movisse. Huic semper irruptioni nos miseri Ar-"verni janua sumus..... Solo tamen invectarum "to auctore Rogationum palpamur auxilio... Non "enim latet nostram sciscitationem, primis tempo-"ribus harumce supplicationum institutarum civi-

at such time as he and his people were after afflicted with famine, and besieged with potent adversaries. For till the empire came to be settled in Charles the Great, the fall of the Romans' huge dominion concurring with other universal evils, caused those times to be days of much affliction and trouble throughout the world. So that Rogations or Litanies were then the very strength, stay, and comfort of God's Church. Whereupon in the year 506 it was by the council of Aurelia decreed [53], that the whole Church should bestow yearly at the feast of Pentecost three days in that kind of processionary service. About half an hundred years after, to the end that the Latin churches which all observed this custom might not vary in the order and form of those great Litanies which were so solemnly every where exercised, it was thought convenient by Gregory the First and the best of that name to draw the flower of them all into one [54].

[3.] But this iron began at length to gather rust. Which thing the synod of Colen saw and in part redressed within that province [55], neither denying the necessary use for which such Litanies serve, wherein God's clemency and mercy is desired by public suit, to the end that plagues, destructions, calamities, famines, wars, and all other the like adversities, which for our manifold sins we have always cause to fear, may be turned away from us and prevented through his grace; nor yet dissembling the great abuse whereunto as sundry other things so this had grown by men's improbity and malice to whom that which was devised for the appeasing of God's displeasure gave opportunity of committing things which justly kindled his wrath. For remedy whereof it was then thought better, that these and all other supplications or processions should be no where used but only within the walls of the house of God, the place sanctified unto prayer. And by us not only such inconveniences being remedied, but also whatsoever was otherwise amiss in form or matter, it now remaineth a work, the absolute perfection whereof upbraideth with error or somewhat worse them whom in all parts it doth not satisfy.

[4.] As therefore Litanies have been of longer continuance than that we should make either Gregory or Mamercus the author of them, so they are of more permanent use than that now the Church should think it needeth them not. What dangers at any time are imminent, what evils hang over our heads, God doth know and not we. We find by daily experience that those calamities may be nearest at hand, readiest to break in suddenly upon us, which we in regard of times or circumstances may imagine to be furthest off. Or if they do not indeed approach, yet such miseries as being present all men are apt to bewail with tears, the wise by their prayers should rather prevent. Finally, if we for ourselves had a privilege of immunity, doth not true Christian charity require that whatsoever any part of the world, yea any one of all our brethren elsewhere doth either suffer or fear, the same we account as our own burden? What one petition is there found in the whole Litany, whereof we shall ever be able at any time to say that no man living needeth the grace or benefit therein craved at God's hands? I am not able to express how much it doth grieve me, that things of principal excellency should be thus bitten at, by men whom God hath endued with graces both of wit and learning for better purposes.

XLII. We have from the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ received that brief confession of faith which hath been always a badge of the Church, a mark whereby to discern Christian men from Infidels and Jews. "This faith

Of Athanasius' Creed, and Gloria Patri 56.

"tas cælitus tibi credita per cujusmodi periculo-
"rum terriculamenta vacuabatur. Nam modo
"scenæ mœnium publicorum crebris terræ moti-
"bus concutiebantur; nunc ignes sæpe flammati
"caducas culminum cristas superjecto favillarum
"monte tumulabant; nunc stupenda foro cubilia
"collocabat audacium pavenda mansuetudo cer-
"vorum: cum tu inter iste discessu primorum
"populariumque statu urbis exinanito, ad nova
"celer veterum Ninevitarum exempla decurristi.
"Qua devotione placatus inspector pectorum
"Deus, fecit esse obsecrationem vestram vobis
"saluti, cæteris imitationi, utrisque præsidio. . . . .
"Quæ omnia sciens populus iste, Viennensibus
"tuis et accidisse prius et non accessisse poste-
"rius, vestigia tam sacrosanctæ informationis am-
"plectitur, sedulo petens, ut conscientiæ tuæ be-
"atitudo mittat orationum suarum suffragia, qui-
"bus exempla transmisit." Biblioth. Patr. Colon. V. 1020.]

[53] Concil. tom. ii. p. 513. [iv. 1408. E. "Rogationes, i. e. Litanias ante ascensionem Domini "ab omnibus ecclesiis placuit celebrari: ita ut "præmissum triduanum jejunium in dominicæ "ascensionis festivitate solvatur: per quod triduum servi et ancillæ ab omni opere relaxentur, "quo magis plebs universa conveniat."]

[54] [See Palmer's Origines Liturgicæ, i. 267–272.]

[55] Concil. tom. v. anno 1536. [Conc. Colon. i. p. 9. c. 7, 8; xiv. 546, 547. "Quod processiones "per agros et campos peraguntur, rationem quidem habet, nempe quod populus oret, ut segetes "ac fruges terræ a Domino conserventur: verum "ut alia plurima, ita et hic mos hominum malitia "depravatus est, quod per occasionem talis deambulationis, quæ Deo placando erat instituta, "multa scelera committantur. Quamobrem nobis "satius videtur, ut hæ, aliæque supplicationes ac "processiones, de cætero intra septa ecclesiarum "religiose fiant, ac ut in templo, loco precationi-"bus peculiariter dedicato, oretur Deus, habeatur "que tum pius rei ac tempori conveniens ad pop-"ulum commonitorius sermo."]

[56] T. C. lib. i. p. 137. [107.] "The like may be

" received from the Apostles and their dis-
" ciples, saith Irenæus [57], the Church, though
" dispersed throughout the world doth not-
" withstanding keep as safe as if it dwelt
" with in the walls of some one house, and
" as uniformly hold, as if it had but one only
" heart and soul; this as consonantly it
" preacheth, teacheth, and delivereth, as if
" but one tongue did speak for all. As one
" sun shineth to the whole world, so there
" is no faith but this one published, the
" brightness whereof must enlighten all that
" come to the knowledge of the truth."
" This rule," saith Tertullian [58], " Christ did
" institute; the stream and current of this
" rule hath gone as far, it hath continued as
" long as the very promulgation of the
" Gospel."

[2.] Under Constantine the emperor about three hundred years and upward after Christ, Arius, a priest in the church of Alexandria, a subtle-witted and a marvellous fair-spoken man, but discontented that one should be placed before him in honour, whose superior he thought himself in desert, became through envy and stomach prone unto contradiction, and bold to broach at the length that heresy, wherein the deity of our Lord Jesus Christ contained but not opened in the former creed, the co-equality and co-eternity of the Son with the Father was denied. Being for this impiety deprived of his place by the bishop of the same church, the punishment which should have reformed him did but increase his obstinacy, and give him occasion of labouring with greater earnestness elsewhere to entangle unwary minds with the snares of his damnable opinion. Arius in short time had won to himself a number both of followers and of great defenders, whereupon much disquietness on all sides ensued. The emperor to reduce the Church of Christ unto the unity of sound belief, when other means whereof trial was first made took no effect, gathered that famous assembly of three hundred and eighteen bishops in the council of Nice, where besides order taken for many things which seemed to need redress, there was with common consent for the settling of all men's minds, that other confession of faith set down which we call the Nicene Creed, whereunto the Arians themselves which were present subscribed also; not that they meant sincerely and indeed to forsake their error, but only to escape deprivation and exile, which they saw they could not avoid openly persisting in their former opinions when the greater part had concluded against them, and that with the emperor's royal assent. Reserving therefore themselves unto future opportunities, and knowing that it would not boot them to stir again in a matter so composed, unless they could draw the emperor first and by his means the chiefest bishops unto their part; till Constantine's death and somewhat after they always professed love and zeal to the Nicene faith, yet ceased not in the meanwhile to strengthen that part which in heart they favoured, and to infest by all means under colour of other quarrels their greatest adversaries in this cause: amongst them Athanasius especially, whom by the space of forty-six years, from the time of his consecration to succeed Alexander archbishop in the church of Alexandria till the last hour of his life in this world, they never suffered to enjoy the comfort of a peaceable day. The heart of Constantine stolen from him, Constantius Constantine's successor his scourge and torment by all the ways that malice armed with sovereign authority could devise and use. Under Julian no rest given him. And in the days of Valentinian as little. Crimes there were laid to his charge many, the least whereof being just had bereaved him of estimation and credit with men while the world standeth. His judges evermore the selfsame men by whom his accusers were suborned.

" said of the *Gloria Patri* and the Athanasius'
" Creed. It was first brought into the Church to
" the end that men thereby should make an open
" profession in the Church of the divinity of the
" Son of God against the detestable opinion of
" Arius and his disciples, wherewith at that time
" marvellously swarmed almost the whole Chris-
" tendom. Now that it hath pleased the Lord to
" quench that fire, there is no such cause why
" these things should be in the Church, at the
" least why that *Gloria Patri* should be so often
" repeated." [Strype, Aylm. 71. " The Bishop si-
" lenced one Huckle, a minister in his diocese, . .
" an impugner of the book, and a gatherer of night
" conventicles, *and more lately a busy disputer*
" *against Athanasius' Creed.* They attacked the
" Nicene Creed also. Adm. ap. Whitg. Def. 589.
" The Nicene Creed was not read in their com-
" munion; we have it in ours."

57 Iren. lib. i. cap. 3. [al. c. 10. p. 46. Ἡ μὲν ἐκκλησία, καίπερ καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἕως περάτων τῆς γῆς διεσπαρμένη, παρὰ δὲ τῶν Ἀποστόλων. καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων μαθητῶν παραλαβοῦσα τὴν εἰς ἕνα Θεόν. Πατέρα παντοκράτορα...πίστιν...καὶ εἰς ἕνα Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν... καὶ εἰς Πνεῦμα ἅγιον.... τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα παρειληφυῖα, καὶ ταύτην τὴν πίστιν, ὡς προέφαμεν, ἡ ἐκκλησία καίπερ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διεσπαρμένη, ἐπιμελῶς φυλάσσει, ὡς ἕνα οἶκον οἰκοῦσα· καὶ ὁμοίως πιστεύει τούτοις, ὡς μίαν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχουσα καρδίαν· καὶ συμφώνως ταῦτα κηρύσσει, καὶ διδάσκει, καὶ παραδίδωσιν, ὡς ἓν στόμα κεκτημένη.....Ὥσπερ ὁ ἥλιος, τὸ κτίσμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτός· οὕτω καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς ἀληθείας πανταχῇ φαίνει, καὶ φωτίζει πάντας ἀνθρώπους τοὺς βουλομένους εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν.]

58 Tertull. de Præscr. advers. Hæret. [c. 14. " Hæc regula *a Christo* . . . . . *instituta* nullus
" habet apud nos quæstiones, nisi quas hæreses
" inferunt, et quæ hæreticos faciunt."] et advers. Prax. [c. 2. " *Hanc regulam ab initio Evangelii*
" *decucurrisse*, etiam ante priores quosque hæreticos,
" nedum ante Praxean hesternum, probabit tam
" ipsa posteritas omnium hæreticorum, quam ipsa
" novellitas Praxeæ hesterni."]

Yet the issue always on their part, shame; on his, triumph. Those bishops and prelates, who should have accounted his cause theirs, and could not many of them but with bleeding hearts and with watered cheeks behold a person of so great place and worth constrained to endure so foul indignities, were sure by bewraying their affection towards him to bring upon themselves those molestations, whereby if they would not be drawn to seem his adversaries, yet others should be taught how unsafe it was to continue his friends.

[3.] Whereupon it came to pass in the end, that (very few excepted) all became subject to the sway of time; other odds there was none amongst them, saving only that some fell sooner away, some later, from the soundness of belief; some were leaders in the host of impiety, and the rest as common soldiers, either yielding through fear, or brought under with penury, or by flattery ensnared, or else beguiled through simplicity, which is the fairest excuse that well may be made for them. Yea (that which all men did wonder at) Osius the ancientest bishop that Christendom then had, the most forward in defence of the Catholic cause and of the contrary part most feared, that very Osius with whose hand the Nicene Creed itself was set down and framed for the whole Christian world to subscribe unto, so far yielded in the end as even with the same hand to ratify the Arians' confession, a thing which they neither hoped to see, nor the other part ever feared, till with amazement they saw it done. Both were persuaded that although there had been for Osius no way but either presently subscribe or die, his answer and choice would have been the same that Eleazar's was[59], "It doth not "become our age to dissemble, whereby "many young persons might think, that "[60] Osius an hundred years old and upward "were now gone to another religion, and "so through mine hypocrisy (for a little "time of transitory life) they might be de-"ceived by me, and I procure malediction "and reproach to my old age. For though "I were now delivered from the torments "of men, yet could I not escape the hand "of the Almighty, neither alive nor dead." But such was the stream of those times, that all men gave place unto it, which we cannot but impute partly to their own oversight. For at the first the emperor was theirs, the determination of the council of Nice was for them, they had the Arians' hands to that council. So great advantages are never changed so far to the contrary, but by great error.

[4.] It plainly appeareth that the first thing which weakened them was their security. Such as they knew were in heart still affected towards Arianism, they suffered by continual nearness to possess the minds of the greatest about the emperor, which themselves might have done with very good acceptation, and neglected it. In Constantine's lifetime to have settled Constantius the same way had been a duty of good service towards God, a mean of peace and great quietness to the Church of Christ, a labour easy, and how likely we may conjecture, when after that so much pain was taken to instruct and strengthen him in the contrary course, after that so much was done by himself to the furtherance of heresy, yet being touched in the end voluntarily with remorse, nothing more grieved him than the memory of former proceedings in the cause of religion, and that which he now foresaw in Julian, the next physician into whose hands the body that was thus distempered must fall[61].

[5.] Howbeit this we may somewhat excuse, inasmuch as every man's particular care to his own charge was such as gave them no leisure to heed what others practised in princes' courts. But of the two synods of Arimine and Seleucia what should we think? Constantius by the Arians' suggestion had devised to assemble all the bishops of the whole world about this controversy, but in two several places, the bishops of the west at Arimine in Italy, the eastern at Seleucia the same time. Amongst them of the east there was no stop, they agreed without any great ado, gave their sentence against heresy, excommunicated some chief maintainers thereof, and sent the emperor word what was done. They had at Arimine about four hundred which held the truth, scarce of the adverse part fourscore, but these obstinate, and the other weary of contending with them; whereupon by both it was resolved to send to the emperor such as might inform him of the cause, and declare what hindered their peaceable agreement. There are chosen for the catholic side such[62] men as had in them nothing to be noted but boldness, neither gravity nor learning nor wisdom. The Arians for the credit of their faction take the eldest, the best experienced, the most wary, and the longest practised veterans they had amongst them. The emperor conjecturing of the rest on either part by the quality of them whom he saw, sent them speedily away, and with them a

[59] 2 Mac. vi. 24.

[60] Major centenario. Sulpit. Sever. Hist. lib. ii. c. 54.

[61] [Greg. Naz. Orat. 21. t. i. 389.]

[62] Sulpit. lib. ii. [c. 57.] "Ex parte nostra legun-"tur homines adolescentes, parum docti et parum "cauti. Ab Arianis autem missi senes, callidi et "ingenio valentes, veterno perfidiæ imbuti, qui "apud regem facile superiores exstiterunt."

certain confession of faith ambiguously [63] and subtilly drawn by the Arians, whereunto unless they all subscribed, they should in no case be suffered to depart from the place where they were. At the length it was perceived, that there had not been in the Catholics either at Arimine or at Seleucia so much foresight, as to provide that true intelligence might pass between them what was done. Upon the advantage of which error, their adversaries, abusing each with persuasion that other had yielded, surprised both. The emperor the more desirous and glad of such events, for that, besides all other things wherein they hindered themselves, the gall and bitterness of certain men's writings, who spared him little for honour's sake, made him for their sakes the less inclinable to that truth, which he himself should have honoured and loved.

Only in Athanasius there was nothing observed throughout the course of that long tragedy, other than such as very well became a wise man to do and a righteous to suffer. So that this was the plain condition of those times: the whole world against Athanasius, and Athanasius against it; half a hundred of years spent in doubtful trial which of the two in the end would prevail, the side which had all, or else the part which had no friend but God and death, the one a defender of his innocency, the other a finisher of all his troubles.

[6.] Now although these contentions were cause of much evil, yet some good the Church hath reaped by them, in that they occasioned the learned and sound in faith to explain such things as heresy went about to deprave. And in this respect the Creed of Athanasius first exhibited unto Julius bishop of Rome [64], and afterwards (as we may probably gather) sent to the emperor Jovian [65], for his more full information concerning that truth which Arianism so mightily did impugn, was both in the East and the West churches accepted as a treasure of inestimable price, by as many as had not given up even the very ghost of belief [66]. Then was the Creed of Athanasius written [67], howbeit not then so expedient to be publicly used as now in the Church of God; because while the heat of division lasteth truth itself enduring opposition doth not so quietly and currently pass throughout all men's hands, neither can be of that account which afterwards it hath, when the world once perceiveth the virtue thereof not only in itself, but also by the conquest which God hath given it over heresy.

That which heresy did by sinister interpretations go about to pervert in the first and most ancient Apostolic Creed, the same being by singular dexterity and plainness cleared from those heretical corruptions partly by this Creed of Athanasius, written about the year three hundred and forty, and partly by that other [68] set down in the Synod of Constantinople forty years after, comprehending together with the Nicene Creed an addition of other articles which the Nicene Creed omitted, because the controversy then in hand needed no mention to be made of them; these catholic declarations of our belief delivered by them which were so much nearer than we are unto the first publication thereof, and continuing needful for all men at all times to know, these confessions as testimonies of our continuance in the same faith to this present day, we rather use than any other gloss or paraphrase devised by ourselves, which though it were to the same effect, notwithstanding could not be of the like authority and credit. For that of Hilary [69] unto St. Augustine hath been ever and is likely to be always true: "Your most religious wisdom knoweth how great their "number is in the Church of God, whom "the very authority of men's names doth "keep in that opinion which they hold already, or draw unto that which they have "not before held."

[7.] Touching the Hymn of Glory, our usual conclusion to Psalms: the glory of all things is that wherein their highest perfection doth consist [70]; and the glory of God that divine excellency whereby he is eminent above all things [71], his omnipotent, infinite, and eternal Being, which angels and glorified saints do intuitively behold [72], we on earth apprehend principally by faith, in part also by that kind of knowledge which groweth from experience of those effects, the greatness whereof exceedeth the powers and abilities of all creatures both in heaven and earth. God is glorified, when such his excellency above all things is with due admiration acknowl-

[63] Ibid. [c. 59.] "Eisdemque conscriptam ab "improbis fidem tradit verbis fallentibus involu-"tam, quæ catholicam disciplinam perfidia la-"tente loqueretur."

[64] [A conjecture of Baronius, Ann. A. D. 340.]

[65] [Greg. Naz. Orat. 21. t. i. p. 394.]

[66] Greg. Nazian. de Athan. [ubi sub.] Ταύτην μοι δοκοῦσιν αἰδούμενοι τὴν ὁμολογίαν οἵτε τῆς ἑσπερίας καὶ τῆς ἑῴας ὅσον βιώσιμον.

[67] [For the most probable account of this matter, see Waterland's Critical Hist. of the Athanasian Creed. Works, iv. 241 . . 269. Oxford, 1823.]

[68] That Creed which in the Book of Common Prayer followeth immediately after the reading of the Gospel.

[69] Hilar. Arelat. Epist. ad Aug. [§. 8. t. ii. 828. "Non ignorat prudentissima pietas tua, quanto "plures sint in Ecclesia, qui auctoritate nominum "in sententia teneantur, aut a sententia transfe-"rantur."]

[70] 1 Cor. xv. 40.

[71] Exod. xxxiii. 18; Heb. i. 3.

[72] Matt. xviii. 10.

edged [73]. Which dutiful acknowledgment of God's excellency by occasion of special effects, being the very proper subject and almost the only matter purposely treated of in all psalms, if that joyful Hymn of Glory have any use in the Church of God whose name we therewith extol and magnify, can we place it more fitly than where now it serveth as a close or conclusion to psalms?

[8.] Neither is the form thereof newly or unnecessarily invented. "We must "(saith [74] St. Basil) as we have received "even so baptize, and as we baptize even "so believe, and as we believe even so give "glory." Baptizing we use the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; confessing the Christian faith we declare our belief in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost; ascribing glory unto God we give it to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. It is ἀπόδειξις τοῦ ὀρθοῦ φρονήματος [75], "the token of a "true and sound understanding" for matter of doctrine about the Trinity, when in ministering baptism, and making confession, and giving glory, there is a conjunction of all three, and no one of the three severed from the other two.

[9.] Against the Arians affirming the Father to be greater than the Son in honour, excellency, dignity, majesty, this form and manner of glorifying God was not at that time first begun, but received long before, and alleged at that time as an argument for the truth [76]. "If (saith Phœbadi-"us) there be that inequality which they "affirm, then do we every day blaspheme "God, when in thanksgivings and offerings "of sacrifice we acknowledge those things "common to the Father and the Son." The Arians therefore, for that they perceived how this did prejudice their cause, altered the Hymn of Glory, whereupon ensued in the church of Antioch about the year three hundred and forty-nine that jar which Theodoret and Sozomen mention [77]. "In their "quires while they praised God together "as the manner was, at the end of the "psalms which they sung, it appeared what "opinion every man held, forasmuch as "they glorified some the Father, *and* the "Son, *and* the Holy Ghost; some the Fath-"er *by* the Son *in* the Spirit; the one sort "thereby declaring themselves to embrace "the Son's equality with the Father as the "council of Nice had defined, the other sort "against the council of Nice his inequali-"ty." Leontius their bishop although an enemy to the better part, yet wary and subtile, as in a manner all the heads of the Arian's faction were, could at no time be plainly heard to use either form, perhaps lest his open contradicting of them whom he favoured not might make them the more eager, and by that mean the less apt to be privately won; or peradventure for that though he joined in opinion with that sort of Arians who denied the Son to be equal with the Father, yet from them he dissented which thought the Father and the Son not only unequal but unlike, as Aetius did upon a frivolous and false surmise, that because the Apostle hath said, "One God *of* "whom, one Lord *by* whom, one Spirit *in* "whom [78]," his different manner of speech doth argue a different nature and being in them of whom he speaketh: out of which blind collection it seemeth that this their new devised form did first spring.

[10.] But in truth even that very form which the Arians did then use (saving that they chose it to serve as their special mark of recognizance, and gave it secretly within themselves a sinister construction) hath not otherwise as much as the show of any thing which soundeth towards impiety. For albeit if we respect God's glory within itself, it be the equal right and possession of all three, and that without any odds, any difference; yet touching his manifestation thereof unto us by continual effects, and

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[73] Josh. vii. 19; Psal. xxii. 23.

[74] Basil. Epist. 78 [al. 125. p. 216. D. δεῖ γὰρ ἡμᾶς βαπτίζεσθαι μὲν ὡς παρελάβομεν· πιστεύειν δὲ ὡς βαπτιζόμεθα· δοξάζειν δὲ ὡς πεπιστεύκαμεν, Πατέρα κάι Υἱὸν καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. This epistle is in the nature of a solemn document, much to the same purpose as the Athanasian creed itself: reciting the Nicene creed, and the blasphemies which had since become current, and anathematizing them.

[75] [S. Basil, ubi supr.]

[76] Phœbad. lib. contra Arian. [ap. Bibl. Patr. Colon. t. iv. 232. C. "'Pater,' inquit, 'major me "est:' et quomodo major, statim hæretica præ-"sumptione definiunt: honore, claritate, digni-"tate, majestate. Quod si ita est, cur jubetur ut "omnes honorificent Filium, sicut honorificant Pa-"trem? Quod si ita est, ergo quotidie blaspheme-"mamus in gratiarum actionibus et oblationibus "sacrificiorum, communia hæc Patri et Filio con-"fitentes."]

[77] Theod. lib. ii. cap. 24. [διχῇ διηρημένους τοὺς ἱερομένους καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν ὅμιλον θεωρῶν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τὸ, ΚΑΙ, σύνδεσμον ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ Υἱοῦ δοξολογίας τιθέντας, τοὺς δὲ τὴν μὲν, ΔΙ' ΟΥ, πρόθεσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, τὴν δὲ, 'ΕΝ, ἐπὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος προσαρμόζοντας, σιγῇ τὴν δοξολογίαν προσέφερε· μόνον δὲ τὸ, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἤκουον οἱ πελάζοντες.] Sozom. lib. iv. [iii.] cap. 19. [20 κατὰ χόρους ὡς ἔθος ἐν τῷ ὑμνεῖν τὸν θεὸν συνιστάμενοι, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῶν ᾠδῶν τὴν οἰκείαν προαίρεσιν ἐπεδείκνυον· καὶ οἱ μὲν, Πατέρα ΚΑΙ Υἱὸν ὡς ὁμότιμον ἐδόξαζον· οἱ δὲ Πατέρα 'ΕΝ Υἱῷ, τῇ παρένθεσει τῆς προθέσεως δευτερεύειν τὸν Υἱὸν ἀποφαίνοντες· ἀμέλει τοι τούτων ὠδὲ γεγενημένων, ἀπορῶν ὅ τι ποιήσειε Λεόντιος, ὃς κατὰ τύνδε τὸν χρόνον ἐκ τῆς ἐναντίας αἱρέσεως τὸν Ἀντιοχέων διεῖπε θρόνον, κωλύειν μὲν οὐκ ἐπεχείρησε τοὺς κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου τὸν Θεὸν ὑμνοῦντας· ἐδεδίει γὰρ, μὴ στασίασῃ τὸ πλῆθος. λέγεται δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐφαψάμενος, ὑπο πολίας λυκῆς οὔσης, εἰπεῖν, ὡς "ταυτησὶ τῆς χιόνος "λυθείσης, πολὺς ἔσται πηλός."

[78] 1. Cor. viii. 6; xii. 3, 4, 13.

our perpetual acknowledgment thereof unto him likewise by virtuous offices, doth not every tongue both ways confess, that the brightness of his glory hath spread itself throughout the world *by* the ministry of his only-begotten Son, and is *in* the manifold graces of the Spirit every way marvellous; again, that whatsoever we do to his glory, it is done *in* the power of the Holy Ghost, and made acceptable *by* the merit and mediation of Jesus Christ? So that glory to the Father *and* the Son, or glory to the Father *by* the Son, saving only where evil minds do abuse and pervert most holy things, are not else the voices of error and schism, but of sound and sincere religion.

[11.] It hath been the custom of the Church of Christ to end sometimes prayers, and sermons always, with words of glory; wherein, as long as the blessed Trinity had due honour, and till Arianism had made it a matter of great sharpness and subtilty of wit to be a sound believing Christian, men were not curious what syllables or particles of speech they used. Upon which confidence and trust notwithstanding when St. Basil began to practise the like indifferency, and to conclude public prayers, glorifying sometime the Father *with* the Son and the Holy Ghost, sometime the Father *by* the Son *in* the Spirit, whereas long custom had inured them unto the former kind alone, by means whereof the latter was new and strange in their ears; this needless experiment brought afterwards upon him a necessary labour of excusing himself to his friends, and maintaining his own act against them, who because the light of his candle too much drowned theirs, were glad to lay hold on so colourable matter, and exceeding forward to traduce him as an author of suspicious innovation [79].

How hath the world forsaken that course which it sometime held? How are the judgments, hearts, and affections of men altered? May we not wonder that a man of St. Basil's authority and quality, an arch-prelate in the house of God, should have his name far and wide called in question, and be driven to his painful apologies, to write in his own defence whole volumes, and yet hardly to obtain with all his endeavour a pardon, the crime laid against him being but only a change of some one or two syllables in their usual church liturgy? It was thought in him an unpardonable offence to alter any thing; in us as intolerable that we suffer any thing to remain unaltered. The very Creed of Athanasius and that sacred Hymn of glory, than which nothing doth sound more heavenly in the ears of faithful men, are now reckoned as superfluities, which we must in any case pare away, lest we cloy God with too much service. Is there in that confession of faith any thing which doth not at all times edify and instruct the attentive hearer? Or is our faith in the blessed Trinity a matter needless to be so oftentimes mentioned and opened in the principal part of that duty which we owe to God, our public prayer? Hath the Church of Christ from the first beginning by a secret universal instinct of God's good Spirit always tied itself to end neither sermon nor almost any speech of moment which hath concerned matters of God without some special words of honour and glory to that Trinity which we all adore; and is the like conclusion of psalms become now at the length an eyesore or a galling to their ears that hear it?

[12.] "Those flames of Arianism" they say "are quenched, which were the cause "why the Church devised in such sort to "confess and praise the glorious deity of "the Son of God. Seeing therefore the "sore is whole, why retain we as yet the "plaister? When the cause why any thing "was ordained doth once cease, the thing "itself should cease with it, that the Church "being eased of unprofitable labours, need-"ful offices may the better be attended. "For the doing of things unnecessary, is "many times the cause why the most ne-"cessary are not done." But in this case so to reason will not serve their turns.

For first, the ground whereupon they build is not certainly their own but with special limitations. Few things are so restrained to any one end or purpose that the same being extinct they should forthwith utterly become frustrate. Wisdom may have framed one and the same thing to serve commodiously for divers ends, and of those ends any one be sufficient cause for continuance though the rest have ceased; even as the tongue, which nature hath given us for an instrument of speech, is not idle in dumb persons, because it also serveth for taste. Again, if time have worn out, or any other mean altogether taken away what was first intended, uses not thought upon before may afterwards spring up, and be reasonable causes of retaining that which other considerations did formerly procure to be instituted. And it cometh sometime to pass that a thing unnecessary in itself as touching the whole direct purpose whereto it was meant or can be applied, doth notwithstanding appear convenient to be still held even without use, lest by reason of that coherence which it hath with somewhat most necessary, the removal of the one should en-

[79] [De Sp. Sancto, cap. 1. t. iii. p. 3. D. Προσευχομένῳ μοι πρώην μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ ἀμφοτέρως τὴν δοξολογίαν ἀποπληροῦντι τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ, νῦν μὲν μετὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ σὺν τῷ Πνεύματι τῷ Ἁγίῳ, νῦν δὲ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, ἐπέσκηψάν τινες τῶν παρόντων, ξενιζοῦσαις ἡμῖν φωναῖς κεχρῆσθαι λέγοντες, καὶ ἅμα πρὸς ἀλλήλας ὑπεναντίως ἐχούσαις. To explain and justify himself was his immediate object in writing the Treatise of the Holy Ghost.]

damage the other; and therefore men which have clean lost the possibility of sight keep still their eyes nevertheless in the place where nature set them.

As for these two branches whereof our question groweth, Arianism was indeed some occasion of the one, but a cause of neither, much less the only entire cause of both. For albeit conflict with Arians brought forth the occasion of writing that Creed which long after was made a part of the church liturgy, as hymns and sentences of glory were a part thereof before; yet cause sufficient there is why both should remain in use, the one as a most divine explication of the chiefest articles of our Christian belief, the other as an heavenly acclamation of joyful applause to his praises in whom we believe; neither the one nor the other unworthy to be heard sounding as they are in the Church of Christ, whether Arianism live or die.

[13.] Against which poison likewise if we think that the Church at this day needeth not those ancient preservatives which ages before us were so glad to use, we deceive ourselves greatly. The weeds of heresy being grown unto such ripeness as that was, do even in the very cutting down scatter oftentimes those seeds which for a while lie unseen and buried in the earth, but afterward freshly spring up again no less pernicious than at the first. Which thing they very well know and I doubt not will easily confess, who live to their great both toil and grief, where the blasphemies of Arians, Samosatenians, Tritheites, Eutychians, and Macedonians [80] are renewed; renewed by them who to hatch their heresy have chosen those churches as fittest nests, where Athanasius' Creed is not heard [81]; by them I say renewed, who following the course of extreme reformation, were wont in the pride of their own proceedings to glory [82], that whereas Luther did but blow away the roof, and Zuinglius batter but the walls of popish superstition, the last and hardest work of all remained, which was to raze up

[80] [Beza to Duditius, Tract. iii. 191. "Vestra-" rum ecclesiarum turbatores Tritheitæ, Ariani, "Samosateni." Id. Præf. ad Explic. Perfid. Val. Gent. 13. "Ecce in unico Serveto revocati sunt "ab inferis Samosatenus, Arius, et Eutyches." The Macedonian heresy was especially advocated by Stator, a pupil of Beza, in a Polish Synod, 1561. Fleury, t. xxxii. l. 157, c. 80.]

[81] [It would seem on comparison of the several confessions of the Protestant churches, (vid. Syntagm. Confess. Gen. 1554,) that this expression, "is not heard," can hardly mean the total exclusion of this Creed from the Church formularies, since they almost all recognise it. Vid. Conf. Helv. c. 11: Gallican. c. 5; Saxon. c. 1; Wirtemb. c. 1; and (although less expressly) Bohem. art. 3. It remains that Hooker must be supposed to mean the exclusion of the Creed from the public liturgy: in which case his remark applies more especially to the Calvinistic and Zuinglian churches, as also to the Bohemian or Moravian: which two denominations formed the majority of the Polish protestants. Accordingly we find Valentinus Gentilis declaring that among the churches such as they were, he considered those of Savoy to be the purest. See "Benedicti Arretini, Bernensis, Valentini Gentilis brevis Historia," p. 45. Socinus himself was for some time at Geneva. Blandrata, Francis David, Lismanini, and others, the chief corruptors of the Polish and Transylvanian churches, passed through Calvinism or Zuinglianism to their heresy. See Sandius, Bibl. Anti-Trinit. pag. 28; Lubieniecius, Hist. Reform. Polon. ii. 2; Contin. of Fleury, Hist. Eccles. clxii. 82. For the annoyance they gave Calvin in the church of Geneva itself, see his Life by Beza, A. D. 1553, 1555, 1558. After the execution of Gentilis in Sept. 1566, a kind of official pamphlet was printed at Geneva, drawn up by Calvin, and entitled, "Explicatio Perfidiæ Valentini Gentilis;" in the preface of which, addressed by Beza to the protestants of Transylvania and Poland, is the following: "Quanti vobis illa Blandratæ vocula, "*unius Dei*, constiterit, an nondum animadverti-"tis, cum hoc a vobis *in vestro catechismo* sit ex-"tortum, ut non modo Symbola reliqua præter "illud quod Apostolicum vocant supervacanea "nisi ad contradicendum scriberetis, sed etiam "Essentiæ, Hypostascos, Homousii, cæteraque id "genus vocabula, ut sophistica, repudiaretis?" Calvin had said, writing "ad Fratres Polonos," p. 794, "Valde miror eos qui Symbolum" (Nicænum) "jactant, fastidiose respuere certum et idoneum "ejus interpretem." The theological terms however, and all Creeds except the Apostles', were disused the same year (1562) by decree of the Polish synod at Pinczow. Hist. Ref. Polon. 186.]

[82] [The allusion here is perhaps to a Tract called "Tabula de Trinitate," published about 1562, by Gregorio Pauli, a minister of Cracow, which gave occasion to Calvin's writing his "Brevis Admonitio ad Fratres Polonos." The "Tabula" was also attacked by Vigand of Pomerania, from whose work the following extract is given in the Explic. Perfid. V. G. p. 77. "Luthero vix min-"imam partem revelationis et destructionis An-"tichristi relinquunt, nempe superioris tantum "tecti in ædificio Antichristiano denudationem. "At sibimet isti spiritus arrogant Antichristi exci-"sionem et extirpationem ab imis usque fundamen-"tis." Bened. Aret. in Hist. Val. Gent. p. 44. "Gentilis apud Regem Sigismundum conqueritur, "Lutherum, Zuinglium, Bucerum, in oppugnando "Antichristo, solum occupatos fuisse in caudæ op-"pugnatione, solumque Phillippum ex tot millibus "unum fuisse, qui quasi aliud agens lethale vulnus "ei potius minari quam infligere videatur. Idem "facit Gregorius ille Paulus. Scribit Deum per "Lutherum cœpisse ecclesiam Antichristi a tecto "demoliri, non a fundamento, ne domus putrida "eum opprimeret. Scilicet quia negotium Trinita-"tis inconvulsum reliquerunt." The epitaph of Faustus Socinus, who died 1604, runs thus:

"Tota licet [jacet?] Babylon; destruxit tecta Lutherus,
"Calvinus muros, sed fundamenta Socinus."

Biogr. Univ. Art. Socin.

It seems likely that the notion about the Pope's triple crown, mentioned by Hooker, b. iv. c. viii. 2, had met his eye in the 'Table' above mentioned.]

the very ground and foundation of popery, that doctrine concerning the deity of Christ which *Satanasius* [83] (for so it pleased those impious forsaken miscreants to speak) hath in this memorable creed explained. So manifestly true is that which one of the [84] ancient hath concerning Arianism, "Mor-"tuis auctoribus hujus veneni, scelerata ta-"men eorum doctrina non moritur:" "The "authors of this venom being dead and "gone, their wicked doctrine notwithstand-"ing continueth."

XLIII. Amongst the heaps of these excesses and superfluities, there is espied the want of a principal part of duty,

Our want of particular thanksgiving.

"There are no thanksgivings "for the benefits for which "there are petitions in our book "of prayer [85]." This they have thought a point material to be objected. Neither may we take it in evil part to be admonished what special duties of thankfulness we owe to that merciful God, for whose unspeakable graces the only requital which we are able to make is a true, hearty, and sincere acknowledgment how precious we esteem such benefits received, and how infinite in goodness the Author from whom they come. But that to every petition we make for things needful there should be some answerable sentence of thanks provided particularly to follow such requests obtained, either it is not a matter so requisite as they pretend; or if it be, wherefore have they not then in such order framed their own Book of Common Prayer? Why hath our Lord and Saviour taught us a form of prayer containing so many petitions of those things which we want, and not delivered in like sort as many several forms of thanksgiving to serve when any thing we pray for is granted? What answer soever they can reasonably make unto these demands, the same shall discover unto them how causeless a censure it is that there are not in our book thanksgivings for all the benefits for which there are petitions [86].

[2.] For concerning the blessings of God, whether they tend unto this life or the life to come, there is great cause why we should delight more in giving thanks, than in making requests for them; inasmuch as the one hath pensiveness and fear, the other always joy annexed; the one belongeth unto them that seek, the other unto them that have found happiness; they that pray do but yet sow, they that give thanks declare they have reaped. Howbeit because there are so many graces whereof we stand in continual need, graces for which we may not cease daily and hourly to sue, graces which are in bestowing always, but never come to be fully had in this present life; and therefore when all things here have an end, endless thanks must have their beginning in a state which bringeth the full and final satisfaction of all such perpetual desires: again, because our common necessities, and the lack which we all have as well of ghostly as of earthly favours is in each kind so easily known, but the gifts of God according to those degrees and times which he in his secret wisdom seeth meet, are so diversely bestowed, that it seldom appeareth what all receive, what all stand in need of, it seldom lieth hid: we are not to marvel though the Church do oftener concur in suits than in thanks unto God for particular benefits.

[3.] Nevertheless lest God should be any way unglorified, the greatest part of our daily service they know consisteth, according to the blessed Apostle's own precise rule [87], in much variety of Psalms and Hymns, for no other purpose, but only that out of so plentiful a treasure there might be for every man's heart to choose out his own sacrifice, and to offer unto God by particular secret instinct what fitteth best the often occasions which any several either party or congregation may seem to have. They that would clean take from us therefore the daily use of the very best means we have to magnify and praise the name of Almighty God for his rich blessings, they that complain of our reading and singing so many psalms for so good an end, they I say that find fault with our store should of all men be least willing to reprove our scarcity of thanksgivings.

[4.] But because peradventure they see it is not either *generally* fit or possible that churches should frame thanksgivings an-

[83] [Fleury, (speaking of Val. Gentilis,) xxxiii. 62, 90. "Il fit un recueil de tous ses erreurs, les "presenta au roi Sigismond Auguste comme des "purcs vérités de l'évangile, et parla d'une mani-"ére indigne du symbole de S. Athanase, qu'il "appelle le symbole de Satan." It was probably the work which he had printed before at Lyons, concerning which, see Explic. Perfid. Gent. p. 31. and Bened. Aret. in Hist. Val. Gent. pp. 11, 12.]

[84] Phœbad. cont. Arian. [278.]

[85] T. C. lib. i. p. 138. [108.] "As such prayers "are needful, whereby we beg release from our "distresses, so there ought to be as necessary "prayers of thanksgiving when we have received "those things at the Lord's hand which we asked." T. C. lib. iii. p. 209. "I do not simply require a "solemn and express thanksgiving for such bene-"fits, but only upon a supposition, which is, that "if it be expedient that there should be express "prayers against so many of their earthly miseries, "that then also it is meet that upon the deliver-"ance there should be an express thanksgiving."

[86] T. C. lib. iii. p. 208. "The default of the "Book, for that there are no forms of thanksgivings "for the release from those common calamities "from which we have petitions to be delivered." [The Forms as they now stand not having been inserted until the reign of James I.]

[87] Ephes. v. 19; Coloss. iii. 16.

swerable to each petition, they shorten somewhat the reins of their censure; "there "are no forms of thanksgiving [88]," they say, "for release of those *common calamities* "from which we have petitions to be de- "livered." "There are prayers set forth "to be said in the common calamities and "universal scourges of the realm, as plague, "famine, &c. and indeed so it ought to be "by the word of God. But as such prayers "are needful, whereby we beg release from "our distresses, so there ought to be as ne- "cessary prayers of thanksgiving, when "we have received those things at the "Lord's hand which we asked in our pray- "ers." As oft therefore as any public or universal scourge is removed, as oft as we are delivered from those either imminent or present calamities, against the storm and tempest whereof we all instantly craved favour from above, let it be a question what we should render unto God for his blessings universally, sensibly and extraordinarily bestowed. A prayer of three or four lines inserted into some part of our church liturgy? No, we are not persuaded that when God doth in trouble enjoin us the duty of invocation, and promise us the benefit of deliverance, and profess that the thing he expecteth after at our hands is to glorify him as our mighty and only Saviour, the Church can discharge in manner convenient a work of so great importance by fore-ordaining some short collect wherein briefly to mention thanks. Our custom therefore whensoever so great occasions are incident, is by public authority to appoint throughout all churches set and solemn forms as well of supplication as of thanksgiving, the preparations and intended complements whereof may stir up the minds of men in much more effectual sort, than if only there should be added to the Book of Prayer that which they require.

[5.] But we err in thinking that they require any such matter. For albeit their words to our understanding be very plain, that in our book "there are prayers set "forth" to be said when "common calami- "ties" are felt, as "plague, famine," and such like; again that "indeed so it ought "to be by the word of God;" that likewise "there ought to be as necessary prayers of "thanksgiving when we have received "those things;" finally that the want of such forms of thanksgiving for the release from those common calamities from which we have petitions to be delivered, is the "default of the Book of Common Prayer:" yet all this they mean but only by way of "supposition, if express prayers" against so many earthly miseries were convenient, *that then* indeed as many express and particular thanksgivings should be likewise necessary. Seeing therefore we know that they hold the one superfluous, they would not have it so understood as though their minds were that any such addition to the book is needful, whatsoever they say for argument's sake concerning this pretended defect. The truth is, they wave in and out, no way sufficiently grounded, no way resolved what to think, speak, or write, more than only that because they have taken it upon them, they must (no remedy now) be opposite.

XLIV. The last supposed fault concerneth some few things, the very matter whereof is thought to be much amiss.

In some things the Matter of our Prayer, as they affirm, unsound.

In a song of praise to our Lord Jesus Christ we have these words, "When thou hadst "overcome the sharpness of "death, thou didst open the kingdom of "heaven to all believers." Which maketh some show of giving countenance to their error, who think that the faithful which departed this life before the coming of Christ, were never till then made partakers of joy, but remained all in that place which they term the "Lake of the Fathers [89]."

In our liturgy request is made that we may be preserved "from sudden death." This seemeth frivolous, because the godly should be always prepared to die.

Request is made that God would give those things which we for our unworthiness dare not ask. "This," they say, "carrieth "with it the note of popish servile fear, and "savoureth not of that confidence and rev- "erent familiarity that the children of God "have through Christ with their heavenly "Father."

Request is made that we may evermore be defended from all adversity. For this "there is no promise in Scripture," and therefore "it is no prayer of faith, or of the "which we can assure ourselves that we "shall obtain it."

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[88] T. C. lib. i. p. 138.

[89] [2 Adm. 58. ed. 1617. "Things there are "maintained by some of them which are not "agreeable to the Scripture: namely, the false in- "terpretation of this clause in our Creed, 'He de- "scended into hell;' which is expressly set down "contrary to the Scriptures in the Creed made in "metre in these words:

"'His spirit did after this descend
"Into the lower parts,
"To them that long in darkness were,
"The true light of their hearts.'

"If they can warrant this out of the Scriptures, "then 'Limbus Patrum' and within a while Pur- "gatory will be found out there." See in Nichols on the 3d Article, p. 47, an account taken from Bishop Montague's Apparatus, p. 49, &c. of a disputation on this doctrine at Cambridge, 1599, in which Bishop Overall dealt with the same reserve as Hooker here. Neither Cartwright nor the Admonitioners, nor the Book of Discipline, took this exception to the "Te Deum;" so far at least as the Editor has yet been able to ascertain.]

Finally, request is made that God "would "have mercy upon all men." This is impossible, because some are the vessels of wrath to whom God will never extend his mercy.

XLV. As Christ hath purchased that heavenly kingdom the last perfection whereof is *glory in the life to come*, grace in this life a preparation thereunto; so the same he hath "opened" to the world in such sort, that whereas none can possibly without him attain salvation, by him "all that be-"lieve" are saved. Now whatsoever he did or suffered, the end thereof was to open the doors of the kingdom of heaven which our iniquities had "shut up."

When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, thou didst open the kingdom of heaven unto all believers.

But because by *ascending after that the sharpness of death* was overcome, he took the very *local possession* of glory, and that *to the use of all that are his*, even as himself before had witnessed, "I go to prepare "a place for you[90];" and again, "Whom "thou hast given me, O Father, *I will that* "*where I am they be also with me*, that my "glory which thou hast given me they may "behold[91]:" it appeareth that *when Christ did ascend* he then most *liberally opened* the kingdom of heaven, *to the end* that with him and by him all believers might reign.

[2.] In what estate the Fathers rested which were dead before, it is not hereby either one way or other determined. All we can rightly gather is, that as touching their souls what degree of joy or happiness soever it pleased God to bestow upon them, *his ascension* which succeeded *procured* theirs, and theirs concerning the body must needs be *not only of* but after his. As therefore Helvidius[92] against whom St. Jerome writeth, abused greatly those words of Matthew concerning Joseph and the mother of our Saviour Christ[93], "He knew "her not till she had brought forth her first-"born," thereby gathering against the honour of the blessed Virgin, that a thing denied with special circumstance doth import an opposite affirmation when once that circumstance is expired: after that selfsame manner it should be a weak collection, if whereas we say that when Christ had "overcome the sharpness of death, he then "opened the kingdom of heaven to all be-"lievers;" a thing in such sort affirmed with circumstance were taken as insinuating an opposite denial before that circumstance be accomplished, and consequently that because when the sharpness of death was overcome he then opened heaven *as well to believing Gentiles as Jews*, heaven till then was no receptacle to the souls of either. Wherefore be the spirits of the just and righteous before Christ truly or falsely thought excluded out of heavenly joy; by that which we in the words alleged before do attribute to Christ's ascension, there is to no such opinion nor to the favourers[94] thereof any countenance at all given. We cannot better interpret the meaning of these words than Pope Leo himself expoundeth them, whose speech concerning our Lord's ascension may serve instead of a marginal gloss: "Christ's exaltation is our promo-"tion, and whither the glory of the head is "already gone before, thither the hope of "the body also is to follow. For as this "day we have not only the possession of "paradise assured unto us, but in Christ we "have entered the highest of the hea-"vens[95]." His "opening the kingdom of "heaven" and his entrance thereinto was not only to his own use but for the benefit of "all believers."

XLVI. Our good or evil estate after death dependeth most upon the quality of our lives. Yet somewhat there is why a virtuous mind should rather wish to depart this world with a kind of treatable dissolution, than to be suddenly cut off in a moment; rather to be taken than snatched away from the face of the earth.

Touching prayer for deliverance from sudden death.

Death is that which all men suffer, but not all men with one mind, neither all men in one manner. For being of necessity a thing common, it is through the manifold persuasions, dispositions, and occasions of men, with equal desert both of praise and dispraise, shunned by some, by others desired. So that absolutely we cannot discommend, we cannot absolutely approve, either willingness to live or forwardness to die.

And concerning the ways of death, albeit the choice thereof be only in his hands who

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[90] John xiv. 2.

[91] John xvii. 24.

[92] Hieron. contra Helvid. [in init. t. ii. 7.] August. Her. lxxxiv. [t. viii. 24. "Helvidiani exorti ab "Helvidio, ita virginitati Mariæ contradicunt, ut "eam post Christum alios quoque filios de viro suo "Joseph peperisse contendant."]

[93] [Matt. i. 25.]

[94] Lyra super Gen. xxix. [xxv. Add. ii. on the expression, 'Congregatus est ad populum suum.' "De nonnullis sanctis antiqui testamenti, cum de "hac vita migraverant, Scriptura dicit ipsos con-"gregari ad populum suum:.....nunquam tamen "de aliquo eorum dicitur quod 'obdormivit in Do-"mino.'" marg. "Ante Christum nemo ascendit "in cœlum," i. p. 303. A. ed. Douay, 1617. And on c. xlix. v. 4. "Patres.....quantumcunque jus-"ti, non admittebantur ad regnum, sed descende-"bant ad Limbum." 467. C.] Tho. [Aquin.] p. iii. q. 52. [t. xii. 168.]

[95] Leo Ser. 1. de Ascens. c. 4. ["Christi ascen-"sio, nostra provectio est, et quo processit gloria "capitis, eo spes vocatur et corporis.....Hodie "enim non solum Paradisi possessores firmati su-"mus, sed etiam cœlorum in Christo superna pen-"etravimus."]

alone hath power over all flesh, and unto whose appointment we ought with patience meekly to submit ourselves (for to be agents voluntarily in our own destruction is against both God and nature); yet there is no doubt but in so great variety, our desires will and may lawfully prefer one kind before another. Is there any man of worth and virtue, although not instructed in the school of Christ, or ever taught what the soundness of religion meaneth, that had not rather end the days of this transitory life as Cyrus in Xenophon, or in Plato Socrates are described, than to sink down with them of whom Elihu hath said, *Momento moriuntur*[96], "there is scarce an instant between "their flourishing and their not being?" But let us which know what it is to die as Absalom or Ananias and Sapphira died, let us beg of God that when the hour of our rest is come, the patterns of our dissolution may be Jacob[97], Moses[98], Joshua[99], David[1], who leisurably ending their lives in peace, prayed for the mercies of God to come upon their posterity; replenished the hearts of the nearest unto them with words of memorable consolation; strengthened men in the fear of God; gave them wholesome instructions of life, and confirmed them in true religion; in sum, taught the world no less virtuously how to die than they had done before how to live.

[2.] To such as judge things according to the sense of natural men and ascend no higher, suddenness because it shorteneth their grief should in reason be most acceptable. That which causeth bitterness in death is the languishing attendance and expectation thereof ere it come. And therefore tyrants use what art they can to increase the slowness of death. Quick riddance out of life is often both requested and bestowed as a benefit. Commonly therefore it is for virtuous considerations that wisdom so far prevaileth with men as to make them desirous of slow and deliberate death against the stream of their sensual inclination, content to endure the longer grief and bodily pain, that the soul may have time to call itself to a just account of all things past, by means whereof repentance is perfected, there is wherein to exercise patience, the joys of the kingdom of heaven have leisure to present themselves, the pleasures of sin and this world's vanities are censured with uncorrupt judgment, charity is free to make advised choice of the soil wherein her last seed may most fruitfully be bestowed, the mind is at liberty to have due regard of that disposition of worldly things which it can never afterwards alter, and because[2] the nearer we draw unto God, the more we are oftentimes enlightened with the shining beams of his glorious presence as being then even almost in sight, a leisurable departure may in that case bring forth for the good of such as are present that which shall cause them for ever after from the bottom of their hearts to pray, "O let us die the death of the "righteous, and let our last end be like "theirs[3]." All which benefits and opportunities are by sudden death prevented.

[3.] And besides forasmuch as death howsoever is a general effect of the wrath of God against sin, and the suddenness thereof a thing which happeneth but to few; the world in this respect feareth it the more as being subject to doubtful constructions, which as no man willingly would incur, so they whose happy estate after life is of all men's the most certain should especially wish that no such accident in their death may give uncharitable minds occasion of rash, sinister, and suspicious verdicts, whereunto they are over prone; so that whether evil men or good be respected, whether we regard ourselves or others, to be preserved from sudden death is a blessing of God. And our prayer against it importeth a twofold desire: first, that death when it cometh may give us some convenient respite; or secondly, if that be denied us of God, yet we may have wisdom to provide always beforehand that those evils overtake us not which death unexpected doth use to bring upon careless

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[96] Job xxxiv. 20.
[97] Heb. xi. 21.
[98] Deut. xxxiii.
[99] Josh. xxiv.
[1] 1 Kings ii.

[2] Cypr. de Mortal. [i. 162. "Pavore mortalita-"tis et temporis accenduntur tepidi, constringun-"tur remissi, excitantur ignavi, desertores com-"pelluntur ut redeant, gentiles aguntur ut credant, "vetus fidelium populus ad quietem vocatur, ad "aciem recens et copiosus exercitus robore fortio-"re colligitur, pugnaturus sine metu mortis cum "prælium venerit, qui ad militiam tempore mortal-"itatis accedit. Quid deinde illud, fratres dilec-"tissimi, quale est, quam pertinens, quam necessa-"rium, quod pestis ista et lues, quæ horribilis et "feralis videtur, explorat justitiam singulorum, et "mentes humani generis examinat.....an feroces "violentiam suam comprimant, an rapaces avar-"itiæ furentis insatiabilem semper ardorem vel me-"tu mortis extinguant, an cervicem flectant su-"perbi, an audaciam leniant improbi, an pereunti-"bus caris, vel sic aliquid divites indigentibus lar-"giantur, et donent sine hærede morituri. Ut ni-"hil aliud mortalitas ista contulerit, hoc Christian-"is et Dei servis plurimum præstitit, quod martyr-"ium cœpimus libenter appetere, dum mortem "discimus non timere. Exercitia sunt nobis ista, "non funera; dant animo fortitudinis gloriam, con-"temtu mortis præparant ad coronam."..... and p. 163. "Audivit frater noster et collega moriturus "quod cæteris diceret. Nam qui moriturus audi-"vit, ad hoc audivit ut diceret. Audivit non sibi "ille, sed nobis. Nam quid sibi disceret jam re-"cessurus? Didicit immo remanentibus..."]

[3] Numb. xxiii. 10.

men, and that although it be sudden in itself, nevertheless in regard of our prepared minds it may not be sudden.

XLVII. But is it credible that the very acknowledgment of our own unworthiness to obtain, and in that respect our professed fearfulness to ask any thing otherwise than only for his sake to whom God can deny nothing, that this should be noted for a popish error, that this should be termed baseness, abjection of mind, or "servility," is it credible? That which we for our unworthiness are afraid to crave, our prayer is that God for the worthiness of his Son would notwithstanding vouchsafe to grant. May it please them to shew us which of these words it is that "carrieth "the note of popish and servile fear [4]?"

Prayer that those things which we for our unworthiness dare not ask, God, for the worthiness of his Son, would vouchsafe to grant.

[2.] In reference to other creatures of this inferior world man's worth and excellency is admired. Compared with God, the truest inscription wherewith we can circle so base a coin is that of David, "Universa vanitas est omnis homo[5]: Who-"soever hath the name of a mortal man, "there is in him whatsoever the name of "vanity doth comprehend." And therefore what we say of our own "unworthiness" there is no doubt but truth will ratify. Alleged in prayer it both becometh and behoveth saints. For as humility is in suitors a decent virtue, so the testification thereof by such effectual acknowledgments, not only argueth a sound apprehension of his supereminent glory and majesty before whom we stand [6], but putteth also into his hands a kind of pledge or bond for security against our unthankfulness, the very natural root whereof is always either ignorance, dissimulation, or pride: ignorance, when we know not the author from whom our good cometh; dissimulation, when our hands are more open than our eyes upon that we receive; pride, when we think ourselves *worthy* of that which mere grace and undeserved mercy bestoweth. In prayer therefore to abate so vain imaginations with the *true conceit of unworthiness*, is rather to prevent than commit a fault.

[3.] It being no error thus to think, no fault thus to speak of ourselves when we pray, is it a fault that the consideration of our unworthiness maketh us *fearful* to open our mouths by way of suit? While Job had prosperity and lived in honour, men feared him for his authority's sake, and in token of their fear when they saw him they "hid themselves [7]." Between Elihu and the rest of Job's familiars the greatest disparity was but in years. And he, though riper than they in judgment, doing them reverence in regard of age, stood long "doubtful," and very loth to adventure upon speech in his elders' hearing [8]. If so small inequality between man and man make their modesty a commendable virtue, who respecting superiors *as superiors*, can neither speak nor stand before them without fear: that the publican approacheth not more boldly to God; that when Christ in mercy draweth near to Peter, he in humility and fear craveth distance; that being to stand to speak, to sue in the presence of so great majesty, we are afraid, let no man blame us.

[4.] In [10] which consideration notwithstanding because to fly altogether from God, to despair that creatures unworthy shall be able to obtain any thing at his hands, and under that pretence to surcease from prayers as bootless or fruitless offices, were to

[4] T. C. lib. i. p. 136. [107.] "This request car-"rieth with it still the note of the popish servile "fear, and savoureth not of that confidence and "reverent familiarity that the children of God have "through Christ with their heavenly Father." ["For as we dare not without our Saviour Christ "ask so much as a crumb of bread, so there is "nothing which in his name we dare not ask, be-"ing needful for us; and if it be not needful why "should we ask it?" Comp. Whitg. Def. 493; T. C. iii. 202—4. There are two collects against which this charge is brought by Cartwright; the first that for the 12th Sunday after Trinity, which before the last review ended as follows: "giving "unto us that, that our prayers dare not presume "to ask: through Jesus Christ our Lord." "Ut "dimmittas quæ conscientia metuit, et adjicias "quæ oratio non præsumit." Miss. Sar. fol. cvii. ap. Palmer, Orig. Liturg. i. 349. The other collect ("one of those which are to be said after the "Offertory, as it is termed, is done."...T. C. ubi. sup.) remains unaltered. Mr. Palmer (ii. 162.) was unable to trace it "in any very ancient formu-"laries." N. ap. Sarav. Art. 4. "Quod Domini-"ca xiima. post Trinit. in collecta dicitur, Deum "ea nobis dare, quæ petere ab eo preces nostræ "non ausint præsumere: interpretor ex eodem loco "Deum vota nostra et prævenire et superare. Sed "verbis illis si quis inhæreat, papisticam diffiden-"tiam stabilire videantur, contra infinita Scrip-"turæ loca." Resp. "Quis tu? quæ tua est auc-"toritas? quæ eruditio? ut sine ulla ex verbo "Dei demonstratione audeas damnare tam sanc-"tam, tam humilem, tam piam orationem?.. Annon "multa sunt in Dei arcanis, quæ fidelibus suis De-"us dare decrevit, qui tamen illa petere non aude-"rent?" He instances in Solomon, Joseph, Mordecai.]

[5] Psalm xxxix. 5.

[6] Phil. de Sacrif. Abel. et Cain. [p. 138. C.] Μεμνημένος, γὰρ τῆς ἰδίας παρὰ πάντα οὐδενείας μεμνῆσθαι καὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ παρὰ πάντα ὑπερβολῆς.

[7] Job xxix. 8. Amongst the parts of honour Aristotle reckoneth κυνήσεις and ἐκστάσεις. Rhet. lib. i. c. 5.

[8] Job xxxii. 6.

[10] T. C. lib. iii. p. 203. "The publican did in-"deed not lift up his eyes: so that if by his ex-"ample we should say we dare ask nothing, we "ought also to ask nothing: otherwise instead of "teaching true humility, we open a school to hy-"pocrisy, which the Lord detesteth."

him no less injurious than pernicious to our own souls; even that which we tremble to do we do, we ask those things which we dare not ask. The knowledge of our own unworthiness is not without belief in the merits of Christ. With that true fear which the one causeth there is coupled true boldness, and encouragement drawn from the other. The very silence which our unworthiness putteth us unto, doth itself make request for us, and that in the confidence of his grace [11]. Looking inward we are stricken dumb, looking upward we speak and prevail. O happy mixture, wherein things contrary do so qualify and correct the one the danger of the other's excess, that neither boldness can make us presume as long as we are kept under with the sense of our own wretchedness; nor, while we trust in the mercy of God through Christ Jesus, fear be able to tyrannize over us! As therefore our fear excludeth not that boldness which becometh saints [12]; so if their *familiarity* [13] with God do not savour of this fear, it draweth too near that irreverent confidence wherewith true humility can never stand.

XLVIII. Touching continual deliverance in the world from all adversity, their conceit is that we ought not to ask it of God by prayer, forasmuch as in Scripture there is no promise that we shall be evermore free from vexations, calamities, and troubles [14].

Prayer to be evermore delivered from all adversity.

[2.] Minds religiously affected are wont in every thing of weight and moment which they do or see, to examine according unto rules of piety what dependency it hath on God, what reference to themselves, what coherence with any of those duties whereunto all things in the world should lead, and accordingly they frame the inward disposition of their minds sometime to admire God, sometime to bless him and give him thanks, sometime to exult in his love, sometime to implore his mercy. All which different elevations of spirit unto God are contained in the name of prayer. Every good and holy desire though it lack the form, hath notwithstanding in itself the substance and with him the force of a prayer, who regardeth the very moanings, groans, and sighs of the heart of man. Petitionary prayer belongeth only to such as are in themselves impotent, and stand in need of relief from others. We thereby declare unto God what our own desire is that he by his power should effect. It presupposeth therefore in us first the want of that which we pray for; secondly, a feeling of that want; thirdly, an earnest willingness of mind to be eased therein; fourthly, a declaration of this our desire in the sight of God, not as if he should be otherwise ignorant of our necessities, but because we this way shew that we honour him as our God, and are verily persuaded that no good thing can come to pass which he by his omnipotent power effecteth not.

[3.] Now because there is no man's prayer acceptable whose person is odious, neither any man's person gracious without faith, it is of necessity required that they which pray do believe. The prayers which our Lord and Saviour made were for his own worthiness accepted; ours God accepteth not but with this condition, if they be joined with [15] belief in Christ.

The prayers of the just are accepted always, but not always those things granted for which they pray. For in prayer if faith and assurance to obtain were both one and the same thing, seeing that the effect of not obtaining is a plain testimony that they which prayed were not sure they should obtain, it would follow that their prayer being without certainty of the event, was also made unto God without faith, and consequently that God abhorred it. Which to think of so many prayers of saints as we find have failed in particular requests, how absurd were it! His faithful people have this comfort, that whatsoever they rightly ask, the same no doubt but they shall receive, so far as may stand with the glory of God, and their own everlasting good, unto either of which two it is no virtuous man's purpose to seek or desire to obtain any thing prejudicial, and therefore that clause which our Lord and Saviour in the prayer of his agony did express, we in petitions of like nature do always imply, "Pater, si possibile est, If it may stand with

[11] [Whitg. Def. 494. "This kind of prayer doth "not savour of mistrust, but rather of great confidence in the mercy of God, at whose hands we "crave those things which we are of ourselves unworthy to ask or receive."

[12] Rom. v. 2; viii. 15; Heb. x. 19.

[13] [T. C. iii. 204. "Our Saviour Christ will "have set before us most amiable names" (of a Father and a Friend) "when we come to prayer: "to engender in us a reverent *familiarity* with him. "And the boldness that the children of God ought "to have so much passeth that which we use to "any of our most dearest friends, as we are more "assured of his love than of theirs."]

[14] T. C. lib. i. p. 136. [107. ap. Whitg. Def. 491.] "Forasmuch as there is no promise in the Scripture that we should be free from all adversity and "that evermore, it seemeth that this prayer might "have been better conceived, being no prayer of "faith, or of the which we can assure ourselves "that we shall obtain it." [He adds, "Whatsoever can be alleged for the defence of it, yet every one which is not contentious may see that it "needeth some caution or exception."]

[15] "Oratio quæ non fit per Christum non solum "non potest delere peccatum, sed etiam ipsa fit "[in] peccatum." Aug. Enar. in Psal. cviii. [§. 9. t. iv. 1219.]

"thy will and pleasure." Or if not, but that there be secret impediments and causes in regard whereof the thing we pray for is denied us, yet the prayer itself which we make is a pleasing sacrifice to God, who both accepteth and rewardeth it some other way. So that sinners in very truth are denied when they [16] seem to prevail in their supplications, because it is not for their sakes or to their good that their suits take place; the faithful contrariwise, because it is for their good oftentimes that their petitions do not take place, prevail even then when they most [17] seem denied. "Our Lord "God in anger hath granted some impa-"tient men's requests [18], as on the other side "the Apostle's suit he hath of favour and "mercy not granted," saith St. Augustine.

[4.] To think we may pray unto God for nothing but what he hath promised in Holy Scripture we shall obtain, is perhaps an error. For of prayer there are two uses. It serveth as a mean to procure those things which God hath promised to grant when we ask; and it serveth as a mean to express our lawful desires also towards that, which whether we shall have or no we know not till we see the event. Things in themselves unholy or unseemly we may not ask; we may whatsoever being not forbidden either nature or grace shall reasonably move us to wish as importing the good of men, albeit God himself have nowhere by promise assured us of that particular which our prayer craveth. To pray for that which is in itself and of its own nature apparently a thing impossible, were not convenient. Wherefore though men do without offence wish daily that the affairs which with evil success are past might have fallen out much better, yet to pray that they may have been any other than they are, this being a manifest impossibility in itself, the rules of religion do not permit. Whereas contrariwise when things of their own nature contingent and mutable are by the secret determination of God appointed one way, though we the other way make our prayers, and consequently ask those things of God which are *by this supposition* impossible, we notwithstanding do not hereby in prayer transgress our lawful bounds.

[5.] That Christ, as the only begotten Son of God, having no superior, and therefore owing honour unto none, neither standing in any need, should either give thanks, or make petition unto God, were most absurd. As man what could beseem him better, whether we respect his affection to Godward, or his own necessity, or his charity and love towards men? Some things he knew should come to pass and notwithstanding prayed for them, because he also knew that the necessary means to effect them were his prayers. As in the Psalm it is said, "Ask of me and I will give thee "the heathen for thine inheritance and the "ends of the earth for thy possession [19]." Wherefore that which here God promiseth his Son, the same in the seventeenth of John [20] he prayeth for: "Father, the hour "is now come, glorify thy Son, that thy "Son also may glorify thee according as "thou hast given him power over all flesh."

But had Christ the like promise concerning the effect of every particular for which he prayed? That which was not effected could not be promised. And we know in what sort he prayed for removal of that bitter cup, which cup he tasted, notwithstanding his prayer [21].

[6.] To shift off this example [22] they answer first [23], "That as other children of "God, so Christ had a promise of deliver-"ance *as far* as the glory of God in the ac-"complishment of his vocation would suf-"fer."

And if we ourselves have not also in that sort the promise of God to be evermore delivered from all adversity, what meaneth the sacred Scripture to speak in so large terms, "Be obedient, and the Lord thy God "will make thee plenteous in every work of "thy hand, in the fruit of thy body, and in "the fruit of thy cattle, and in the fruit of "the land for thy wealth [24]." Again, "Keep his laws, and thou shalt be blest "above all people, the Lord shall take from "thee all infirmities [25]." "The man whose "delight is in the Law of God, *whatsoever* "*he doeth it shall prosper* [26]." "For the "ungodly there are *great plagues* remain-"ing; but whosoever putteth his trust in "the Lord mercy embraceth him *on every* "*side* [27]." Not only that mercy which keepeth from being *overlaid* or *oppressed* [28],

[16] Numb. xi. 33: 1 Sam. viii. 7: Job i. 12; ii. 6: Luke viii. 32.

[17] 2 Cor. xii. 7—9.

[18] Aug. Epist. ad Probam viduam, Ep. 121. [al. 130. c. 14. ii. 392. B. "Nonnullis impatientibus "Dominus Deus quod petebant concessit iratus, "sicut contra Apostolo negavit propitius."]

[19] Psalm ii. 8.

[20] John xvii. 1, 2.

[21] Matt. xxvi. 39; Mark xiv. 36; Luke xxii. 42.

[22] [Which had been alleged by Whitg. Def. 492. "Christ himself prayed to have the cup of his pas-"sion removed from him; which undoubtedly he "knew before would not be granted unto him."]

[23] T. C. lib. iii. p. 200. "Neither did our Sa-"viour Christ pray without promise; for as other "the children of God to whose condition he had "humbled himself have, so had he a promise of "deliverance so far as the glory of God in the ac-"complishment of his vocation would suffer."

[24] Deut. xxx. 9.

[25] Deut. vii. 15.

[26] Psalm i. 4.

[27] Psalm xxxii. 11.

[28] [T. C. iii. 201. "He citeth the ninety-first "Psalm, that 'no evil shall come to thee.'.....It

but mercy which saveth from being *touched* with grievous miseries, mercy which turneth away the course of "the great water-"floods," and permitteth them not to "come "near [29]."

[7.] Nevertheless, because the prayer of Christ did concern but one calamity, they are still bold to deny the lawfulness of our prayer for deliverance out of all, yea though we pray with the same exception that he did, "If such deliverance may stand with the "pleasure of Almighty God and not other-"wise." For they have secondly found out a rule [30] that prayer ought only to be made for deliverance "from this or that particular "adversity, whereof we know not but upon "the event what the pleasure of God is." Which quite overthroweth that other principle wherein they require unto every prayer which is of faith an assurance to obtain the thing we pray for. At the first to pray against all adversity was unlawful, because we cannot assure ourselves that this will be granted. Now we have license to pray against any particular adversity, and the reason given because we know not but upon the event what God will do. If we know not what God will do, it followeth that for any assurance we have he may do otherwise than we pray, and we may faithfully pray for that which we cannot assuredly presume that God will grant.

[8.] Seeing therefore that neither of these two answers will serve the turn, they have [31] a third, which is, that to pray in such sort is but idly mispent labour, because God already hath revealed his will touching this request, and we know that the suit is denied before we make it. Which neither is true, and if it were, was Christ ignorant what God had determined touching those things which himself should suffer? To say [32], "He knew not what weight "of sufferances his heavenly Father had "measured unto him," is somewhat hard; harder that although "he knew them" notwithstanding for the present time they were "forgotten through the force of those un-"speakable pangs which he then was in." The one against the plain express words of the holy Evangelist, "he knew all things "that should come upon him [33];" the other less credible if any thing may be of less credit than what the Scripture itself gainsayeth. Doth any of them which wrote his sufferings make report that memory failed him? Is there in his words and speeches any sign of defect that way? Did not himself declare before whatsoever was to happen in the course of that whole tragedy? Can we gather by any thing after taken from his own mouth either in the place of public judgment or upon the altar of the cross, that through the bruising of his body some part of the treasures of his soul were scattered and slipped from him? If that which was perfect both before and after did fail at this only middle instant, there must appear some manifest cause how it came to pass. True it is that the pangs of his heaviness and grief were *unspeakable:* and as true that because the minds of the afflicted do never think they have fully conceived the weight or measure of their own woe, they use their affection as a whetstone both to wit and memory, these as nurses to feed grief, so that the weaker his conceit had been touching that which he was to suffer, the more it must needs in that hour have helped to the mitigation of his anguish. But his anguish we see was then at the very highest whereunto it could possibly rise; which argueth his deep apprehension even to the last drop of the gall which that cup contained, and of every circumstance wherein there was any force to augment heaviness, but above all things the resolute determination of God and his own unchangeable purpose, which he at that time could not forget.

[9.] To what intent then was his prayer, which plainly testifieth so great willingness to avoid death? Will, whether it be in God or man, belongeth to the essence and nature of both. The Nature therefore of God being one, there are not in God divers wills although Godhead be in divers persons, because the power of willing is a natural not a personal propriety. Contra-

"must not be understood that the afflictions shall "not *touch* us; which is manifest, in that assign-"ing the manner of performance of these promi-"ses, he saith, that 'the Lord will be with him in "his trouble, and deliver him;' noting that he "shall be in trouble, which is contrary to that, "that 'he shall be free from all trouble.' So that, "to accord the Scripture with itself, the meaning "of the promise must needs be, that he shall not "be *overlaid* or *oppressed*, but contrarily, that the "afflictions shall serve, as the Apostle saith, to his "good."]

[29] Psalm xxxii. 7.

[30] T. C. lib. iii. p. 201.

[31] T. C. lib. iii. p. 201. "We ought not to de-"sire to be free from all adversity if it be his will, "considering that he hath already declared his "will therein."

[32] T. C. lib. iii. p. 201. ["I deny that at that "time he made that prayer to his holy Father he "'knew he should not obtain.' For although he "knew that he should suffer, yet if I answer that "as touching his humanity he knew not the most "infinite and extreme weight of sufferance which "God his heavenly Father had measured unto "him; or knowing them had through the unspeak-"able force of the pangs which he then was in "forgotten them; I see not how this answer may "not be maintained as a Christian and catholic "answer." Cartwright finishes his paragraph with the following sentence. "He" (Whitgift) "hath "much other fog to this purpose, but not worth the "naming."]

[33] John xviii. 4.

riwise, the Person of our Saviour Christ being but one there are in him two wills, because two natures, the nature of God and the nature of man, which both do imply this faculty and power. So that in Christ there is a divine and there is an human will, otherwise he were not both God and man. Hereupon the Church hath of old condemned Monothelites as heretics, for holding that Christ had but one will. The works and operations of our Saviour's human will were all subject to the will of God, and framed according to his law, "I desired "to do thy will O God, and thy law is with-"in mine heart [34]."

Now as man's will so the will of Christ hath two several kinds of operation, the one natural or necessary, whereby it desireth simply whatsoever is good in itself, and shunneth as generally all things which hurt; the other deliberate, when we therefore embrace things as good, because the eye of understanding judgeth them good to that end which we simply desire. Thus in itself we desire health, physic only for health's sake. And in this sort special reason oftentimes causeth the will by choice to prefer one good thing before another, to leave one for another's sake, to forego meaner for the attainment of higher desires, which our Saviour likewise did.

These different inclinations of the will considered, the reason is easy how in Christ there might grow desires seeming but being not indeed opposite, either the one of them unto the other, or either of them to the will of God. For let the manner of his speech be weighed [35], "My soul is now troubled, and "what should I say? Father, save me out "of this hour. But yet for this very cause "am I come into this hour." His purpose herein was most effectually to propose to the view of the whole world two contrary objects, the like whereunto in force and efficacy were never presented in that manner to any but only to the soul of Christ. There was presented before his eyes in that fearful hour on the one side God's heavy indignation and wrath towards mankind as yet unappeased, death as yet in full strength, hell as yet never mastered by any that came within the confines and bounds thereof, somewhat also peradventure more than is either possible or needful for the wit of man to find out, finally himself flesh and blood left [36] alone to enter into conflict with all these [37]; on the other side, a world to be saved by one, a pacification of wrath through the dignity of that sacrifice which should be offered, a conquest over death through the power of that Deity which would not suffer the tabernacle thereof to see corruption, and an utter disappointment of all the forces of infernal powers through the purity of that soul which they should have in their hands and not be able to touch. Let no man marvel that in this case the soul of Christ was much *troubled*. For what could such apprehensions breed but (as their nature is) inexplicable passions of mind, desires abhorring what they embrace, and embracing what they abhor? In which agony "how should the tongue go about "to express" what the soul endured? When the griefs of Job were exceeding great, his words accordingly to open them were many; howbeit, still unto his seeming they were undiscovered: "Though my "talk" (saith Job) "be this day in bitter-"ness, yet my plague is greater than my "groaning [38]." But here to what purpose should words serve, when nature hath more to declare than groans and strong cries, more than streams of bloody sweats, more than his doubled and tripled prayers can express, who thrice putting forth his hand to receive that cup, besides which there was no other cause of his coming into the world, he thrice pulleth it back again, and as often even with tears of blood craveth, "If it be possible, O Father: or if "not, even what thine own good pleasure "is," for whose sake the passion that hath in it a bitter and a bloody conflict even with wrath and death and hell is most welcome [39].

[10.] Whereas therefore we find in God a will resolved that Christ shall suffer; and in the human will of Christ two actual desires, the one avoiding, and the other accepting death; is that desire which first declareth itself by prayer against that wherewith he concludeth prayer, or either of them against his mind to whom prayer in this case seeketh? We may judge of these diversities in the will, by the like in the understanding. For as the intellectual part doth not cross itself by conceiving man to be just and unjust when it meaneth not the same man, nor by imagining the same man

[34] Psalm xl. 8.

[35] John xii. 27.

[36] "Non potuit divinitas humanitatem et secun-"dum aliquid deseruisse, et secundum aliquid non "deseruisse? Subtraxit protectionem, sed non "separavit unionem. Sic ergo dereliquit ut non "adjuvaret, sed non dereliquit ut recederet. Sic "ergo humanitas a divinitate in passione derelicta "est. [derelictam se clamabat.] Quam tamen "mortem quia non pro sua iniquitate sed pro nos-"tra redemptione sustinuit, quare sit derelicta re-"quirit, non quasi adversus Deum de pœna mur-"murans sed nobis innocentium suam in pœna de-"monstrans." Hug. de Sacram. lib. ii. part. 1. cap. 10. *Deus meus, utquid dereliquisti me?* vox est nec ignorantiæ, nec diffidentiæ, nec querelæ, sed admirationis tantum, quæ aliis investigandæ causæ ardorem et diligentiam acuat.

[37] Matt. xxvii. 46.

[38] Job xxiii. 2.

[39] [Compare Pearson on the Creed, p. 190, 191, ed. 1692.]

learned and unlearned, if learned in one skill, and in another kind of learning unskilful, because the parts of every true opposition do always both concern the same subject, and have reference to the same thing, sith otherwise they are but in show opposite and not in truth: so the will about one and the same thing may in contrary respects have contrary inclinations and that without contrariety. The minister of justice may for public example to others, virtuously will the execution of that party, whose pardon another for consanguinity's sake as virtuously may desire. Consider death in itself, and nature teacheth Christ to shun it; consider death as a mean to procure the salvation of the world, and mercy worketh in Christ all willingness of mind towards it [40]. Therefore in these two desires there can be no repugnant opposition. Again, compare them with the will of God, and if any opposition be, it must be only between his appointment of Christ's death, and the former desire which wisheth deliverance from death. But neither is this desire opposite to the will of God. The will of God was that Christ should suffer the pains of death. Not so his will, as if the torment of innocency did in itself please and delight God, but such was his will in regard of the end whereunto it was necessary that Christ should suffer. The death of Christ in itself therefore God willeth not, which to the end we might thereby obtain life he both alloweth and appointeth. In like manner the Son of man endureth willingly to that purpose those grievous pains, which simply not to have shunned had been against nature, and by consequent against God.

[11.] I take it therefore to be an error that Christ either knew not what himself was to suffer, or else had forgotten the things he knew. The root of which error was an overrestrained consideration of prayer, as though it had no other lawful use but only to serve for a chosen mean, whereby the will resolveth to seek that which the understanding certainly knoweth it shall obtain: whereas prayers in truth both ours are and his were, as well sometime a presentation of mere desires, as a mean of procuring desired effects at the hands of God. We are therefore taught by his example, that the presence of dolorous and dreadful objects even in minds most perfect, may as clouds overcast all sensible joy; that no assurance touching future victories can make present conflicts so sweet and easy but nature will shun and shrink from them, nature will desire ease and deliverance from oppressive burdens; that the contrary determination of God is oftentimes against the effect of this desire, yet not against the affection itself, because it is naturally in us; that in such case our prayers cannot serve us as means to obtain the thing we desire; that notwithstanding they are unto God most acceptable sacrifices, because they testify we desire nothing but at his hands, and our desires we submit with contentment to be overruled by his will, and in general they are not repugnant unto the natural will of God which wisheth to the works of his own hands in that they are his own handy work all happiness, although perhaps for some special cause in our own particular a contrary determination have seemed more convenient; finally, that thus to propose our desires which cannot take such effect as we specify, shall notwithstanding otherwise procure us His heavenly grace, even as this very prayer of Christ obtained Angels to be sent him as comforters in his agony [41]. And according to this example we are not afraid to present unto God our prayers for those things which that he will perform unto us we have no sure nor certain knowledge.

[12.] St. Paul's prayer for the church of Corinth was that they might not do any evil [42], although he knew that no man liveth which sinneth not, although he knew that in this life we always must pray, "Forgive us our "sins [43]." It is our frailty that in many things we all do amiss, but a virtue that we would do amiss in nothing, and a testimony of that virtue when we pray that what occasion of sin soever do offer itself we may be strengthened from above to withstand it. They pray in vain to have sin pardoned which seek not also to prevent sin by prayer, even every particular sin by prayer against all sin; except men can name some transgression wherewith we ought to have truce. For in very deed although we cannot be free from all sin collectively in such sort that no part thereof shall be found inherent in us, yet distributively at the least all great and grievous actual offences as they offer themselves one by one both may and ought to be by all means avoided. So that in this sense to be preserved from all sin is not impossible [44].

[40] Isa. liii. 10; John x. 15.

[41] Luke xxii. 43.

[42] 2 Cor. xiii. 7.

[43] T. C. lib. iii. p. 200. "We may not pray in "this life to be free from all sin, because we must "always pray, Forgive us our sins."

[44] [Chr. Letter, p. 15. "Whether you meane, "that it is possible for all Christians to be preserv- "ed from all great sinnes: and if so, why should "it not be as possible from all small offences: and "if from small and great, why doe we not keepe "our robe pure and without spot untill the com- "ming of Christ, and so bee justified more and "more by our works, as the popish canons teach?" Hooker, MS. note. "Vid. August. de Civ. Dei, "lib. xiv. cap. 9." Illa quæ ἀπάθεια Græce dicitur, "quæ si Latine posset, impassibilitas diceretur, si

[13.] Finally, concerning deliverance itself from all adversity, we use not to say men are in adversity whensoever they feel any small hinderance of their welfare in this world, but when some notable affliction or cross, some great calamity or trouble befalleth them. Tribulation hath in it divers circumstances, the mind sundry faculties to apprehend them: it offereth sometime itself to the lower powers of the soul as a most unpleasant spectacle, to the higher sometimes as drawing after it a train of dangerous inconveniences, sometime as bringing with it remedies for the curing of sundry evils, as God's instrument of revenge and fury sometime, sometime as a rod of his just yet moderate ire and displeasure, sometime as matter for them that spitefully hate us to exercise their poisoned malice, sometime as a furnace of trial for virtue to shew itself, and through conflict to obtain glory. Which different contemplations of adversity do work for the most part their answerable effects. Adversity either apprehended by sense as a thing offensive and grievous to nature; or by reason conceived as a snare, an occasion of many men's falling from God, a sequel of God's indignation and wrath, a thing which Satan desireth and would be glad to behold: tribulation thus considered being present causeth sorrow, and being imminent breedeth fear. For moderation of which two affections growing from the very natural bitterness and gall of adversity, the Scripture much alleageth contrary fruits which affliction likewise hath whensoever it falleth on them that are tractable [46], the grace of God's Holy Spirit concurring therewith.

But when the Apostle St. Paul teacheth [47], "That every one which will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution," and "by many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of heaven [48]," because in a forest of many wolves sheep cannot choose but feed in continual danger of life; or when St. James exhorteth to "account it a matter of exceeding joy when we fall into divers temptations [49]," because "by the trial of faith patience is brought forth;" was it suppose we their meaning to frustrate our Lord's admonition, "Pray that ye enter not into temptation?" When himself pronounceth them blessed that should for his name's sake be subject to all kinds of ignominy and opprobrious malediction, was it his purpose that no man should ever pray with David, "Lord, remove from me shame and contempt [50]?"

"In those tribulations" (saith St. Augustine [51]) which may hurt as well as profit, "we must say with the Apostle, What we "should ask as we ought we know not, yet "because they are tough, because they are "grievous, because the sense of our weakness flieth them, we pray according to the "general desire of the will of man that God "would turn them away from us, owing in "the meanwhile this devotion to the Lord "our God, that if he remove them not, yet "we do not therefore imagine ourselves in "his sight despised, but rather with godly "sufferance of evils expect greater good at "his merciful hands. For thus is virtue in "weakness perfected."

To the flesh (as the Apostle himself granteth) all affliction is naturally grievous [52]. Therefore nature which causeth to fear teacheth to pray against all adversity. Prosperity in regard of our corrupt inclination to abuse the blessings of Almighty

"ita intelligenda est,.....ut sine his affectionibus "vivatur, quæ contra rationem accidunt, mentem- "que perturbant, bona plane et maxime optanda "est, sed nec ipsa est hujus vitæ. Non enim qua- "liumcunque hominum vox est, sed maxime pio- "rum multumque justorum atque sanctorum, *Si "dixerimus quoniam peccata non habemus, nos "ipsos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est.* "Tunc itaque ἀπάθεια ista erit, quando peccatum in "homine nullum erit. Nunc vero satis bene vivi- "tur, si sine crimine: sine peccato autem qui se "vivere existimat, non id agit ut peccatum non "habeat, sed ut veniam non accipiat.")

"Apostolus ordinandos præcipit non qui sine "peccato sunt, sed qui sine crimine." (He seems to refer to 1 Tim. iii. 2; Tit. i. 7.) "Nam alias "nemo ordinari possit, teste Johanne epist. prima. "Having bent yourself before against the necessi- "tie of all vertue, you are now an enemie to the "invocation of God's aid against all vice.

"Vid. August. Enchirid. c. 64, de discrimine "criminis et peccati." ("Filii Dei..... sic Spir- "itu Dei excitantur,.....ut etiam spiritu suo, "maxime aggravante corruptibili corpore, tanquam "filii hominum quibusdam humanis motibus defi- "ciant ad seipsos, et ideo peccent. Interest qui- "dem quantum; neque enim quia peccatum est "omne crimen, ideo crimen est omne peccatum. "Itaque sanctorum hominum vitam quamdiu in "hâc mortali vivitur, inveniri posse dicimus sine "crimine: 'Peccatum autem si dixerimus quia "non habemus,' ut ait tantus Apostolus, 'nosmet "ipsos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est.'" t. vi. 220.]

[46] Psalm cxix. 71.

[47] 2 Tim. iii. 12. T. C. lib. iii. p. 200. "To pray "against persecution, is contrary to that word "which saith, that every one which will live god- "ly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution."

[48] [Acts xiv. 22.]

[49] James i. 2, 3.

[50] Psalm cxix. 22.

[51] Aug. Epist. cxxi. [al. cxxx.] c. 14. [t. ii. 392. "In his ergo tribulationibus, quæ possunt et pro- "desse et nocere, quid oremus sicut oportet nesci- "mus: et tamen quia dura, quia molesta, quia "contra sensum nostræ infirmitatis sunt, univer- "sali humana voluntate ut a nobis auferantur ora- "mus. Sed hoc devotionis debemus Domino Deo "nostro, ut si ea non abstulerit, non ideo nos ab "eo negligi existimemus, sed potius pia patientia "malorum bona speremus ampliora; sic enim vir- "tus in infirmitate perficitur."]

[52] [Heb. xii. 11.]

God, doth prove for the most part a thing dangerous to the souls of men. Very easy itself is death to the wicked, "and the "prosperity of fools slayeth them [53];" their table is a snare, and their felicity their utter overthrow. Few men there are which long prosper and sin not. Howbeit even as these ill effects although they be very usual and common are no bar to the hearty prayers whereby most virtuous minds wish peace and prosperity always where they love, because they consider that this in itself is a thing naturally desired: so because all adversity is in itself against nature, what should hinder to pray against it, although the providence of God turn it often unto the great good of many men? Such prayers of the Church to be delivered from all adversity are no more repugnant to any reasonable disposition of men's minds towards death, much less to that blessed patience and meek contentment which saints by heavenly inspiration have to endure what cross or calamity soever it pleaseth God to lay upon them, than our Lord and Saviour's own prayer before his passion was repugnant unto his most gracious resolution to die for the sins of the whole world.

XLIX. In praying for deliverance from all adversity we seek that which nature doth wish to itself; but by entreating for mercy towards all, we declare that affection wherewith Christian charity thirsteth after the good of the whole world, we discharge that duty which the Apostle himself doth impose on the Church of Christ as a *commendable* office, a sacrifice *acceptable* in God's sight, a service according to his heart whose *desire* is "to have all men saved [54]," a work most suitable with his purpose who gave himself to be the price of redemption *for all* and a forcible mean to *procure the conversion* of all such as are not yet acquainted with the mysteries of that truth which must save their souls. Against it there is but the bare show of this one impediment, that all men's salvation and many men's eternal condemnation or death are things the one repugnant to the other, that both cannot be brought to pass; that we know there are vessels of wrath to whom God will never extend mercy, and therefore that wittingly we ask an impossible thing to be had [55].

Prayer that all men may find mercy, and of the will of God, that all men might be saved.

[2.] The truth is that as life and death, mercy and wrath are matters of mere understanding or knowledge, all men's salvation and some men's endless perdition are things so opposite that whosoever doth affirm the one must necessarily deny the other, God himself cannot effect both or determine that both shall be. There is in the knowledge both of God and man this certainty, that life and death have divided between them the whole body of mankind. What portion either of the two hath, God himself knoweth; for us he hath left no sufficient means to comprehend, and for that cause neither given any leave to search in particular who are infallibly the heirs of the kingdom of God, who castaways. Howbeit concerning the state of all men with whom we live (for only of them our prayers are meant) we may till the world's end, *for the present*, always presume, that *as far as in us there is power to discern* what others are, and as far as any duty of ours dependeth upon the notice of their condition in respect of God, the safest axioms for charity to rest itself upon are these: "He "which believeth already is;" and "he "which believeth not as yet may be the "child of God." It becometh not us [56] "during life altogether to condemn any "man, seeing that" (for any thing we know) "there is hope of every man's for- "giveness, the possibility of whose re- "pentance is not yet cut off by death." And therefore Charity which "hopeth all "things [57]," prayeth also for all men.

[3.] Wherefore to let go personal knowledge touching vessels of wrath and mercy, what they are inwardly in the sight of God it skilleth not for us there is cause sufficient in all men whereupon to ground our prayers unto God in their behalf. For whatsoever the mind of man apprehendeth as good, the will of charity and love is to have it enlarged in the very uttermost extent, that all may enjoy it to whom it can any way add perfection. Because therefore the farther a good thing doth reach the nobler and worthier we reckon it, our prayers for all men's good no less than for our own the Apostle with very fit terms commendeth as being καλὸν, a work commendable for the largeness of the affection from whence it springeth, even as theirs, which have requested at God's hands the salvation of

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53 Prov. i. 32.

54 1 Tim. ii. 3.

55 [1 Adm. ap. Whitg. Def. 739. "They pray "that all men may be saved." Whitgift, Answer, ibid. al. 253. "We do so indeed; and what can "you allege why we should not do so? St. Paul "saith, I exhort that supplications, &c. be made "for all men. And adding the reason he saith, "For this is good and acceptable in the sight of "God our Saviour: who will that all men shall be "saved."]

56 Sidon. Apol. lib. vi. Epist. [11. "Ad Eleu- "therium. Judæum præsens charta commendat; "non quod mihi placeat error, per quem pereunt "involuti, sed quia neminem ipsorum nos decet ex "asse damnabilem pronunciare, dum vivit. In "spe enim adhuc absolutionis est, cui suppetit pos- "se converti." Bibl. Patr. Colon. v. pars. i. 1020. B.]

57 1 Cor. xiii. 7.

many with the loss of their own souls[58] drowning as it were and overwhelming themselves in the abundance of their love towards others, is proposed as being in regard of the rareness of such affections ὑπέρκαλον, more than excellent. But this extraordinary height of desire after other men's salvation is no common mark. The other is a duty which belongeth unto all and prevaileth with God daily. For as it is in itself good, so God accepteth and taketh it in very good part at the hands of faithful men. Our prayers for all men do include both them that shall find mercy, and them also that shall find none. For them that shall, no man will doubt but our prayers are both accepted and granted. Touching them for whom we crave that mercy which is not to be obtained, let us not think that[59] our Saviour did misinstruct his disciples, willing them to pray for the peace even of such as should be uncapable of so great a blessing; or that the prayers of the[60] Prophet Jeremy offended God because the answer of God was a resolute denial of favour to them for whom supplication was made. And if any man doubt how God should accept such prayers in case they be opposite to his will, or not grant them if they be according unto that which himself willeth, our answer is that such suits God accepteth in that they are conformable unto his *general inclination* which is that all men might be saved, yet always he granteth them not, forasmuch as there is in God sometimes a more private *occasioned will*[61] which determineth the contrary. So that the other being the rule of our actions and not this, our requests for things opposite to this will of God are not therefore the less gracious in his sight.

[4.] There is no doubt but we ought in all things to frame our wills to the will of God, and that otherwise in whatsoever we do we sin. For of ourselves being so apt to err, the only way which we have to straighten our paths is by following the rule of his will whose footsteps naturally are right. If the eye, the hand, or the foot do that which the will commandeth, though they serve as instruments to sin, yet is sin the commander's fault and not theirs, because nature hath absolutely and without exception made them subjects to the will of man which is Lord over them. As the body is subject to the will of man, so man's will to the will of God; for so it behoveth that the better should guide and command the worse. But because the subjection of the body to the will is by natural necessity, the subjection of the will unto God voluntary; we therefore stand in need of direction after what sort our wills and desires may be rightly conformed to his. Which is not done by willing always the selfsame thing that God intendeth. For it may chance that his purpose is sometime the speedy death of them whose long continuance in life if we should not wish we were unnatural.

[5.] When the object or matter therefore of our desires is (as in this case) a thing both good of itself and not forbidden of God: when the end for which we desire it is virtuous and apparently most holy; when the root from which our affection towards it proceedeth is Charity, Piety that which we do in declaring our desire by prayer; yea over and besides all this, sith we know that to pray for all men living is but to shew the same affection which towards every of them our Lord Jesus Christ hath borne, who knowing only as God who are his[62] did as man taste death for the good of all men: surely to that will of God which

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[58] Rom. ix. 3, 8; x. 1.

[59] Matt. x. 11, 12.

[60] Jer. xv. 1.

[61] [Chr. Letter, p. 17. "Have we not cause to "fear that the wittie schoolmen have seduced you, "and by their conceited distinctions made you for-"get, 'That you are neither able nor worthie to "open and looke into the booke of God's law, by "which he guideth the worlde?' (see before, b. i. "c. ii. 5.) And yet you will say, There is in God "*an occasioned will.*"

Hooker, MS. note. "The booke of that law I "presume no further to looke into, then all men "may and ought thereof to take notice. I have "[not] adventured to ransack the bosome of God, "and to search out what is there to be read con-"cerning every particular man, as some have done. "Vis divinæ magnitudinis et nota nobis objecit et "ignota. Tertul. Contra gent. p. 634. (p. 18. "B. Paris, 1641. 'Hoc est quod Deum æstimari "facit, dum æstimari non capit: ita eum vis mag-"nitudinis et notum hominibus objecit et ignotum.') Dionys. p. 367." (*μήποτε οὖν ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ὅτι Θεὸν γινώσκομεν, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως ἄγνωστον γὰρ τοῦτο, καὶ πάντα λόγον καὶ νοῦν ὑπεραῖρον· ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς πάντων τῶν ὄντων διατάξεως· ... διὸ καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ὁ Θεὸς γινώσκεται, καὶ χωρὶς πάντων· καὶ διὰ γνώσεως, ὁ Θεὸς γινώσκεται, καὶ διὰ ἀγνωσίας· καὶ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ καὶ νόησις καὶ λόγος καὶ ἐπιστήμη καὶ ἁφὴ καὶ αἴσθησις καὶ δόξα καὶ φαντασία καὶ ὄνομα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα· καὶ οὔτε νοεῖται οὔτε λέγεται οὔτε ὀνομάζεται.*) "and 433."

(*λεγόμενον ἄρρητον μένει καὶ νοούμενον ἄγνωστον.*) Ed. Paris, 1562.

Again, Chr. Letter, ibid. "Where is that God 'you speake of in your first booke, 'of whom and "through whom and for whom are all things?"

Hooker, MS. note. "Even where He was in the "highest heaven; from whence He beholdeth their "untamed pride which speake of Him and His "they neither care nor know what." See Life of Hooker, p. 22, 23; and the references there.]

[62] Hug. de Quat. Christi Volunt. [t. iii. 48. E.] "Propterea nihil contrarietatis erat, si Christus ho-"mo secundum affectum pietatis quam in human-"itate sua assumpserat aliquid volebat, quod ta-"men secundum voluntatem divinam in qua cum "Patre omnia disponebat futurum non esse præs-"ciebat: quia et hoc ad veram humanitatem per-"tinebat, ut pietate moveretur; et hoc ad veram "divinitatem, ut a sua dispositione non movere-"tur."

ought to be and is the known rule of all our actions, we do not herein oppose ourselves, although his secret determination haply be against us, which if we did understand as we do not, yet to rest contented with that which God will have done is as much as he requireth at the hands of men. And concerning ourselves, what we earnestly crave in this case, the same, as all things else that are of like condition, we meekly submit unto his most gracious will and pleasure.

[6.] Finally, as we have cause sufficient why to think the practice of our church allowable in this behalf, so neither is ours the first which hath been of that mind. For to end with the words of Prosper [63], "This "law of supplication for all men," (saith he,) "the devout zeal of all priests and of "all faithful men doth hold with such full "agreement, that there is not any part of "all the world where Christian people do "not use to pray in the same manner. The "Church every where maketh prayers unto "God not only for saints and such as al-"ready in Christ are regenerate, but for all "infidels and enemies of the Cross of Jesus "Christ, for all idolaters, for all that perse-"cute Christ in his followers, for Jews to "whose blindness the light of the Gospel "doth not yet shine, for heretics and schis-"matics, who from the unity of faith and "charity are estranged. And for such "what doth the Church ask of God but this, "that leaving their errors they may be con-"verted unto him, that faith and charity "may be given them, and that out of the "darkness of ignorance they may come to "the knowledge of his truth? which be-"cause they cannot themselves do in their "own behalf as long as the sway of evil "custom overbeareth them, and the chains "of Satan detain them bound, neither are "they able to break through those errors "wherein they are so determinately settled, "that they pay unto falsity the whole sum "of whatsoever love is owing unto God's "truth; our Lord merciful and just requir-"eth to have all men prayed for; that when "we behold innumerable multitudes drawn "up from the depth of so bottomless evils, "we may not doubt but" (in part) "God "hath done the thing we requested, nor "despair but that being thankful for them "towards whom already he hath shewed "mercy, the rest which are not as yet en-"lightened, shall before they pass out of "life be made partakers of the like grace. "Or if the grace of him which saveth (for "so we see it falleth out) overpass some, so "that the prayer of the Church for them be "not received, this we may leave to the "hidden judgments of God's righteousness, "and acknowledge that in this secret there "is a gulf, which while we live we shall "never sound [64]."

L. Instruction and Prayer whereof we have hitherto spoken, are duties which serve as elements, parts, or principles, to the rest that follow, in which number the Sacraments of the Church are chief. The Church is to us that very mother of our new birth [65], in whose bowels we are all bred, at whose breasts we receive nourishment. As many therefore as are apparently to our judgment born of God, they have the seed of their regeneration by the ministry of the Church which useth to that end and purpose not only the Word, but the Sacraments, both having generative force and virtue.

Of the name, the author, and the force of sacraments; which force consisteth in this, that God hath ordained them as means to make us partakers of him in Christ, and of life through Christ.

[2.] As oft as we mention a Sacrament properly understood, (for in the writings of the ancient Fathers all articles which are peculiar to Christian faith, all duties of religion containing that which sense or natural reason cannot of itself discern, are most commonly named Sacraments,) our restraint of the word to some few principal divine ceremonies importeth in every such ceremony two things, the substance of the ceremony itself which is visible, and besides

[63] Prosp. de Vocat. Gen. lib. i. c. 12. inter opera Ambros.

[64] [Quam legem supplicationis ita omnium sacerdotum et omnium fidelium devotio concordi-"ter tenet, ut nulla pars mundi sit, in qua hu-"jusmodi orationes non celebrentur a populis "Christianis. Supplicat ergo ubique Ecclesia "Deo non solum pro sanctis et in Christo jam re-"generatis, sed etiam pro omnibus infidelibus et in-"imices crucis Christi, pro omnibus idolorum cul-"toribus, pro omnibus qui Christum in membris "ipsius persequuntur, pro Judæis, quorum cæcita-"ti lumen evangelii non refulget, pro hæreticis et "schismaticis, qui ab unitate fidei et caritatis ali-"eni sunt. Quid autem pro istis petit, nisi ut re-"lictis erroribus suis, convertantur ad Deum, acci-"piant fidem, accipiant caritatem, et de ignoran-"tiæ tenebris liberati, in agnitionem veniant veri-"tatis? Quod quia ipsi præstare sibi nequeunt, "malæ consuetudinis pondere oppressi et Diaboli "vinculis alligati, neque deceptiones suas evincere "valent, quibus tam pertinaciter inhæserunt, ut "quantum amanda est veritas tantum diligant fal-"sitatem; misericors et justus Dominus pro omni-"bus sibi vult hominibus supplicari: ut cum vide-"mus de tam profundis malis innumeros erui, non "ambigamus Deum præstitisse quod ut præstaret, "oratus est; et gratias agentes pro his qui salvi "facti sunt, speremus etiam eos qui necdum illu-"minati sunt eodem divinæ gratiæ opere eximen-"dos de potestate tenebrarum, et in regnum Dei, "priusquam de hac vita exeant, transferendos. "Quod si aliquos, sicut videmus accidere, salvan-"tis gratia præteriret, et pro eis oratio Ecclesiæ "recepta non fuerit; ad occulta divinæ justitiæ "judicia referendum, et agnoscendum, secreti hu-"jus profunditatem nobis in hac vita patere non "posse."]

[65] Gal. iv. 26; Isai. liv. 3.

that somewhat else more secret in reference whereunto we conceive that ceremony to be a Sacrament. For we all admire and honour the holy Sacraments, not respecting so much the service which we do unto God in receiving them, as the dignity of that sacred and secret gift which we thereby receive from God. Seeing that Sacraments therefore consist altogether in relation to some such gift or grace supernatural as only God can bestow, how should any but the Church administer those ceremonies as Sacraments which are not thought to be Sacraments by any but by the Church?

[3.] There is in Sacraments to be observed their force and their form of administration. Upon their force their necessity dependeth. So that how they are necessary we cannot discern till we see how effectual they are. When Sacraments are said to be visible signs of invisible grace, we thereby conceive how grace is indeed the very end for which these heavenly mysteries were instituted, and besides sundry other properties observed in them, the matter whereof they consist is such as signifieth, figureth, and representeth their end. But still their efficacy resteth obscure to our understanding, except we search somewhat more distinctly what grace in particular that is whereunto they are referred, and what manner of operation they have towards it.

The use of Sacraments is but only in this life, yet so that here they concern a far better life than this, and are for that cause accompanied with "grace which worketh Salvation." Sacraments are the powerful instruments of God to eternal life. For as our natural life consisteth in the union of the body with the soul; so our life supernatural in the union of the soul with God. And forasmuch as there is no union of God with man [66] without that mean between both which is both, it seemeth requisite that we first consider how God is in Christ, then how Christ is in us, and how the Sacraments do serve to make us partakers of Christ. In other things we may be more brief, but the weight of these requireth largeness.

LI. "The Lord our God is but one God." In which indivisible unity notwithstanding we adore the Father as being altogether of himself, we glorify that consubstantial Word which is the Son, we bless and magnify that co-essential Spirit eternally proceeding from both which is the Holy Ghost. Seeing therefore the Father is of none, the Son is of the Father and the Spirit is of both, they are by these their several properties really distinguishable each from other. For the substance of God with this property *to be of none* doth make the Person of the Father; the very selfsame substance in number with this property *to be of the Father* maketh the Person of the Son; the same substance having added unto it the property of *proceeding from the other two* maketh the Person of the Holy Ghost. So that in every Person there is implied both the substance of God, which is one, and also that property which causeth the same person really and truly to differ from the other two. Every person hath his own subsistence which no other besides hath [68], although there be others besides that are of the same substance. As no man but Peter can be the person which Peter is, yet Paul hath the selfsame nature which Peter hath. Again, angels have every of them the nature of pure and invisible spirits, but every angel is not that angel which appeared in a dream to Joseph.

That God is in Christ by the personal incarnation of the Son who is very God 67.

[2.] Now when God became man, lest we should err in applying this to the Person of the Father, or of the Spirit, St. Peter's confession unto Christ was, "Thou "art *the Son* of the living God [69]," and St. John's exposition thereof was plain, that it "is *the Word* [70] which was made Flesh." [71] The Father and the Holy Ghost (saith "Damascen) have no communion with the "incarnation of the Word otherwise than "only by approbation and assent."

Notwithstanding, forasmuch as the Word and Deity are one subject, we must beware we exclude not the nature of God from incarnation, and so make the Son of God incarnate not to be very God. For undoubtedly [72] even the nature of God itself in the only person of the Son is incarnate, and hath taken to itself flesh. Wherefore in-

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[66] Tertull. [Novatian.] de Trinit. [c. 18. ad. calc. Tertull. ed. Pamel. p. 1246.] "Oportebat Deum "carnem fieri, ut in semetipso concordiam confibu-"laret terrenorum pariter atque cælestium, dum "utriusque partis in se connectens pignora, et De-"um pariter homini et hominem Deo copularet."

[67] Isai. ix. 6; Jer. xxiii. 6; Rom. ix. 5; John xvi. 15. v. 21; Col. ii. 9; 1 John v. 20.

[68] Πρόσωπον ἤγουν ὑπόστασίς ἐστι κατὰ τοὺς ἁγίους πατέρας. τὸ ἰδικὸν παρὰ τὸ κοινόν. Κοινότης γάρ ἐστιν ἡ φύσις ἑκάστου πράγματος, ἴδιαι δέ εἰσιν αἱ ὑποστάσεις. Suid. [sub voc. Ὑπόστασις.] Ἡ οὐσία καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὐκ ὑφίσταται, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι θεωρεῖται· τὸ δὲ κοινὸν μετὰ τοῦ ἰδιάζοντος ἔχει ἡ ὑπόστασις καὶ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ὑπάρξαι. Damasc. de Orthod. Fide. lib. iii. cap. 6. [p. 67. ed. Veron. 1531.]

[69] Matt. xvi. 16.

[70] John i. 14. Ὅς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ Λόγος οὐ ῥητὸς ἀλλ' οὐσιώδης. Οὐ γάρ ἐστι λαλιᾶς ἐνάρθρου φώνημα, ἀλλ' ἐνεργείας θεϊκῆς οὐσία γεννητή. Ignat. Epist. ad Magnes. [§. 8. from the interpolated epistle.]

[71] Κατ' οὐδένα λόγον κεκοινώνηκεν ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τῇ σαρκώσει τοῦ Λόγου, εἰ μὴ κατ' εὐδοκίαν καὶ βούλησιν. Damasc. [de Orthod. Fid. lib. iii. c. 11. fin. p. 75.]

[72] Aug. Epist. 57. [al. 187. §. 20. t. ii. 684.] "In "illo Divinitas est Unigeniti facta particeps mor-"talitatis nostræ, ut et nos participes ejus immor-"talitatis essemus."

earnation may neither be granted to any person but only one, nor yet denied to that nature which is common unto all three.

[3.] Concerning the cause of which incomprehensible mystery, forasmuch as it seemeth a thing unconsonant that the world should honour any other as the Saviour but him whom it honoureth as the Creator of the world, and in the wisdom of God it hath not been thought convenient to admit any way of saving man but by man himself, though nothing should be spoken of the love and mercy of God towards man, which this way are become such a spectacle as neither men nor angels can behold without a kind of heavenly astonishment, we may hereby perceive there is cause sufficient why divine nature should assume human, that so God might be in Christ reconciling to himself the world[74]. And if some cause be likewise required why rather to this end and purpose the Son than either the Father or the Holy Ghost should be made man, could we which are born the children of wrath be adopted the sons of God through grace, any other than the natural Son of God being Mediator between God and us? It [75] became therefore him by whom all things are to be the way of salvation to all, that the institution and restitution of the world might be both wrought by one hand. The world's salvation was without the incarnation of the Son of God a thing impossible, not simply impossible, but impossible it being presupposed that the will of God was no otherwise to have it saved than by the death of his own Son. Wherefore taking to himself our flesh, and by his incarnation making it his own flesh, he had now of his own although from us what to offer unto God for us.

And as Christ took manhood that by it he might be capable of death whereunto he humbled himself, so because manhood is the proper subject of compassion and feeling pity, which maketh the sceptre of Christ's regency even in the kingdom of heaven amiable, he which without our nature could not on earth suffer for the sins of the world, doth now also[76] by means thereof both make intercession to God for sinners and exercise dominion over all men with a true, a natural, and a sensible touch of mercy.

LII. It is not in man's ability either to express perfectly or conceive the manner how this was brought to pass. But the strength of our faith is tried by those things wherein our wits and capacities are not strong. Howbeit because this divine mystery is more true than plain, divers having framed the same to their own conceits and fancies are found in their expositions thereof more plain than true. Insomuch that by the space of five hundred years after Christ, the Church was almost troubled with nothing else saving only with care and travel to preserve this article from the sinister construction of heretics. Whose first mists when the light of the Nicene council[77] had dispelled, it was not long ere Macedonius transferred unto God's most Holy Spirit the same blasphemy wherewith Arius had already dishonoured his co-eternally begotten Son; not long ere Apollinarius[78] began to pare away from Christ's humanity. In refutation of which impieties when the Fathers of the Church, Athanasius, Basil, and the two Gregories, had by their painful travails sufficiently cleared the truth, no less for the Deity of the Holy Ghost than for the complete humanity of Christ, there followed hereupon a final conclusion, whereby those controversies, as also the rest which Paulus Samosatenus, Sabellius, Photinus, Ætius, Eunomius, together with the whole swarm of pestilent Demi-Arians had from time to time stirred up sithence the council of Nice, were both privately first at Rome in a smaller Synod[79], and then at Constantinople[80], in a general famous assembly brought to a peaceable and quiet end, seven-score bishops and ten agreeing in that confession which by them set down remaineth at this presest hour a part of our church liturgy, a memorial of their fidelity and zeal, a sovereign preservative of God's people from the venomous infection of heresy.

[2.] Thus in Christ the verity of God and the complete substance of man were with full agreement established throughout the world, till such time as the heresy of Nestorius broached itself, "[81] dividing Christ "into two persons the Son of God and the

The misinterpretations which heresy hath made of the manner how God and man are united in one Christ.

74 2 Cor. v. 19.

75 Heb. ii. 10. [See also Coloss. i. 15—18.]

76 Heb. iv. 15.

77 An. Dom. 325.

78 Μηδὲ γὰρ ἐεηθῆναι φησὶ τὴν σάρκα ἐκείνην ἀνθρωπίνου νοὸς, ἡγεμονευομένην ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτὴν ἐνδεδυκότος θεοῦ. Suid. [sub voc. Ἀπολλινάριος.]

79 [A. D. 378, a synod of ninety-three bishops was held at Rome, in which Damasus presided; by authority of which a Synodical Epistle, probably the document known by the name of τόμος τῶν ὀυτιγῶν, and adopted in the fifth canon of Constantinople, was sent to a council then sitting at Antioch under Meletius, and approved there. See Theodoret, E. H. v. 10. p. 211. A. and c. ii. p. 213—16. and Valesius' Notes, p. 41, 44; Conc. ii. 899—904, 908, 9, 10; Cave, Hist. Lit. ii. 123, 127; Bevereg. Synod. ii. 89; Routh, Opusc. 449.]

80 An. Dom. 381.

81 Οὐκ ἔτι τὴν ἕνωσιν ὁμολογεῖ μεθ' ἡμῶν. Cyril. Epist. ad Eulog. [p. 133. A. ed. Par. 1638. t. vi.] Οὐκ ἔλεγε γὰρ ἕνωσιν τοῦ Λόγου τοῦ Θεοῦ πρὸς ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ δύο ὑποστάσεις ἔλεγε καὶ διαίρεσιν... Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄνθρωπον καὶ Θεὸν ἀπεκάλει τὸν Χριστὸν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔτι ὡς ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ τῃ σχέσει καὶ τῃ οἰκειώσει. κατὰ τὸ ταὐτὰ ἀλλήλοις ἀρέσκειν διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς

"Son of man, the one a person begotten of "God before all worlds, the other also a "person born of the Virgin Mary, and in "special favour chosen to be made entire "to the Son of God above all men, so that "whosoever will honour God must togeth- "er honour Christ, with whose person God "hath vouchsafed to join himself in so high "a degree of gracious respect and favour." But that the selfsame person which verily is man should properly be God also, and that, by reason not of two persons linked in amity but of two natures human and divine conjoined in one and the same person, the God of glory may be said as well to have suffered death as to have raised the dead from their graves, the Son of man as well to have made as to have redeemed the world, Nestorius in no case would admit.

[3.] That which deceived him was want of heed to the first beginning of that admirable combination of God with man. "The "Word (saith St. John) was made flesh "and dwelt *in us* [82]." The Evangelist useth the plural number, men for manhood, *us* for the nature whereof we consist, even as the Apostle denying the assumption of *angelical nature*, saith likewise in the plural number, "He took not *Angels* but the seed of "Abraham [83]." It pleased not the Word or wisdom of God to take to itself some one person amongst men, for then should that one have been advanced which was assumed and no more, but Wisdom to the end she might save many built her house of that nature which is common unto all, she made not *this* or *that man* her habitation, but dwelt *in us*. The seeds of herbs and plants at the first are not in act but in possibility that which they afterwards grow to be. If the Son of God had taken to himself a man now made and already perfected, it would of necessity follow that there are in Christ two persons, the one assuming and the other assumed; whereas the Son of God did not assume a man's person unto his own, but a man's nature to his own Person, and therefore took *semen*, the seed of Abraham, the very first original element of our nature [84], before it was come to have any personal human subsistence. The flesh and the conjunction of the flesh with God began both at one instant; his making and taking to himself our flesh was but one act, so that in Christ there is no personal subsistence but one, and that from everlasting. By taking only the nature of man he still continueth one person, and changeth but the manner of his subsisting, which was before in the mere glory of the Son of God, and is now in the habit of our flesh.

Forasmuch therefore as Christ hath no personal subsistence but one whereby we acknowledge him to have been eternally the Son of God, we must of necessity apply to the person of the Son of God even that which is spoken of Christ according to his human nature. For example, according to the flesh he was born of the Virgin Mary, baptized of John in the river Jordan, by Pilate adjudged to die, and executed by the Jews. We cannot say properly that the Virgin bore, or John did baptize, or Pilate condemn, or the Jews crucify the Nature of man, because these all are personal attributes; his Person is the subject which receiveth them, his Nature that which maketh his person capable or apt to receive. If we should say that the person of a man in our Saviour Christ was the subject of these things, this were plainly to entrap ourselves in the very snare of the Nestorians' heresy, between whom and the Church of God there was no difference, saving only that Nestorius imagined in Christ as well a personal human subsistence as a divine, the Church acknowledging a substance both divine and human, but no other personal subsistence than divine, because the Son of God took not to himself a man's person, but the nature only of a man.

Christ is a Person both divine and human, howbeit not therefore two persons in one, neither both these in one sense, but a person divine, because he is *personally* the Son of God, human, because *he hath* really *the nature* of the children of men. In Christ therefore God and man "There is (saith "Paschasius [85]) a two-fold substance, not a "two-fold person, because one person ex- "tinguisheth another, whereas one nature "cannot in another become extinct." For the personal being which the Son of God already had, suffered not the substance to be personal which he took, although together with the nature which he had the nature also which he took continueth. Whereupon it followeth against Nestorius, that no person was born of the Virgin but the Son of God, no person but the Son of God baptized, the Son of God condemned, the Son of God and no other person crucified; which one only point of Christian belief, *the infinite worth of the Son of God*, is the very ground of all things believed concerning life and salvation by that which Christ either did or suffered as man in our behalf.

[4.] But forasmuch as St. Cyril, the

φιλίας. Leont. de Sect. [Act.4.p.508. t. i. Biblioth. Patr. Gr. ed. Par. 1624.]

[82] John i. 14.

[83] Heb. ii. 16.

[84] Ἡ ληφθεῖσα φύσις οὐ προϋπῆρχε τῆς λήψεως. Theod. Dial. Ἄτρεπτος. [Dial. ii p. 101. t. iv. pars i. ed. Schulze.]

[85] Paschas. lib. de Spir. Sanct. [lib. ii. c. 4. "In "Deo et homine, gemina quidem substantia, sed "non gemina persona est, quia persona personam "consumere potest, substantia vero substantiam "consumere non potest." in Biblioth. Patr. Colon. viii. 331.]

chiefest of those two hundred bishops assembled in the council of Ephesus [86], where the heresy of Nestorius was condemned, had in his writings [87] against the Arians avouched that the Word or Wisdom of God hath *but one nature* which is eternal, and whereunto he assumed flesh (for the Arians were of opinion [88] that besides God's own eternal wisdom, there is a wisdom which God created before all things, to the end he might thereby create all things else, and that this created wisdom was the Word which took flesh:) again, forasmuch as the same Cyril [89] had given instance in the body and the soul of man no farther than only to enforce by example against Nestorius, that a visible and an invisible, a mortal and an immortal substance may united make *one person:* the words of Cyril were in process of time so taken as though it had been his drift to teach, that even as in us the body and the soul, so in Christ God and man make but *one nature.* Of which error, six hundred and thirty fathers in the council of Chalcedon condemned Eutyches [90]. For as Nestorius teaching rightly that God and man are distinct natures, did thereupon misinfer that in Christ those natures can by no conjunction make one person; so Eutyches of sound belief as touching their true personal copulation became unsound by denying the difference which still continueth between the one and the other Nature. We must therefore keep warily a middle course, shunning both that distraction of Persons wherein Nestorius went awry, and also this later confusion of Natures which deceived Eutyches.

These natures from the moment of their first combination have been and are for ever inseparable [91]. For even when his soul forsook the tabernacle of his body, his Deity forsook neither body nor soul. If it had, then could we not truly hold either that the person of Christ was buried, or that the person of Christ did raise up itself from the dead. For the body separated from the Word can in no true sense be termed the person of Christ; nor is it true to say that the Son of God in raising up that body did raise up himself, if the body were not both with him and of him even during the time it lay in the sepulchre. The like is also to be said of the soul, otherwise we are plainly and inevitably Nestorians. The very person of Christ therefore for ever one and the selfsame was only touching bodily substance concluded within the grave, his soul only from thence severed, but by personal union his Deity still unseparably joined with both.

LIII. The sequel of which conjunction of natures in the person of Christ is no abolishment of natural properties appertaining to either substance, no transition or transmigration thereof out of one substance into another, finally no such mutual infusion as really causeth the same natural operations or properties to be made common unto both substances; but whatsoever is natural to Deity the same remaineth in Christ uncommunicated unto his manhood, and whatsoever natural to manhood his Deity thereof is uncapable. The true properties and operations of his Deity are to know that which is not possible for created natures to comprehend; to be simply the highest cause of all things, the wellspring of immortality and life; to have neither end nor beginning of days; to be every where present, and enclosed nowhere; to be subject to no alteration nor passion; to produce of itself those effects which cannot proceed but from infinite majesty and power. The true properties and operations of his manhood are such as Irenæus reckoneth up [92]: "If Christ," saith he, "had not taken flesh from the very earth, he "would not have coveted those earthly "nourishments, wherewith bodies which be "taken from thence are fed. This was the "nature which felt hunger after long fast-"ing, was desirous of rest after travail, tes-"tified compassion and love by tears, groan-"ed in heaviness, and with extremity of "grief even melted away itself into bloody "sweats." To Christ we ascribe both working of wonders and suffering of pains, we use concerning him speeches as well of humility as of divine glory, but the one we apply unto that nature which he took of the

That by the union of the one with the other nature in Christ there groweth neither gain nor loss of essential properties to either.

[86] An. Dom. 431.

[87] [Vid. Cyril. de Recta Fide, t. vi. 48. (ex Athanas.) et Ep. ad Eulog. vi. 133.]

[88] [Vid. c. g. Alexand. Alexandrin. ap. Socr. i. 6. p. 11. A. ed. Vales.]

[89] [Cyr. t. vi. Epist. p. 8, 133.]

[90] An. Dom. 451.

[91] Ἀχώριστον προσῆκει τῆς σαρκὸς εἶναι τὴν θείαν φύσιν ὁμολογεῖν, κἂν τῷ σταυρῷ καν τῷ τάφῳ. Theod. Dial. Ἀπαθὴς. [Dial. iii. t. iv. p. 227.]

[92] [Εἰ μηδὲν εἰλήφει παρὰ τῆς Μαρίας, οὐκ αὐτὰς ἀπὸ γῆς εἰλημμένας προσίετο τροφὰς, δι' ὧν τὸ ἀπὸ γῆς ληφθὲν τρέφεται σῶμα· οὐδ' ἂν εἰς τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας, ὁμοίως ὡς Μωϋσῆς καὶ Ἠλίας, νηστεύσας ἐπείνησε, τοῦ σώματος ἐπιζητοῦντος τὴν ἰδίαν τροφήν· οὐδ' ἂν Ἰωάννης ὁ μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ γράφων εἰρήκει· Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς κεκοπιακὼς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας, ἐκαθέζετο· ... οὐδ' ἂν ἐδάκρυσεν ἐπὶ τοῦ Λαζάρου, οὐδ' ἂν ἱδρωσε θρόμβους αἵματος· οὐδ' ἂν εἰρήκει, ὅτι περίλυπός ἐστιν ἡ ψυχή μου· οὐδ' ἂν νυγείσης αὐτοῦ τῆς πλευρᾶς, ἐξῆλθεν αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ.] Ταῦτα [γὰρ] πάντα σύμβολα σαρκὸς τῆς ἀπὸ γῆς εἰλημμένης. Iren. lib. iii. advers. Hæres. [c. 32.] Christ did all these ἀνθρωπίνου σώματος νόμῳ. Theod. Dial. Ἀσύγχυτος. [iv. 1. 148. from Greg. Naz. Orat. xxxviii. t. i. 621. D. Ἀπεστάλη μὲν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄνθρωπος· διπλοῦς γὰρ ἦν· ἔπει καὶ ἐκοπίασε, καὶ ἐπείνησε, καὶ ἐδίψησε, καὶ ἠγωνίασε, καὶ ἐδάκρυσε νόμῳ σώματος.]

Τοὺς μὲν ταπεινοὺς λόγους τῷ ἐκ Μαρίας ἀνθρώπῳ, τοὺς δὲ ἀνηγμένους καὶ θεοπρεπεῖς τῷ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντι Λόγῳ. Greg. Naz. Orat. II. de Filio. [§. 36. t. i. 577.]

Virgin Mary, the other to that which was in the beginning.

[2.] We may not therefore imagine that the properties of the weaker nature have vanished with the presence of the more glorious, and have been therein swallowed up as in a gulf. We dare not in this point give ear to them who over boldly affirm [90] that "the nature which Christ took weak and "feeble from us by being mingled with Deity became the same which Deity is, that "the assumption of our substance unto his "was like the blending of a drop of vinegar with the huge ocean, wherein although it continue still, yet not with those "properties which severed it hath, because "sithence the instant of their conjunction, all "distinction of the one from the other is extinct, and whatsoever we can now conceive "of the Son of God, is nothing else but "mere Deity," which words are so plain and direct for Eutyches, that I stand in doubt they are not his whose name they carry. Sure I am they are far from truth, and must of necessity give place to the better-advised sentences of other men. "[91] He "which in himself was appointed," saith Hilary, "a Mediator to save his Church, "and for performance of that mystery of "mediation between God and man, is become God and man, doth now being "but one consist of both those natures "united, neither hath he through the union "of both incurred the damage or loss of "either, lest by being born a man we should "think he hath given over to be God, or "that because he continueth God, therefore "he cannot be man also, whereas the true "belief which maketh a man happy proclaimeth jointly God and man, confesseth "the Word and flesh together." Cyril more plainly [92]; "His two natures have "knit themselves the one to the other, and "are in that nearness as uncapable of confusion as of distraction. Their coherence "hath not taken away the difference between them. Flesh is not become God, "but doth still continue flesh, although it "be now the flesh of God." Yea, "of each "substance," saith Leo [93], "the properties "are all preserved and kept safe."

[3.] These two natures are as causes and original grounds of all things which Christ hath done. Wherefore some things he doth as God, because his Deity alone is the wellspring from which they flow; some things as man, because they issue from his mere human nature; some things jointly as both God and man, because both natures concur as principles thereunto. For albeit the properties of each *nature* do cleave only to that nature whereof they are properties, and therefore Christ cannot *naturally be* as God the same which he *naturally is* as man; yet both natures may very well concur unto *one effect*, and Christ in that respect be truly said to *work* both as God and as man one and the selfsame thing. Let us therefore set it down for a rule or principle so necessary as nothing more to the plain deciding of all doubts and questions about the union of natures in Christ, that of both natures there is a *co-operation* often, an *association* always, but never any mutual *participation*, whereby the properties of the one are infused into the other.

[4.] Which rule must serve for the better understanding of that which Damascene [94] hath touching cross and circulatory speeches, wherein there are attributed to God such things as belong to manhood, and to man such as properly concern the Deity of Christ Jesus, the cause whereof is the *association* of natures in one subject. A kind of mutual commutation there is whereby those concrete names, *God* and *Man*, when we speak of Christ, do take interchangeably one another's room, so that for truth of speech it skilleth not whether we say that the Son of God hath created the world, and the Son of Man by his death hath saved it, or else that the Son of Man did create, and the Son of God die to save the world.

[90] Greg. Nyss. Epist. ad Theophil. Alexandr. [contr. Apollin. t. ii. 697. Paris, 1615. Πᾶν ὅσον ἀσθενὲς τῆς φύσεώς ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπίκηρον, ἀνακραθὲν τῇ Θεότητι, ἐκεῖνο ἐγένετο, ὅπερ ἡ Θεότης ἐστί... ἡ δὲ προσληφθεῖσα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ἀπαρχὴ ὑπὸ τῆς παντοδυνάμου Θεότητος, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις εἰκόνι χρώμενος, οἷον τις σταγὼν ὄξους ἀπείρῳ πελάγει κατακραθεῖσα, ἔστι μὲν ἐν Θεότητι, οὐ μὴν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις αὐτῆς ἰδιώμασιν'... ἐν οὐδενὶ καταλαμβάνεται ἡ διαφορά· ὅπερ γὰρ ἄν τις ἴδοι τοῦ νἱοῦ, Θεότης ἐστὶ ...]

[91] Hilar. de Trin. lib. ix. [§. 3. p. 148. ed. Paris, 1605. "Mediator ipse in se ad salutem Ecclesiæ "constitutus, et illo ipso inter Deum et hominem "mediatoris sacramento utrumque unus existens, "dum ipse ex unitis in idipsum naturis, naturæ "utriusque res eadem est, ita tamen ut neutro careret in utroque, ne forte Deus esse homo nascendo desineret, et homo rursum Deus manendo "non esset. Hæc itaque humanæ beatitudinis "fides vera est, Deum et hominem prædicare, "Verbum et carnem confiteri."]

[92] Cyr. Epist. ad Nest. [ad Succensum. Epist. p. 137. D. t. v. pars ii. ed. 1638. Ὁρῶμεν ὅτι δύο φύσεις συνῆλθον ἀλλήλαις καθ' ἕνωσιν ἀδιάσπαστον ἀσυγχύτως, καὶ ἀτρέπτως· ἡ γὰρ σὰρξ σάρξ ἐστι, καὶ οὐ θεότης. εἰ καὶ γέγονε Θεοῦ σάρξ.]

[93] "Salva proprietate utriusque naturæ suscepta "est a majestate humilitas, a virtute infirmitas, ab "æternitate mortalitas." Leo Ep. ad Flav. [c. 3.]

[94] Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἀντιδόσεως. ἑκατέρας φύσεως ἀντιδιδοῦσης τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τὰ ἴδια, διὰ τὴν τῆς ὑποστάσεως ταυτότητα, καὶ τὴν εἰς ἄλληλα αὐτῶν περιχώρησιν. Damasc. de Orthod. Fid. lib. iii. c. 4. Verum est duarum in Christo naturarum alteram suas alteri proprietates impertire, enunciando videlicet, idque non in abstracto sed in concreto solum, divinas homini non humanitati, humanas non deitati sed Deo tribui. Cujus hæc est ratio, quia cum suppositum prædicationis sit ejusmodi ut utramque naturam in se contineat, sive ab una sive ab altera denominetur nihil refert.

Howbeit, as oft as we attribute to God what the manhood of Christ claimeth, or to man what his Deity hath right unto, we understand by the name of God and the name of Man neither the one nor the other nature, but the whole person of Christ, in whom both natures are. When the Apostle saith of the Jews that they crucified the Lord of Glory, and when the Son of Man being on earth affirmeth that the Son of Man was in heaven at the same instant, there is in these two speeches that mutual circulation before-mentioned [95]. In the one, there is attributed to God or the [96] Lord of Glory death, whereof divine nature is not capable; in the other ubiquity unto [97] man, which human nature admitteth not. Therefore by the Lord of Glory we must needs understand the whole person of Christ, who being Lord of Glory, was indeed crucified, but not in that nature for which he is termed the Lord of Glory. In like manner by the Son of Man the whole person of Christ must necessarily be meant, who being man upon earth, filled heaven with his glorious presence, but not according to that nature for which the title of Man is given him.

Without this caution the Fathers whose belief was sincere and their meaning most sound, shall seem in their writings one to deny what another constantly doth affirm. Theodoret disputeth with great earnestness that *God* cannot be said to suffer [98]. But he thereby meaneth Christ's *divine nature* against [99] Apollinarius, which held even Deity itself passible. Cyril on the other side against Nestorius as much contendeth, that whosoever will deny *very God* to have suffered death [1], doth forsake the faith. Which notwithstanding to hold were heresy, if the name of God in this assertion did not import as it doth the person of Christ, who being verily God suffered death, but in the flesh, and not in that substance for which the name of God is given him.

LIV. If then both natures do remain with their properties in Christ thus distinct as hath been shewed, we are for our better understanding what either nature receiveth from other, to note, that Christ is by three degrees a receiver: first, in that he is the Son of God; secondly, in that his human nature hath had the honour of union with Deity bestowed upon it; thirdly, in that by means thereof sundry eminent graces have flowed as effects from Deity into that nature which is coupled with it. On Christ therefore there is bestowed the gift of eternal generation, the gift of union, and the gift of unction.

What Christ hath obtained according to the flesh, by the union of his flesh with Deity.

[2.] By the gift of eternal generation Christ hath received of the Father one and in number the selfsame substance [2], which the Father hath of himself unreceived from any other. For every *beginning* [3] *is a Father* unto that which cometh of it; and every *offspring is a Son* unto that out of which it groweth. Seeing therefore the Father alone is originally [4] that Deity which Christ originally [5] is not, (for Christ is God by

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[95] [S. Aug. Ep. 187. 9. t. ii. 680. F. G.]

[96] 1 Cor. ii. 8.

[97] John iii. 13.

[98] [Reprehens. Capitum Cyrilli, N°. xii. t. v. pars i. p. 65, ed. Schulze. Τὰ πάθη, τοῦ παθητοῦ ἰδια. ὁ γὰρ ἀπαθὴς, παθῶν ἐστιν ὑψηλότερος. and N°. x. p. 52. Τίς τοίνυν ὁ πόνοις ἀρετῆς τελειωθεὶς, καὶ μὴ φύσει τέλειος ὑπάρχων; τίς ὁ πεῖρα μαθὼν τὴν ὑπακοὴν, καὶ ταυτὴν ἀγνοῶν πρὸ τῆς πείρας; τίς ὁ εὐλαβεία συμβίωσας, καὶ μετὰ κραυγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ δακρύων τὰς ἱκετείας προσενεγκὼν, καὶ σώζειν ἑαυτὸν οὐ δυνάμενος, ἀλλὰ τὸν δυνάμενον σώζειν προκαλῶν, καὶ τοῦ θανάτου τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν αἰτῶν; οὐκ ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος, ὁ ἀπαθὴς, ὁ ἀθάνατος, ὁ ἀσώματος, κ. τ. λ.]

[99] Θνητὴν τοῦ Υἱοῦ κατασκευάζουσι τὴν Θεότητα. Greg. Nyss. de Sectator. Apollinar. [Opp. t. iii. 262. A. Paris, 1638; et Leo.] Ep. ad Flavian. [c. 3.]

[1] [Ap. Theod. ibid. p. 64. (Cyril's 12th Anathema, exhibited at the council of Ephesus.) Εἴ τις οὐκ ὁμολογεῖ, τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγον παθόντα σαρκὶ, καὶ ἐσταυρωμένον σαρκὶ, καὶ θανάτου γευσάμενον σαρκὶ, γεγονότα τε πρωτότοκον ἐκ νεκρῶν, καθὸ ζωὴ ἐστι, καὶ ζωοποιὸς, ὡς Θεὸς, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. And p. 67. οὐκοῦν λεγέσθω πάντα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁμολογείσθω σωτὴρ ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος, μεμενηκὼς μὲν ἀπαθὴς τῇ τῆς Θεότητος φύσει, σαρκὶ δὲ παθὼν. ὡς εἶπεν ὁ Πέτρος. αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἦν ἴδιον καθ' ἕνωσιν ἀληθῆ τὸ τοῦ θανάτου γευσάμενον σῶμα. ἔπει... εἰς τὸν τίνος θάνατον βεβαπτίσμεθα; .... ἆρ' οὖν εἰς θάνατον ἀνθρώπου κοινοῦ βεβαπτίσμεθα, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύοντες, δικαιούμεθα; ἢ, ὅπερ ἐστιν ἀληθὲς, ἐνανθρωπησάντος ΘΕΟΥ, καὶ ΠΑΘΟΝΤΟΣ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν σαρκὶ, τὸν ΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ καταγγέλλομεν; Melito of Sardis, about A. D. 150, wrote, ὁ Θεὸς πέπονθεν ὑπὸ δεξίας Ἰσραηλίτιδος. Routh, Reliquiæ Sacræ, i. 116.]

[2] "Nativitas Dei non potest non eam ex qua "profecta est tenere naturam. Neque enim aliud "quam Deus subsistit qui non aliunde quam ex "Deo Deus subsistit." Hilar. de Trin. lib. v. [§. 37.] "Cum sit gloria, sempiternitate, virtute, regno, "potestate, hoc quod Pater est, omnia tamen hæc "non sine auctore sicut Pater, sed ex Patre tan- "quam Filius sine initio et æqualis habet." Ruffin. in Symb. Apost. cap. 9. [ad. calcem Cypr. Fell. p. 19.] "Filium aliunde non deduco, sed de sub- "stantia Patris,...omnem a Patre consecutum po- "testatem." Tertull. contra Prax. [c. 4.]

[3] Ephes. iii. 15. πᾶσα πατριὰ, quicquid alteri quo- "vis modo dat esse." [So the Vulgate, "Omnis "Paternitas." Tertull. contra Prax. c. 8. "Om- "nis origo parens est, et omne quod ex origine "profertur, progenies est; multo magis Sermo Dei, "qui etiam proprie nomen filii accepit."]

[4] Jac. i. 17. Pater luminum, Υἱοῦ τε καὶ Πνεύματος δηλονότι. Pachym. in Dionys. de cœl. Hierar. cap i. [ed. Corder. i. p. 10.] "Pater est principium "totius divinitatis," quia ipse a nullo est. "Non "enim habet de quo procedat, sed ab eo et Filius "est genitus et Spiritus Sanctus procedit." Aug. de Trinit. lib. iv. cap. 40. [t. viii. 829.] Hinc Christus deitatis loco nomen ubique Patris usurpat quia Pater nimirum est πηγαῖα θεότητος. [vid. Dionys. Areop. de Divinis Nominibus, c. ii. §. 7.]

[5] "Pater tota substantia est, Filius vero deriva-

being of God [6], light by issuing out of light [7],) it followeth hereupon that whatsoever Christ hath common unto him with his heavenly Father [8], the same of necessity must be *given* him, but naturally and eternally given [9], not bestowed by way of benevolence and favour, as the other gifts both are. And therefore where the Fathers give it out for a rule [10], that whatsoever Christ is said in Scripture to have *received*, the same we ought to apply only to the manhood of Christ; their assertion is true of all things which Christ hath received *by grace*, but to that which he hath received of the Father by eternal nativity or birth it reacheth not.

[3.] Touching union of Deity with manhood, it is by grace, because there can be no greater grace shewed towards man, than that God should vouchsafe to unite to man's nature the person of his only begotten Son. Because [11] "the Father loveth the Son" as man, he hath by uniting Deity with manhood, "*given* all things into his hands." [12] It hath *pleased* the Father, that in him "all fulness should dwell." [13] The "name" which he hath "above all names" is *given* him. "[14] As the Father hath life in him-"self," the "Son in himself hath life also" by the *gift* of the Father. The gift whereby God hath made Christ a fountain of life is that [15] "conjunction of the nature of God "with the nature of man" in the person of Christ, "which *gift*," (saith Christ to the woman of Samaria [16],) "if thou didst know "and *in that respect* understand *who it is* "which asketh water of thee, thou wouldest "ask of him that he might give thee living "water." The union therefore of the flesh with Deity is to *that flesh* a gift of principal grace and favour. For by virtue of this grace, man is really made God, a creature is exalted above the dignity of all creatures, and hath all creatures else under it.

[4.] This admirable union of God with man can enforce in that higher nature no alteration [17], because unto God there is nothing more natural than not to be subject to any change. Neither is it a thing impossible that the Word being made flesh should be that which it was not before as touching the manner of subsistence, and yet continue in all qualities or properties of nature the same it was, because the incarnation of the Son of God consisteth *merely in the union* of natures, which union doth add perfection to the weaker, to the nobler no alteration at all. If therefore it be demanded what the person of the Son of God hath attained by assuming manhood, surely, the whole sum of all is this, to be as we are truly, really, and naturally man, by means whereof he is made capable of meaner offices than otherwise his person could have admitted, the only gain he thereby purchased for himself was to be capable of loss and detriment for the good of others.

[5.] But may it rightly be said concerning the incarnation of Jesus Christ, that as our nature hath in no respect changed his, so from his to ours as little alteration hath ensued? The very cause of his taking upon him our nature was to change it, to better the quality, and to advance the condition thereof, although in no sort to abolish the substance which he took, nor to infuse into it the natural forces and properties of his Deity. As therefore we have shewed how the Son of God by his incarnation hath changed the manner of that personal subsistence which before was solitary, and is now in the association of flesh, no alteration thereby accruing to the nature of God; so neither are the *properties of man's nature* in the person of Christ by force and virtue of the same conjunction so much altered, as not to stay within those limits which our

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tio totius et propagatio." Tertull. contra Prax. [c. 9.]

[6] "Quod enim Deus est, ex Deo est." Hilar. de Trin. lib. v. [§. 39.] "Nihil nisi natum habet "Filius." Hilar. de Trin. lib. iv. [§. 10.]

[7] Ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης. Heb. i. 3. Ἔστιν ἀπόῤῥοια τῆς τοῦ παντοκράτορος δόξης εἰλικρινής· —ἀπαύγασμα—φωτὸς ἀϊδιου. Sap. vii. 25, 26.

[8] "Nihil in se diversum ac dissimile habent na-"tus et generans." ["Neque rursum dissimilis "esse possit natus et generans."] Hilar. de Syn. advers. Arian. [§. 22.] "In Trinitate alius atque "alius, non aliud atque aliud." Vincent. Lir. cap. 19. [in Bibl. Patr. Colon. iv. 242. B.]

[9] "Ubi auctor æternus est, ibi et nativitatis "æternitas est: quia sicut nativitas ab auctore est, "ita et ab æterno auctore æterna nativitas est." Hilar. de Trin. lib. xii. [§. 21.] "Sicut naturam "præstat Filio sine initio Generatio: ita Spiritus "Sancti præstat essentiam sine initio Processio." Aug. de Trin. lib. v. c. 15.

[10] Ὅσα λέγει ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι ἔλαβεν ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ ἐδοξάσθη, διὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα αὐτοῦ λέγει, οὐ τὴν θεότητα. Theod. fol. 42. [t. iv. pars i. 139. ex S. Athanas. t. i. pars i. 873. D. De Incarn. c. 4.] et ibid. 44. [149, 150.] ex Greg. Nazian. Orat. ii. de Fil. [t. i. 577, 588; et passim.]

[11] John iii. [35.]

[12] Ephes. i. [5;] [Col. i. 19.]

[13] Phil. ii. [9.]

[14] John v. 26.

[15] 1 John v. 20. "Hic est verus Deus et vita "æterna."

[16] John iv. 10.

[17] Ὥσπερ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κοινόν ἐστι τὸ θνητὸν, οὕτω τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος κοινὸν τὸ ἄτρεπτόν τε καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον. Theodor. Dial. Ἀτρεπτος. [Dial. i. p. 9. tom. iv. pars i.] "Periculum status sui Deo nul-"lum est." Tertull. de Carn. Chr. [c. 3.] "Ma-"jestati Filii Dei corporea nativitas nihil contulit, "nihil abstulit." Leo de Nativit. Ser. vii. [c. 2.] Μένει ὃ ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς· Θεὸς μένει καὶ τὴν ἡμῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ παρασκευάζων ὕπαρξιν. Theophil. [of Alexandria: ap. Theodor. Dial. ii. p. 153. t. iv. pars i.] "In formam servi transisse non est naturam per-"didisse Dei." Hilar. de Trin. lib. xii. [§. 6.]

substance is bordered withal; nor the *state and quality* of our substance so unaltered, but that there are in it many glorious effects proceeding from so near copulation with Deity [18]. God from us can receive nothing, we by him have obtained much. For albeit the natural properties of Deity be not communicable to man's nature, the supernatural gifts graces and effects thereof are.

The honour which our flesh hath by being the flesh of the Son of God is in many respects great. If we respect but that which is common unto us with him, the glory provided for him and his in the kingdom of heaven, his right and title thereunto even in that he is man differeth from other men's, because he is that man of whom God is himself a part. We have right to the same inheritance with Christ, but not the same right which he hath, his being such as we cannot reach, and ours such as he cannot stoop unto.

Furthermore, to be the Way, the Truth, and the Life; to be the Wisdom, Righteousness, Sanctification, Resurrection; to be the Peace of the whole world, the hope of the righteous, the Heir of all things; to be that supreme head whereunto all power both in heaven and in earth is given: these are not honours common unto Christ with other men, they are titles above the dignity and worth of any which were but a mere man, yet true of Christ even in that he is man, but man with whom Deity is personally joined, and unto whom it hath added those excellencies which make him more than worthy thereof.

Finally, sith God hath deified our nature, though not by turning it into himself, yet by making it his own inseparable habitation, we cannot now conceive how God should without man either exercise divine power [19], or receive the glory of divine praise. For man is in both an associate of Deity [20].

[6.] But to come to the grace of *unction*: did the parts of our nature, the soul and body of Christ, receive by the influence of Deity wherewith they were matched no ability of operation, no virtue or quality above nature? Surely as the sword which is made fiery doth not only cut by reason of the sharpness which simply it hath, but also burn by means of that heat which it hath from fire [21], so there is no doubt but the Deity of Christ hath enabled that nature which it took of man to do more than man in this world hath power to comprehend; forasmuch as (the bare essential properties of Deity excepted) he hath imparted unto it all things, he hath replenished it with all such perfections as the same is any way apt to receive [22], at the least according to the exigence of that economy or service for which it pleased him in love and mercy to be made man. For as the parts, degrees, and offices of that mystical administration did require which he voluntarily undertook, the beams of Deity did in operation always accordingly either restrain [23] or enlarge themselves.

[7.] From hence we may somewhat conjecture how the powers of that soul are illuminated, which being so inward unto God cannot choose but be privy unto all things which God worketh, and must therefore of necessity be endued with knowledge so far forth universal [24], though not with infinite knowledge peculiar to Deity itself. The soul of Christ that saw in this life the face of God was here through so visible presence of Deity filled with all manner graces and virtues in that unmatchable degree of perfection, for which of him we read it written, "That God with the oil of gladness "anointed him above his fellows [25]."

[8.] And as God hath in Christ unspeakably glorified the nobler, so likewise the meaner part of our nature, the very bodily substance of man. Where also that must again be remembered which we noted before concerning degrees of the influence of Deity proportionable unto his own purposes, intents and counsels. For in this respect his body which by natural condition was corruptible wanted the gift of everlasting immunity from death, passion and dissolution, till God which gave it to be slain for sin had for righteousness' sake restored it to life with certainty of endless continuance. Yea in this respect the very glorified body

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[18] [Ὃν μὲν νομίζομεν καὶ πεπείσμεθα ἀρχῆθεν εἶναι Θεὸν καὶ Υἱὸν Θεοῦ, οὗτος ὁ αὐτολόγος ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ αὐτοσοφία καὶ ἡ αὐτοαλήθεια· τὸ δὲ θνητὸν αὐτοῦ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἐν αὐτῷ ψυχὴν, τῇ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον οὐ μόνον κοινωνίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑνώσει καὶ ἀνακράσει, τὰ μεγιστά φαμεν προσειληφέναι, καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου Θεότητος κεκοινωνηκότα εἰς Θεὸν μεταβεβηκέναι. Orig. cont. Cels. iii. 41.]

[19] Μετέχει ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη τῆς θείας ἐνεργείας. Theod. [Eran. ii. p. 172. from Apollinarius.]

[20] Ἡ δεξιὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ ποιητικὴ τῶν ὄντων τῶν πάντων, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὁ Κύριος δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, αὕτη τὸν ἐνωθέντα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἀνήγαγεν ὕψος διὰ τῆς ἑνώσεως. Gregor. Nyss. apud Theod. [Dial. ii. p. 152. t. iv. pars i.] Ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως τῆς σῆς λαβὼν ἀπαρχὴν ἐκάθισεν ἐπάνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας. Chrys. in Psal. xli. [t. i. p. 614. ed. Eton. 1612.]

[21] [Compare Theodoret, Eranistes, Dial. ii. p. 116, and Appollinar. ap. Theod. ibid. 171.]

[22] Luc. ii. 47.

[23] Ἡσυχάζοντος μὲν τοῦ Λόγου ἐν τῷ πειράζεσθαι καὶ σταυροῦσθαί καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν, συγγινομένου δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐν τῷ νικᾶν καὶ ὑπομένειν καὶ χρηστεύεσθαι καὶ ἀνίστασθαι καὶ ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι. Theod. [Dial. iii. t. iv. pars i. 232.] et Iren. lib. iii. advers. Hæres. [p. 250. ed. Grabe.] Matth. xxvii. 46.

[24] Col. ii. 3.

[25] Isa. xi. 2; lxi. 1; Luke iv. 18; Acts iv. 27; Heb. i. 9; 2 Cor. i. 21; 1 John ii. 20, 27.

of Christ retained in it the scars and marks of former mortality [26].

[9.] But shall we say that in heaven his glorious body by virtue of the same cause hath now power to present itself in all places and to be every where at once present? We nothing doubt but God hath many ways above the reach of our capacities exalted that body which it hath pleased him to make his own, that body wherewith he hath saved the world, that body which hath been and is the root of eternal life, the instrument wherewith Deity worketh, the sacrifice which taketh away sin, the price which hath ransomed souls from death, the leader of the whole army of bodies that shall rise again. For though it had a beginning from us, yet God hath given it vital efficacy, heaven hath endowed it with celestial power, that virtue it hath from above, in regard whereof all the angels of heaven adore it. Notwithstanding [27] a body still it continueth, a body consubstantial with our bodies, a body of the same both nature and measure which it had on earth.

[10.] To gather therefore into one sum all that hitherto hath been spoken touching this point, there are but four things which concur to make complete the whole state of our Lord Jesus Christ: his Deity, his manhood, the conjunction of both, and the distinction of the one from the other being joined in one. Four principal heresies there are which have in those things withstood the truth: Arians by bending themselves against the Deity of Christ; Apollinarians by maiming and misinterpreting that which belongeth to his human nature; Nestorians by rending Christ asunder, and dividing him into two persons; the followers of Eutyches by confounding in his person those natures which they should distinguish. Against these there have been four most famous ancient general councils: the council of Nice to define against Arians, against Apollinarians the council of Constantinople, the council of Ephesus against Nestorians, against Eutychians the Chalcedon council. In four words, ἀληθῶς, τελέως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀσυγχύτως, *truly, perfectly, indivisibly, distinctly;* the first applied to his being God, and the second to his being Man, the third to his being of both One, and the fourth to his still continuing in that one Both: we may fully by way of abridgment comprise whatsoever antiquity hath at large handled either in declaration of Christian belief, or in refutation of the aforesaid heresies. Within the compass of which four heads, I may truly affirm, that all heresies which touch but the person of Jesus Christ, whether they have risen in these later days, or in any age heretofore, may be with great facility brought to confine themselves.

We conclude therefore that to save the world it was of necessity the Son of God should be thus incarnate, and that God should so be in Christ as hath been declared.

LV. Having thus far proceeded in speech concerning the person of Jesus Christ, his two natures, their conjunction, that which he either is or doth in respect of both, and that which the one receiveth from the other; sith God in Christ is generally the medicine which doth cure the world, and Christ in us is that receipt of the same medicine, whereby we are every one particularly cured, inasmuch as Christ's incarnation and passion can be available to no man's good which is not made partaker of Christ, neither can we participate him without his presence, we are briefly to consider how Christ is present, to the end it may thereby better appear how we are made partakers of Christ both otherwise and in the Sacraments themselves.

Of the personal presence of Christ every where, and in what sense it may be granted, he is every where present according to the flesh.

[2.] All things are in such sort divided into finite and infinite, that no one substance, nature, or quality, can be possibly capable of both. The world and all things in the world are stinted, all effects that proceed from them, all the powers and abilities whereby they work, whatsoever they do, whatsoever they may, and whatsoever they are, is limited. Which limitation of each creature is both the perfection and also the preservation thereof. Measure is that which perfecteth all things, because every thing is for some end, neither can that thing be available to any end which is not proportionable thereunto, and to proportion as well excesses as defects are opposite. Again, forasmuch as nothing doth perish but only through excess or defect of that, the due proportioned measure whereof doth give perfection, it followeth that measure is likewise the preservation of all things. Out of which premises we may conclude not only that nothing created can possibly be unlimited, or can receive any such accident, quality, or property, as may really make it infinite, (for then should it cease to be a creature,) but also that every creature's limitation is according to his own kind, and, therefore as oft as we note in them any thing above their kind, it argueth that the same is not properly theirs, but

[26] John xx. 27. [Theodoret, Eran. ii. p. 120.]

[27] Μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἀθάνατον μέν ἐστι καὶ ἄφθαρτον καὶ θείας δόξης μεστὸν, σῶμα δὲ ὅμως τὴν οἰκειαν ἔχον περιγραφήν. Theod. fol. 80. [t. iv. pars 1. p. 122. τὸ δεσποτικὸν τοιγαροῦν σῶμα ἄφθαρτον μὲν ἀνέστη, καὶ ἀπαθὲς, καὶ ἀθάνατον, καὶ τῇ θείᾳ δόξῃ δεδοξασμένον, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐπουρανίων προσκυνεῖται δυναμέων. σῶμα δὲ ὅμως ἐστι, τὴν προτέραν ἔχων περιγραφήν.]

groweth in them from a cause more powerful than they are.

[3.] Such as the substance of each thing is, such is also the presence thereof. Impossible it is that God should withdraw his presence from any thing[28], because the very substance of God is infinite. He filleth heaven and earth[29], although he take up no room in either, because his substance is immaterial, pure, and of us in this world so incomprehensible, that albeit no part of us be ever absent from him who is present[30] whole unto every particular thing, yet his presence with us we no way discern farther than only that God is present, which partly by reason and more perfectly by faith we know to be firm and certain.

[4.] Seeing therefore that presence every where is the sequel of an infinite and incomprehensible substance, (for what can be every where but that which can no where be comprehended?) to inquire whether Christ be every where is to inquire of a natural property, a property that cleaveth to the Deity of Christ. Which Deity being common unto him with none but only the Father and the Holy Ghost, it followeth that nothing of Christ which is limited, that nothing created, that neither the soul nor the body of Christ, and consequently not Christ as man or Christ according to his human nature can possibly be every where present, because those phrases of limitation and restraint do either point out the principal subject whereunto every such attribute adhereth, or else they intimate the radical cause out of which it groweth. For example, when we say that Christ as man or according to his human nature suffered death, we shew what nature was the proper subject of mortality; when we say that as God or according to his Deity he conquered death, we declare his Deity to have been the cause, by force and virtue whereof he raised himself from the grave. But neither is the manhood of Christ that subject whereunto universal presence agreeth, neither is it the cause original by force whereof his Person is enabled to be every where present. Wherefore Christ is essentially present with all things, in that he is very God, but not present with all things as man, because manhood and the parts thereof can neither be the cause nor the true subject of such presence.

[5.] Notwithstanding, somewhat more plainly to shew a true immediate reason wherefore the manhood of Christ can neither be every where present, nor cause the person of Christ so to be; we acknowledge that of St. Augustine concerning Christ most true, "In that he is personally "the Word he created all things, in that he "is naturally man he himself is created of "God[31]," and it doth not appear that any one creature hath power to be present with all creatures. Whereupon, nevertheless it will not follow that Christ cannot therefore be thus present, because he is himself a creature, forasmuch as only infinite presence is that which cannot possibly stand with the essence or being of any creature: as for presence with all things that are, sith the whole race, mass, and body of them is finite, Christ by being *a creature* is not *in that respect* excluded from possibility of presence with them. That which excludeth him therefore as man from so great largeness of presence, is only his being *man*, a creature *of this particular kind*, whereunto the God of nature hath set those bounds of restraint and limitation, beyond which to attribute unto it any thing more than a creature *of that sort* can admit, were to give it another nature, to make it a creature of some other kind than in truth it is.

[6.] Furthermore if Christ in that he is man be every where present, seeing this cometh not by the nature of manhood itself, there is no other way how it should grow but either by the grace of union with Deity, or by the grace of unction received from Deity. It hath been already sufficiently proved that by force of union the properties of both natures are imparted *to the person only* in whom they are, and not what belongeth to the one nature really conveyed or translated into the other; it hath been likewise proved that natures united in Christ continue the very same which they are where they are not united. And concerning the grace of unction, wherein are contained the gifts and virtues which Christ as man hath above men, they make him really and habitually a man more excellent than we are, they take not from him the nature and substance that we have, they cause not his soul nor body to be of another kind than ours is. Supernatural endow-

[28] Psalm cxxxix. 7, 8. [29] Jer. xxiii. 24.

[30] "Ideo Deus ubique esse dicitur, quia nulli "parti rerum absens est; ideo totus, quia non par-"ti rerum partem sui præsentem præbet, et alteri "parti alteram partem, ... sed non solum uni-"versitati creaturæ verum etiam cuilibet parti ejus "totus pariter adest." Aug. Epist. lvii. [al. 187. c. 5. t. ii. 683.]

[31] "Quod ad Verbum attinet, Creator est; quod "ad hominem, creatura [creatus] est." Aug. Ep. 57. [al. 187. c. 3. t. ii. 680.] "Deus qui semper "est et semper erat fit creatura." Leo de Nativ. [This does not appear in so many words in St. Leo's Homilies on the Nativity. Expressions equivalent to it occur almost in every page. E. g. Hom. i. c. 2. p. 13. E. ii. 2. p. 14. C. iii. 2. p. 15. C. &c. Lugd. 1533.] "Multi timore trepidant "ne Christum esse creaturam dicere compellan-"tur; nos proclamamus non esse periculum "dicere Christum esse creaturam; [quem vermem "et hominem et crucifixum et maledictionem tota "spei nostræ fiducia profitemur."] Hier. in Epist. ad Eph. c. ii. [§. 6. t. ix. 213. B.]

ments are an advancement, they are no extinguishment of that nature whereto they are given.

The substance of the body of Christ hath no presence, neither can have, but only local. It was not therefore every where seen, nor did it every where suffer death, every where it could not be entombed, it is not every where now being exalted into heaven. There is no proof in the world strong enough to enforce that Christ had a true body but by the true and natural properties of his body. Amongst which properties, definite or local presence is chief. "How "it is true of Christ (saith Tertullian) that "he died, was buried, and rose again, if "Christ had not that very flesh the nature "whereof is capable of these things, flesh "mingled with blood, supported with bones, "woven with sinews, embroidered with "veins [32]?" If his majestical body have now any such new property, by force whereof it may every where really even *in substance* present itself, or may at once be in many places, then hath the majesty of his estate extinguished the verity of his nature. "Make thou no doubt or question of it" (saith St. Augustine) "but that the man "Christ Jesus is now in that very place "from whence he shall come in the same "form and substance of flesh which he car"ried thither, and from which he hath not "taken nature, but given thereunto immortal"ity. According to this form he spreadeth "not out himself into all places. For it be"hoveth us to take great heed, lest while "we go about to maintain the glorious Dei"ty of him which is man, we leave him not "the true bodily substance of a man [33]." According to St. Augustine's opinion therefore that majestical body which we make to be every where present, doth thereby cease to have the substance of a true body.

[7.] To conclude, we hold it in regard of the fore-alleged proofs a most infallible truth that Christ as man is not every where present. There are which think it as infallibly true, that Christ is every where present as man, which peradventure in some sense may be well enough granted. His human substance in itself naturally absent from the earth, his soul and body not on earth but in heaven only. Yet because this substance is inseparably joined to that personal word which by his very divine essence is present with all things, the nature which cannot have in itself universal presence hath it *after a sort* by being *no where severed* from that which every where is present. For inasmuch as that infinite word is not divisible into parts, it could not in part but must needs be wholly incarnate, and consequently, wheresoever the Word is it hath with it manhood, else should the Word be in part or somewhere God only and not man, which is impossible. For the *Person of Christ is whole*, perfect God and perfect Man wheresoever, although the parts of his manhood being finite and his Deity infinite, we cannot say that the *whole of Christ* is simply every where, as we may say that his Deity is, and that his Person is by force of Deity. For *somewhat of the Person* of Christ is not every where in that sort, namely his manhood, the *only conjunction* whereof with Deity is extended as far as Deity, the actual *position* restrained and tied to a certain place; yet presence *by way of conjunction* is in some sort presence.

[8.] Again, as the manhood of Christ may after a sort be every where said to be present, because that Person is every where present, from whose divine substance manhood nowhere is severed: so the same universality of presence may likewise seem in another respect appliable thereunto, namely by *co-operation* with Deity, and that *in all things*. The light created of God in the beginning did first by itself illuminate the world; but after that the Sun and Moon were created, the world sithence hath *by them* always enjoyed the same. And that Deity of Christ which before our Lord's incarnation wrought all things without man, doth now work nothing wherein the nature which it hath assumed is either absent from it or idle. Christ as Man hath [34] all power both in heaven and earth given him. He hath as Man not as God only supreme dominion over quick and dead [35], for so much his ascension into heaven and his session at the right hand of God do import. The Son of God which did first humble himself by taking our flesh upon him, descended afterwards much lower, and became according to the flesh obedient so far as to suffer death, even the death of the cross, for all men, be-

[32] Tertull. de Car. Chr. [c. 5. "Natus est Dei "Filius; non pudet, quia pudendum est: et mor"tuus est Dei Filius; prorsus credibile est, quia in"eptum est: et sepultus resurrexit; certum est, quia "impossibile est. Sed hæc quomodo in illo vera "erunt, si ipse non fuit verus, si non vere habuit "in se quod figeretur, quod moreretur, quod sepe"liretur et resuscitaretur: carnem scilicet hanc, "sanguine suffusam, ossibus substructam, nervis "intextam, venis implexam?"]

[33] Aug. Epist. 57. [al. 187. c. 3. t. ii. 681. "Noli "itaque dubitare ibi nunc esse hominem Christum "Jesum, unde venturus est; et fideliter tene "Christianam confessionem, quoniam resurrexit a "mortuis, ascendit in cælum, sedet ad dextram "Patris, nec aliunde quam inde venturus est ad "vivos mortuosque judicandos. Et sic venturus "est, illa angelica voce testante, quemadmodum "ire visus est in cælum, i. e. in eadem carnis for"ma atque substantia, cui profecto immortalita"tem dedit, naturam non abstulit. Secundum "hanc formam non est putandus ubique diffusus. "Cavendum est enim, ne ita divinitatem adstrua"mus hominis ut veritatem corporis auferamus."]

[34] Matt. xxviii. 18. [35] Rom. xiv. 9.

cause such was his Father's will. The former was an humiliation of Deity, the latter an humiliation of manhood [36], for which cause there followed upon the latter an exaltation of that which was humbled; for with power he created the world, but restored it by obedience. In which obedience as according to his manhood he had glorified God on earth, so God hath glorified in heaven that nature which yielded him obedience, and hath given unto Christ even in that he is man such fulness of power over the whole world [37], that he which before fulfilled in the state of humility and patience whatsoever God did require, doth now reign in glory till the time that all things be restored [38]. He which came down from heaven and descended into the lowest parts of the earth is ascended far above all heavens [39], that sitting at the right hand of God he might from thence fill all things with the gracious and happy fruits of his saving presence. Ascension into heaven is a plain local translation of Christ according to his manhood from the lower to the higher parts of the world. Session at the right hand of God is the actual exercise of that regency and dominion wherein the manhood of Christ is joined and matched with the Deity of the Son of God. Not that his manhood was before without the possession of the same power, but because the full use thereof was suspended till that humility which had been before as a veil to hide and conceal majesty were laid aside. After his rising again from the dead, then did God set him at his right hand in heavenly places [40] far above all principality and power, and might, and domination, and every name that is named not in this world only but also in that which is to come, and hath put all things under his feet [41], and hath appointed him over all the Head to the Church which is his body, the fullness of him that filleth all in all. The sceptre of which spiritual regiment over us in this present world is at the length to be yielded up into the hands of the Father which gave it [42]; that is to say the use and exercise thereof shall cease, there being no longer on earth any militant Church to govern. This government therefore he exerciseth both as God and as man, as God by essential presence with all things, as Man by cooperation with that which essentially is present. Touching the manner how he worketh as man in all things; the principal powers of the soul of man are the will and understanding, the one of which two in Christ assenteth unto all things, and from the other nothing which Deity doth work is hid; so that by knowledge and assent the soul of Christ is present with all things which the Deity of Christ worketh.

[9.] And even the body of Christ itself, although the definite limitation thereof be most sensible, doth notwithstanding admit in some sort a kind of infinite and unlimited presence likewise. For his body being a part of that nature which whole nature is presently joined unto Deity wheresoever Deity is, it followeth that his bodily substance hath every where a presence of true conjunction with Deity. And forasmuch as it is by virtue of that conjunction made the body of the Son of God, by whom also it was made a sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, this giveth it *a presence of force and efficacy* throughout all generations of men. Albeit therefore nothing be *actually* infinite *in substance* but God only in that he is God, nevertheless as every number is infinite by possibility of addition, and every line by possibility of extension infinite, so there is no stint which can be set to the value or merit of the sacrificed body of Christ, it hath no measured certainty of limits, bounds of efficacy unto life it knoweth none, but is also itself infinite in *possibility of application.*

Which things indifferently every way considered that gracious promise of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ concerning presence with his to the very end of the world, I see no cause but that we may well and safely interpret he doth perform both as God by essential presence of Deity, and as Man in that order, sense, and meaning, which hath been shewed.

LVI. We have hitherto spoken of the Person and of the presence of Christ. Participation is that mutual inward hold which Christ hath of us and we of him, in such sort that each possesseth other by way of special interest, property, and inherent copulation. For plainer explication whereof we may from that which hath been before sufficiently proved assume to our purpose these two principles, "That every "original cause imparteth itself unto those "things which come of it;" and "whatso-"ever taketh being from any other, the "same is after a sort in that which giveth "it being."

The union or mutual participation which is between Christ and the Church of Christ in this present world.

[36] Phil. ii. 8, 9; Heb. ii. 9; Rev. v. 12.
[37] Luke xxi. 27.
[38] Acts iii. 21.
[39] Ephes. iv. 9.
[40] Ephes. i. 20—23.
[41] Psalm viii. 6; Heb. ii. 8.
[42] 1 Cor. xv. 24. [Aug. de Trinitate, i. 16. tom. viii. 759. C. "Quid ergo est, 'Cum tradiderit regnum Deo et Patri?' quasi modo non habeat regnum Deus et Pater! Sed quia omnes justos, in quibus nunc regnat ex fide viventibus Mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Jesus, perductus est ad speciem, quam visionem dicit idem Apostolus, 'facie ad faciem;' ita dictum est, 'Cum tradiderit regnum Deo et Patri,' ac si diceretur, 'Cum perduxerit credentes ad contemplationem Dei et Patris.'"]

[2.] It followeth hereupon that the Son of God being light of light, must needs be also light [43] in light. The Persons of the Godhead, by reason of the unity of their substance, do as necessarily remain one within another, as they are of necessity to be distinguished one from another, because two are the issue of one, and one the offspring of the other two, only of three one not growing out of any other. And sith they all are but one God in number, one indivisible essence or substance, their distinction cannot possibly admit separation. For how should that subsist *solitarily* by itself which hath no substance but *individually* the very same whereby others subsist with it; seeing that the multiplication of substances *in particular* is necessarily required to make those things subsist apart which have the selfsame general nature, and the Persons of that Trinity are not three particular substances to whom one *general* nature is common, but three that subsist by one substance *which itself is particular*, yet they all three have it, and their several ways of having it are that which maketh their personal distinction? The Father therefore is in the Son, and the Son in him, they both in the Spirit, and the Spirit in both them. So that the Father's offspring, which is the Son, remaineth eternally in the Father; the Father eternally also in the Son, no way severed or divided by reason of the sole and single unity of their substance. The Son in the Father as light in that light out of which it floweth without separation; the Father in the Son as light in that light which it causeth and leaveth not. And because in this respect his eternal being is of the Father, which eternal being is his life, therefore he by the Father liveth.

[3.] Again, sith all things do accordingly love their offspring as themselves are more or less contained in it, he which is thus the only begotten, must needs be in this degree the only-beloved of the Father. He therefore which is in the Father by eternal derivation of being and life from him, must needs be in him through an eternal affection of love.

[4.] His Incarnation causeth him also as man to be now in the Father, and the Father to be in him. For in that he is man, he receiveth life from the Father as from the fountain of that ever living Deity, which in the Person of the Word hath combined itself with manhood, and doth thereunto impart such life as to no other creature besides him is communicated. In which consideration likewise the love of the Father towards him is more than it can be towards any other [44], neither can any attain unto that perfection of love which he beareth towards his heavenly Father [45]. Wherefore God is not so in any, nor any so in God as Christ, whether we consider him as the personal Word of God, or as the natural Son of man.

[5.] All other things that are of God have God in them and he them in himself likewise. Yet because their substance and his wholly differeth, their coherence and communion either with him or amongst themselves is in no sort like unto that beforementioned.

God hath his influence into the very essence of all things, without which influence of Deity supporting them their utter annihilation could not choose but follow. Of him all things have both received their first being and their continuance to be that which they are. All things are therefore partakers of God, they are his offspring, his influence is in them, and the personal wisdom of God is for that very cause said to excel in nimbleness or agility, to [46] pierce into all intellectual, pure, and subtile spirits, to go through all, and to reach unto every thing which is. Otherwise, how should the same wisdom be that which supporteth, beareth up [47], and sustaineth all?

Whatsoever God doth work, the hands of all three Persons are jointly and equally in it according to *the order of that connexion* whereby they each depend upon other. And therefore albeit in that respect the Father be first, the Son next, the Spirit last, and consequently nearest unto every effect which groweth from all three, nevertheless, they all being of one essence, are likewise all of one efficacy. Dare any man unless he be ignorant altogether how inseparable the Persons of the Trinity are, persuade himself that every of them may have their sole and several possessions, or that [48] we being not partakers of all, can have fellowship with any one? The Father as Goodness, the Son as Wisdom, the Holy Ghost as Power do all concur in every particular outwardly issuing from that one only glorious Deity which they all are. For that which moveth God to work is Goodness, and that which ordereth his work is Wisdom, and that which perfecteth his work is Power. All things which God in their times and seasons hath brought forth were eternally and before all times in God, as a work unbegun is in the artificer which afterward bringeth it unto effect. Therefore whatsoever we do behold now in this present world, it was enwrapped within the bowels

[43] "In the bosom of the Father," John i. 18. "Ecce dico alium esse patrem et alium Filium; non "divisione alium sed distinctione." Tertull. contra Prax. [c. 9.] "Nec in numerum pluralem defluit in- "corporea generatio nec in divisionem cadit ubi qui "nascitur nequaquam a generante separatur." Ruffin. in Symbol. [c. 6. p. 19. ad calc. Cypr. Fell.]

[44] Luke iii. 22; John iii. 34, 35; v. 20; x. 17.
[45] John xiv. 31; xv. 10.
[46] Wisd. vii. 23.
[47] Heb. i. 3.
[48] John xiv. 23.

of divine Mercy, written in the book of eternal Wisdom, and held in the hands of omnipotent Power, the first foundations of the world being as yet unlaid.

So that all things which God hath made are in that respect the offspring of God [49], they are *in him* as effects in their highest cause, he likewise actually is *in them*, the assistance and influence of his Deity is *their life* [50].

[6.] Let hereunto *saving efficacy* be added, and it bringeth forth a special offspring amongst men, containing them to whom God hath himself given the gracious and amiable name of sons [51]. We are by nature the sons of Adam. When God created Adam he created us, and as many as are descended from Adam have in themselves the root out of which they spring. The sons of God we neither are all nor any one of us otherwise than only by grace and favour. The sons of God have God's own natural son as a second Adam [52] from heaven, whose race and progeny they are by spiritual and heavenly birth. God therefore loving eternally his Son, he must needs eternally in him have loved and preferred before all others them which are spiritually sithence descended and sprung out of him [53]. These were in God as in their Saviour, and not as in their Creator only. It was the purpose of his *saving* Goodness, his *saving* Wisdom, and his *saving* Power which inclined itself towards them.

[7.] They which thus were in God eternally by their intended admission to life, have by vocation or adoption God actually now in them, as the artificer is in the work which his hand doth presently frame. Life as all other gifts and benefits groweth originally from the Father, and cometh not to us but by the Son [54], nor by the Son to any of us in particular but through the Spirit [55]. For this cause the Apostle wisheth to the church of Corinth "The grace of our Lord "Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the "fellowship of the Holy Ghost [56]." Which three St. Peter comprehendeth in one, "The "participation of divine Nature [57]." We are therefore in God through Christ eternally according to that intent and purpose whereby we were chosen to be made his in this present world before the world itself was made, we are in God through the knowledge which is had of us, and the love which is borne towards us from everlasting. But in God we actually are no longer than only from the time of our actual adoption into the body of his true Church, into the fellowship of his children. For his Church he knoweth and loveth, so that they which are in the Church are thereby known to be in him. Our being in Christ by eternal foreknowledge saveth us not without our actual and real adoption into the fellowship of his saints in this present world. For in him we actually are by our actual incorporation into that Society which hath him for their Head [58], and doth make together with him one Body, (he and they in that respect having one name [59],) for which cause, by virtue of this mystical conjunction, we are of him and in him even as though our very flesh and bones should be made continuate with his [60]. We are in Christ because he [61] knoweth and loveth us even as parts of himself. No man actually is in him but they in whom he actually is. For "he "which hath not the Son of God hath not "life [62]." "I am the vine and you are the "branches: he which abideth in me and I "in him the same bringeth forth much "fruit;" but the branch severed from the vine withereth [63]. We are therefore adopted sons of God to eternal life by participation of the only-begotten Son of God, whose life is the well-spring and cause of ours [64].

It is too cold an interpretation, whereby some men expound our being in Christ to import nothing else, but only that the selfsame nature which maketh us to be men, is in him, and maketh him man as we are. For what man in the world is there which hath not so far forth communion with Jesus Christ? It is not this that can sustain the weight of such sentences as speak of the mystery of our coherence [65] with Jesus Christ. The Church is in Christ as Eve was in Adam. Yea by grace we are every of us in Christ and in his Church, as by nature we are in those our first parents. God made Eve of the rib of Adam. And his Church he frameth out of the very flesh, the very wounded and bleeding side of the Son of man. His body crucified and his blood shed for the life of the world, are the true elements of that heavenly being, which maketh us such as himself is of whom we come [66]. For which cause the words of Adam may be fitly the words of Christ concerning his Church, "flesh of my "flesh, and bone of my bones," a true native extract out of mine own body. So that in him even according to his manhood we according to our heavenly being are as branches in that root out of which they grow.

To all things he is life, and to men light [67],

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[49] Acts xvii. 28, 29.
[50] John i. 4, 10; Isai. xl. 26.
[51] 1 John iii. 1.
[52] 1 Cor. xv. 47.
[53] Ephes. i. 3, 4.
[54] 1 John v. 11.
[55] Rom. viii. 10.
[56] 2 Cor. xiii. 13.
[57] 2 Pet. i. 4.
[58] Col. ii. 10.
[59] 1 Cor. xii. 12.
[60] Ephes. v. 30.
[61] John xv. 9.
[62] 1 John v. 12.
[63] John xv. 5, 6.
[64] John xiv. 19; Ephes. v. 23.
[65] John xiv. 20; xv. 4.
[66] 1 Cor. xv. 48.
[67] John i. [4—9.]

as the Son of God; to the Church both life and light eternal [68] by being made the Son of Man for us, and by being in us a Saviour, whether we respect him as God, or as man. Adam is in us as an original cause of our nature, and of that corruption of nature which caused death, Christ as the cause original of restoration to life [69]; the person of Adam is not in us, but his nature, and the corruption of his nature derived into all men by propagation; Christ having Adam's nature as we have, but incorrupt, deriveth not nature but incorruption and that immediately from his own person into all that belong unto him. As therefore we are really partakers of the body of sin and death received from Adam, so except we be truly partakers of Christ, and as really possessed of his Spirit, all we speak of eternal life is but a dream.

[8.] That which quickeneth us is the Spirit of the second Adam [70], and his flesh that wherewith he quickeneth. That which in him made our nature uncorrupt, was the union of his Deity with our nature. And in that respect the sentence of death and condemnation which only taketh hold upon sinful flesh, could no way possibly extend unto him. This caused his voluntary death for others to prevail with God, and to have the force of an expiatory sacrifice. The blood of Christ as the Apostle witnesseth doth therefore take away sin, because "through the eternal Spirit he offered him-"self unto God without spot [71]." That which sanctified our nature in Christ, that which made it a sacrifice available to take away sin, is the same which quickeneth it, raised it out of the grave after death, and exalted it unto glory. Seeing therefore that Christ is in us as a quickening Spirit, the first degree of communion with Christ must needs consist in the participation of his Spirit, which Cyprian in that respect well termeth *germanissimam societatem* [72], the highest and truest society that can be between man and him which is both God and man in one.

[9.] These things St. Cyril duly considering [73], reproveth their speeches which taught that only the deity of Christ is the vine whereupon we by faith do depend as branches, and that neither his flesh nor our bodies are comprised in this resemblance. For doth any man doubt but that even from the flesh of Christ our very bodies do receive that life which shall make them glorious at the latter day, and for which they are already accounted parts of his blessed body? Our corruptible bodies could never live the life they shall live, were it not that here they are joined with his body which is incorruptible, and that his is in ours as a cause of immortality, a cause by removing through the death and merit of his own flesh that which hindered the life of ours. Christ is therefore both as God and as man that true vine whereof we both spiritually and corporally are branches. The mixture of his bodily substance with ours is a thing which the ancient Fathers disclaim [74]. Yet the mixture of his flesh with ours they speak of to signify what our very bodies through mystical conjunction [75] receive from that vital efficacy which we know to be in his; and from bodily mixtures they borrow divers similitudes rather to declare the truth, than the manner of coherence between his sacred and the sanctified bodies of saints [76].

[10.] Thus much no Christian man will deny, that when Christ sanctified his own flesh, giving as God and taking as man the Holy Ghost, he did not this for himself only but for our sakes, that the grace of sanctification and life which was first received in him might pass from him to his whole race as malediction came from Adam unto all mankind. Howbeit, because the work of

[68] John vi. 57.
[69] Heb. v. 9.
[70] 1 Cor. xv. 22. 45.
[71] Heb. ix. 14.
[72] Cypr. de Cœna Dom. c. 6. [p. 40. ad calc. ed. Fell. The tract is not St. Cyprian's, but Arnold's, of Chartres, the friend of St. Bernard, (Cave, Hist. Lit. i. 680,) and forms part of his work "De "Cardinalibus Christi Operibus." The whole passage is, "Panis iste quem Dominus discipulis por-"rigebat, non effigie sed natura mutatus, omnipo-"tentia Verbi factus est caro; et sicut in persona "Christi humanitas videbatur, et latebat divinitas; "ita sacramento visibili ineffabiliter divina se in-"fudit essentia, ut esset religioni circa sacramen-"ta devotio, et ad veritatem cujus corpus et san-"guis sacramenta sunt sincerior pateret accessus, "usque ad participationem Spiritus; non quod us-"que ad consubstantialitatem Christi, sed usque "ad societatem germanissimam ejus hæc unitas "pervenisset."]

[73] Cyril. in Joan. lib. x. cap. 13. [t. iv. 862.]
[74] "Nostra quippe et ipsius conjunctio nec mis-"cet personas nec unit substantias, sed affectus "consociat et confœderat voluntates." Cypr. de Cœn. Dom. [c. 6.]
[75] "Quomodo dicunt carnem in corruptionem "devenire et non percipere vitam, quæ a corpore "Domini et sanguine alitur?" Iren. lib. iv. advers. Hæres. c. 34. [p. 327.]
[76] "Unde considerandum est non solum σχέσει "seu conformitate affectionum, Christum in nobis "esse, verum etiam participatione naturali [id est, "reali et vera]: quemadmodum si quis igne lique-"factam ceram alii ceræ similiter liquefactæ ita "miscuerit ut unum quid ex utrisque factum vide-"atur; sic communicatione Corporis et San-"guinis Christi ipse in nobis est et nos in ip-"so." Cyril. in Joan. lib. x. cap. 13. [t. iv. 863. B. ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῦτῳ μάλιστα κατιδεῖν ἄξιον, ὡς οὐ κατὰ σχέσιν τινὰ μόνην, τὴν ἐν διαθέσει νοουμένην, ἐν ἡμῖν ἔσεσθαί φησιν ὁ Χριστὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ μέθεξιν, ἤτοι φυσικήν. Ὥσπερ γὰρ εἴ τις κηρὸν ἑτέρῳ συναναπλέξας κηρῷ, καὶ πυρὶ συγκατατήξας, ἕν τι τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἐργάζεται· οὕτω διὰ τῆς μεταλήψεως τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν ἡμῖν, ἡμεῖς δὲ αὖ πάλιν ἐν αὐτῷ συνενούμεθα.]

his Spirit to those effects is in us prevented by sin and death possessing us before, it is of necessity that as well our present sanctification unto newness of life, as the future restoration of our bodies should presuppose a participation of the grace, efficacy, merit or virtue of his body and blood, without which foundation first laid there is no place for those other operations of the Spirit of Christ to ensue. So that Christ imparteth plainly himself by degrees.

It pleaseth him in mercy to account himself incomplete and maimed without us [77]. But most assured we are that we all receive of his fulness [78], because he is in us as a moving and working cause; from which many blessed effects are really found to ensue, and that in sundry both kinds and degrees, all tending to eternal happiness. It must be confessed that of Christ, working as a Creator, and a Governor of the world by providence, all are partakers; not all partakers of that grace whereby he inhabiteth whom he saveth.

Again, as he dwelleth not by grace in all, so neither doth he equally work in all them in whom he dwelleth. "Whence is "it (saith St. Augustine [79]) that some be "holier than others are, but because God "doth dwell in some more plentifully than "in others?"

And because the divine substance of Christ is equally in all, his human substance equally distant from all, it appeareth that the participation of Christ wherein there are many degrees and differences, must needs consist in such effects as being derived from both natures of Christ really into us, are made our own, and we by having them in us are truly said to have him from whom they come, Christ also more or less to inhabit and impart himself as the graces are fewer or more, greater or smaller, which really flow into us from Christ.

Christ is whole with the whole Church, and whole with every part of the Church, as touching his Person, which can no way divide itself, or be possessed by degrees and portions. But the participation of Christ importeth, besides the presence of Christ's Person, and besides the mystical copulation thereof with the parts and members of his whole Church, a true actual influence of grace whereby the life which we live according to godliness is his [80], and from him we receive those perfections wherein our eternal happiness consisteth.

[11.] Thus we participate Christ partly by imputation, as when those things which he did and suffered for us are imputed unto us for righteousness [81]; partly by habitual and real infusion, as when grace is inwardly bestowed while we are on earth, and afterwards more fully both our souls and bodies made like unto his in glory. The first thing of his so infused into our hearts in this life is the Spirit of Christ [82] whereupon because the rest of what kind soever do all both necessarily depend and infallibly also ensue, therefore the Apostles term it sometime the seed of God [83], sometime the pledge of our heavenly inheritance [84], sometime the handsel or earnest of that which is to come [85]. From hence it is that they which belong to the mystical body of our Saviour Christ, and be in number as the stars of heaven, divided successively by reason of their mortal condition into many generations, are notwithstanding coupled every one to Christ their Head [86], and all unto every particular person amongst themselves [87], inasmuch as the same Spirit, which anointed the blessed soul of our Saviour Christ, doth so formalize, unite and actuate his whole race, as if both he and they were so many limbs compacted into one body, by being quickened all with one and the same soul.

[12.] That wherein we are partakers of Jesus Christ by imputation, agreeth equally unto all that have it. For it consisteth in such acts and deeds of his as could not have longer continuance than while they were in doing, nor at that very time belong unto any other but to him from whom they came, and therefore how men either then or before or sithence should be made partakers of them, there can be no way imagined but only by imputation. Again, a deed must either not be imputed to any, but rest altogether in him whose it is, or if at all it be imputed, they which have it by imputation must have it such as it is whole. So that degrees being neither in the personal presence of Christ, nor in the participation of those effects which are ours by imputation only, it resteth that we wholly apply them to the participation of Christ's infused grace, although even in this kind also the first beginning of life, the seed of God, the first-fruits of Christ's Spirit be without latitude. For we have hereby only the being of the Sons of God, in which number how far soever one may seem to excel another, yet touching this that all are

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77 Ephes. i. 23. "Ecclesia complementum ejus "qui implet omnia in omnibus." Τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι πληρουμένου.

78 [St. John i. 16.]

79 Aug. Epist. 57. [al. 187. c. 5. t. ii. 683. C. "Unde in omnibus sanctis sunt alii aliis sanctiores, "nisi abundantius habendo habitatorem Deum?"]

80 Gal. ii. 20.

81 Isai. liii. 5; Ephes. i. 7.

82 Rom. viii. 9; Gal. iv. 6.

83 1 John iii. 9.

84 Ephes. i. 14.

85 Rom. viii. 23.

86 1 Cor. xii. 27; Ephes. iv. 15.

87 Rom. xii. 5; Ephes. iv. 25.

sons, they are all equals, some haply better sons than the rest are, but none any more a son than another.

[13.] Thus therefore we see how the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father; how they both are in all things, and all things in them; what communion Christ hath with his Church, how his Church and every member thereof is in him by original derivation, and he personally in them by way of mystical association wrought through the gift of the Holy Ghost, which they that are his receive from him, and together with the same what benefit soever the vital force of his body and blood may yield, yea by steps and degrees they receive the complete measure of all such divine grace, as doth sanctify and save throughout, till the day of their final exaltation to a state of fellowship in glory, with him whose partakers they are now in those things that tend to glory. As for any mixture of the substance of his flesh with ours, the participation which we have of Christ includeth no such kind of gross surmise.

LVII. It greatly offendeth, that some, when they labour to shew the use of the holy Sacraments, assign unto them no end but only *to teach* the mind, by other senses, that which the Word doth teach by hearing. Whereupon, how easily neglect and careless regard of so heavenly mysteries may follow, we see in part by some experience had of those men with whom that opinion is most strong. For where the word of God may be heard, which teacheth with much more expedition and more full explication any thing we have to learn, if all the benefit we reap by sacraments be instruction, they which at all times have opportunity of using the better mean to that purpose, will surely hold the worse in less estimation. And unto infants which are not capable of instruction, who would not think it a mere superfluity that any sacrament is administered, if to administer the sacraments be but to teach receivers what God doth for them? There is of sacraments therefore undoubtedly some other more excellent and heavenly use.

The necessity of Sacraments unto the participation of Christ.

[2.] Sacraments, by reason of their mixed nature, are more diversely interpreted and disputed of than any other part of religion besides, for that in so great store of properties belonging to the selfsame thing, as every man's wit hath taken hold of some especial consideration above the rest, so they have accordingly seemed one to cross another as touching their several opinions about the necessity of sacraments, whereas in truth their disagreement is not great. For let respect be had to the duty which every communicant doth undertake, and we may well determine concerning the use of sacraments, that they serve as bonds of obedience to God, strict obligations to the mutual exercise of Christian charity, provocations to godliness, preservations from sin, memorials of the principal benefits of Christ; respect the time of their institution, and it thereby appeareth that God hath annexed them for ever unto the New Testament, as other rites were before with the old; regard the weakness which is in us, and they are warrants for the more security of our belief; compare the receivers of them with such as receive them not, and sacraments are marks of distinction to separate God's own from strangers: so that in all these respects, they are found to be most necessary.

[3.] But their chiefest force and virtue consisteth not herein so much as in that they are heavenly ceremonies, which God hath sanctified and ordained to be administered in his Church, first, as marks whereby to know when God doth impart the vital or saving grace of Christ unto all that are capable thereof[88], and secondly as means conditional which God requireth in them unto whom he imparteth grace. For sith God in himself is invisible, and cannot by us be discerned working, therefore when it seemeth good in the eyes of his heavenly wisdom, that men for some special intent and purpose should take notice of his glorious

[88] [Chr. Letter, p. 27: "Where finde you that "God ordained the sacramentes to tell us when God "giveth grace?"

Hooker, MS. note. "Are not sacraments "signes of grace given? If signes, have they not "that which they signify? If they have, are they "not intimations and declarations thereof to the "mind? And did not God ordaine them to be "*verba visibilia* as S. Augustine termeth them?" ("Quid enim sunt aliud quæque corporalia sacra-"menta, nisi quædam quasi verba visibilia, sacro-"sancta quidem verumtamen mutabilia et tempo-"ralia?" contr. Faust. xix. 16. t. viii. 321. C.) "If "it be of the essence of sacraments to be *signa* or "*indicia*, then, where you find that God ordained "them, you shall find he ordeined them to this "end.

"Again, if the thing they signify be grace, and "God the giver of that grace, in the ministry of "the sacraments, then are they ordeined to tell us "when God giveth grace, yea, and further, what "grace God doth give."

On p. 26, his note is, "The sacraments being a "matter so much debated, it seemeth strange that you "which take upon you so great care of the Church, "should never take the paines at the least for the "good of your own soul, to know that which eve-"ry shopman and prentise is now acquainted with "in this matter. You speake of sacraments as if "by the space of these thirty or fourty yeares you "had lived in some cave of the earth, and never "heard in what points the Church doth either va-"rie or agree concerning them. It were strange "that you should affect to seeme ignorant in that "whereof you have presumed to be a judg. And "yeat that you should be so raw as your wordes "make show of, I cannot persuade myself."]

presence, he giveth them some plain and sensible token whereby to know what they cannot see. For Moses to see God and live was impossible, yet Moses by fire knew where the glory of God extraordinarily was present [89]. The angel, by whom God endued the waters of the pool called Bethesda with supernatural virtue to heal, was not seen of any, yet the time of the angel's presence known by the troubled motions of the waters themselves [90]. The Apostles by fiery tongues which they saw, were admonished when the Spirit, which they could not behold, was upon them [91]. In like manner it is with us. Christ and his Holy Spirit with all their blessed effects, though entering into the soul of man we are not able to apprehend or express how, do notwithstanding give notice of the times when they use to make their access, because it pleaseth Almighty God to communicate by sensible means those blessings which are incomprehensible.

[4.] Seeing therefore that grace is a consequent of sacraments, a thing which accompanieth them as their end, a benefit which he that hath receiveth from God himself the author of sacraments, and not from any other natural or supernatural quality in them, it may be hereby both understood that sacraments are necessary, and that the manner of their necessity to life supernatural is not in all respects as food unto natural life, because they contain *in themselves* no vital force or efficacy, they are not physical but *moral instruments* of salvation, duties of service and worship, which unless we perform as the Author of grace requireth, they are unprofitable. For all receive not the grace of God which receive the sacraments of his grace. Neither is it *ordinarily* his will to bestow the grace of sacraments on any, but by the sacraments; which grace also they that receive by sacraments or with sacraments, receive it from him and not from them. For of sacraments the very same is true which Solomon's wisdom observeth in the brazen serpent [92], "He that turned towards it was not "healed by the thing he saw, but by thee, "O Saviour of all [93]."

[5.] This is therefore the necessity of sacraments. That saving grace which Christ originally is or hath for the general good of his whole Church, by sacraments he severally deriveth into every member thereof. Sacraments serve as the instruments of God to that end and purpose, moral instruments, the use whereof is in our hands, the effect in his; for the use we have his express commandment, for the effect his conditional promise: so that without our obedience to the one, there is of the other no apparent assurance, as contrariwise where the signs and sacraments of his grace are not either through contempt unreceived, or received with contempt, we are not to doubt but that they really give what they promise, and are what they signify. For we take not baptism nor the eucharist for bare *resemblances* or memorials of things absent, neither for *naked signs* and testimonies assuring us of grace received before, but (as they are indeed and in verity) for means effectual whereby God when we take the sacraments delivereth into our hands that grace available unto eternal life, which grace the sacraments represent or signify [94].

[6.] There have grown in the doctrine concerning sacraments many difficulties for want of distinct explication what kind or degree of grace doth belong unto each sacrament. For by this it hath come to pass, that the true immediate cause why Baptism, and why the Supper of our Lord is necessary, few do rightly and distinctly consider. It cannot be denied but sundry the same effects and benefits which grow unto men by the one sacrament may rightly be attributed unto the other. Yet then doth baptism challenge to itself but the inchoation of those graces, the consummation whereof dependeth on mysteries ensuing. We receive Christ Jesus in baptism once as the first beginner, in the eucharist often as being by continual degrees the finisher of our life. By baptism therefore we receive Christ Jesus, and from him that saving grace which is proper unto baptism. By the other sacrament we receive him also, imparting therein himself and that grace which the eucharist properly bestoweth. So that each sacrament having both that which is general or common, and that also which is peculiar unto itself, we may hereby gather that the participation of Christ which properly belongeth to any one sacrament, is not otherwise to be obtained but by the sacrament whereunto it is proper.

LVIII. Now even as the soul doth organ-

[89] Exod. iii. 2.

[90] John v. 4.

[91] Acts ii. 3.

[92] "Spiritus Sancti [Dei] munus est gratiam im- "plere mysterii." Ambros. in Luc. cap. iii. [lib. ii. §. 79.] "Sanctificatis elementis effectum non pro- "pria ipsorum natura præbet, sed virtus divina po- "tentius operatur." Cypr. de Chrism. [c. 2. p. 47. ed. Fell. ad calc. inter Tractat. Arnoldi Carnotensis.]

[93] Wisd. xvi. 7.

[94] "Dum homini bonum invisibile redditur, foris "ei ejusdem significatio per species visibiles adhi- "betur, ut foris excitetur et intus reparetur. In "ipsa vasis specie virtus exprimitur medicinæ." Hugo de Sacram. lib. i. [pars ix.] cap. 3. [Opp. t. iii. 560. E. Rouen, 1648.] "Si ergo vasa sunt spir- "itualis gratiæ Sacramenta, non ex suo sanant, "quia vasa ægrotum non curant, sed medicina." Idem, lib. i. [pars ix.] c. 4. [p. 561. E.]

ize the body, and give unto every member thereof that substance, quantity, and shape, which nature seeth most expedient, so the inward grace of sacraments may teach what serveth best for their outward form, a thing in no part of Christian religion, much less here to be neglected. Grace intended by sacraments was a cause of the choice, and is a reason of the fitness of the elements themselves. Furthermore, seeing that the grace which here we receive doth no way depend upon the natural force of that which we presently behold, it was of necessity that words of express declaration taken from the very mouth of our Lord himself should be added unto visible elements, that the one might infallibly teach what the other do most assuredly bring to pass.

The substance of Baptism; the rites or solemnities thereunto belonging; and that the substance thereof being kept, other things in Baptism may give place to necessity.

[2.] In writing and speaking of the blessed Sacraments we use [95] for the most part under the name of their Substance not only to comprise that whereof they outwardly and sensibly consist, but also the secret grace which they signify and exhibit. This is the reason wherefore commonly in definitions [96], whether they be framed larger to augment, or stricter to abridge the number of sacraments, we find grace expressly mentioned as their true essential form, elements as the matter whereunto that form doth adjoin itself. But if that be separated which is secret, and that considered alone which is seen, as of necessity it must in all those speeches that make distinction of sacraments from sacramental grace, the name of a sacrament in such speeches can imply no more than what the *outward substance* thereof doth comprehend. And to make complete the outward substance of a sacrament, there is required an outward form, which form sacramental elements receive from sacramental words. Hereupon it groweth, that [97] many times there are three things said to make up the substance of a sacrament, namely, the grace which is thereby offered, the element which shadoweth or signifieth grace, and the word which expresseth what is done by the element. So that whether we consider the outward by itself alone, or both the outward and inward substance of any sacrament; there are in the one respect but two essential parts, and in the other but three that concur to give sacraments their full being.

[3.] Furthermore, because definitions are to express but the most immediate and nearest parts of nature, whereas other principles farther off although not specified in defining, are notwithstanding in nature implied and presupposed, we must note that inasmuch as sacraments are actions religious and mystical, which nature they have not unless they proceed from a serious meaning, and what every man's private mind is, as we cannot know, so neither are we bound to examine, therefore always in these cases the known intent of the Church generally doth suffice, and where the contrary is not manifest [98], we may presume that he which outwardly doth the work, hath inwardly the purpose of the Church of God [99].

[4.] Concerning all other orders, rites,

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[95] "Eucharistia duabus ex rebus constat, terre-"na et cœlesti." Iren. advers. Hæres. lib. iv. cap. 34. [p. 327.] "Arcanarum rerum symbola non "nudis signis, sed signis simul et rebus constant." Helvet. Confes. Prior. Art. 20. [in Sylloge Conf. 109. Oxon. 1804.]

[96] Sacramentum est, cum res gesta visibilis longe aliud invisibile intus operatur. Isid. Etym. lib. i. [lib. vi. c. 19. "Sacramentum est in aliqua cele-"bratione, cum res gesta ita fit, ut aliquid signifi-"care intelligatur, quod sancte accipiendum est. "Sunt autem Sacramenta baptismus et chrisma, "corpus et sanguis Christi; quæ ob id Sacramen-"ta dicuntur, quia sub tegumento corporalium re-"rum, virtus divina secretius salutem eorundem "sacramentorum operatur." p. 52. A. ed. Du Breul. Colon. 1617.] "Sacramentum est, per quod sub "tegumento rerum visibilium divina virtus salutem "secretius operatur." Greg. Mag. "Sacramentum "est signum significans efficaciter effectum Dei "gratuitum." Occa. Sent. iv. d. 1. "Sacrament-"um proprie non est signum cujuslibet rei sacræ, "sed tantum rei sacræ sanctificantis homines." Tho. II. 1. q. 101, 4. et q. 102, 5. [t. xi. p. 226, 228. vid. Tab. Aur. ad calcem Thomæ Aquin. t. xviii. 243.] "Sacramentum est signum passionis "Christi, gratiæ et gloriæ: ideo est commemora-"tio præteriti, demonstratio præsentis, et prognos-"ticon futuri." Tho. iii. q. 60, 3. [t. xii. 187.] "Sacramenta sunt signa et symbola visibilia rerum "internarum et invisibilium, per quæ ceu per me-"dia Deus virtute Spiritus Sancti in nobis agit." Conf. Belg. Art. 33. [Syll. Conf. p. 313.] Item. Bohem. Conf. cap. 11. [Syntagma Confess. Gen. 1354. pars ii. p. 191.]

[97] "Sacramenta constant verbo, signis, et rebus "significatis." Confess. Helvet. Post. c. 19. [p. 76, 78, 81.]

[98] "Si aliud ministri agere intendant, puta sacris "illudere mysteriis, vel aliud quod Ecclesiæ non "consentiat, nihil agitur. Sine fide enim spiritu-"alis potestas exerceri quidem potest, sine Eccle-"siæ intentione non potest." Lancel. Inst. Jur. Can. lib. ii. Tit. ii. 5. Hoc tamen.

[99] [Chr. Letter, p. 29. "Of the intention of the "Church, they say, This is the verie dungeon of "incertaintie [Bp. Jewell, Replie to Hardinge, Art. "i. p. 34.] ... You seeme to speake otherwise "when you say, We must note, &c. Here we de-"sire to be instructed how these two opinions can "stande togither: The one which sayeth the Sa-"craments are effectuall through the institution "of Christ and his promise; the other which "tyeth it to the good meaninge of the prieste or of "the Church. Againe, the one saieth the inten-"tion of the Church is the verie dungeon of incer-"taintie, to make us doubt of our baptisme: the "other, that the Sacraments have not the nature

prayers, lessons, sermons, actions, and their circumstances whatsoever, they are to the outward substance of baptism but things accessory, which the wisdom of the Church of Christ is to order according to the exigence of that which is principal. Again, considering that such ordinances have been made to adorn the sacrament [1], not the sacrament to depend on them; seeing also that they are not of the substance of baptism, and that baptism is far more necessary than any such incident rite or solemnity ordained for the better administration thereof [2]; if the case be such as permitteth not baptism to have the decent complements of baptism, better it were to enjoy the body without his furniture, than to wait for this till the opportunity of that for which we desire it be lost. Which premises standing, it seemeth to have been no absurd collection, that in cases of necessity which will not suffer delay till baptism be administered with usual solemnities, (to speak the least,) it may be tolerably given without them, rather than any man without it should be suffered to depart this life.

LIX. They which deny that any such case of necessity can fall, in regard whereof the Church should tolerate baptism, without the decent rites and solemnities thereunto belonging, pretend that such tolerations have risen from a false interpretation which "certain men" have made of the Scriptures, grounding a necessity of external baptism upon the words of our Saviour Christ: "Unless a man be born again of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven [3]." For by "water and the Spirit," we are in that place to understand (as they imagine) no more than if the Spirit alone had been mentioned and water not spoken of. Which they think is plain, because elsewhere it is not improbable that "the Holy Ghost and fire" do but signify the Holy Ghost in operation resembling fire. Whereupon they conclude, that seeing fire in one place may be, therefore water in another place is but a metaphor, Spirit the interpretation thereof, and so the words do only mean, "That unless a man be born again of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven."

The ground in Scripture, whereupon a necessity of outward baptism hath been built.

[2.] I hold it for a most infallible rule in expositions of sacred Scripture, that where a literal construction will stand, the farthest from the letter is commonly the worst. There is nothing more dangerous than this licentious and deluding art, which changeth the meaning of words, as alchymy doth or would do the substance of metals, making of any thing what it listeth, and bringeth in the end all truth to nothing. Or howsoever such voluntary exercise of wit might be borne with otherwise, yet in places which usually serve, as this doth concerning regeneration by water and the Holy Ghost, to be alleged for grounds and principles, less is permitted.

"to be religious and misticall, without a serious "meaning, that is, the intent of the Church."

Hooker, MS. note, "He" [Bp. Jewell] "saith "not 'the intention of the Church,' but of 'a "mortall man' meaning thereby the priest. And "to the confirmation of that opinion my speech "tended, which if malice had not blinded your "eyes, is plaine enough to be seene."

The passage in Jewell is this: "Whereas he "saith, 'The priest must have intention to do that "the Church doth:' unless he be well assured of "the Church's doing herein, he cannot be sure of "his own intention, and so must he say mass "with intention to do he knoweth not what. Now "it appeareth that the Church is not yet resolved "upon one intention. For the intention of the "Church of Rome is to work the transubstantia-"tion of bread and wine: the Greek Church had "never that intention, as is plain by the council of "Florence. The intention of the Church of Rome "is to consecrate with Christ's words: the inten-"tion of the Greek Church is to consecrate with "prayers. And whether of these Churches shall "the priest follow with his intention? This is "the very dungeon of uncertainty. The heart of "man is unsearchable. If we stay upon the in-"tention of a mortal man, we may stand in doubt "of our own baptism." Reply to Harding, p. 26. ed. 1611.]

[1] Accessorium non regulat principale, sed ab eo regulatur. 42. De Regul. Jur. in Sext. lib. iii. ff. quod jussu. [This is not a quotation, but the substance of two rules, one from the canon and the other from the civil law. The first, from the Tract "De Regulis Juris," annexed to the collection technically called "Liber Sextus Decretali-"um:" col. 753. Lugd. 1572. "Accessorium "naturam sequi congruit principalis." The other, in the reference to which there appears to be a mistake from the Digest, b. L. tit. xvii. Nº. 178. "Cum principalis causa non consistat, "plerumque ne ea quidem, quæ sequuntur, locum "habent." The rule, "Quod jussu," named in Hooker's margin, is Nº. 80. It has nothing to do with this subject.]

[2] "Etsi nihil facile mutandum est ex solemni-"bus, tamen ubi æquitas evidens poscit, subveni-"endum est." L. clxxxiii. de Reg. Jur. [Dig. lib. L. tit. xvii. art. 183. in Corp. Jur. Civil. 795.]

[3] "Private baptism first rose upon a false inter-"pretation of the place of St. John, ch. iii. 5. "'Unless a man be born again of water and of "the Spirit:'" &c. "where certain do interpret "the word water, for the material and elemental "water, when as our Saviour Christ taketh water "there by a borrowed speech for the Spirit of God, "the effect whereof it shadoweth out. For even "as in another place, Matt. iii. 11, by 'fire and "the Spirit,' he meaneth nothing but the Spirit "of God, which purgeth and purifyeth as the fire "doth: so in this place by water and the Spirit, "he meaneth nothing else but the Spirit of God, "which cleanseth the filth of sin, and cooleth the "broiling heat of an unquiet conscience, as water "washeth the thing which is foul, and quencheth "the heat of the fire." T. C. lib. i. p. 143. [113. See also, Eccl. Disc. fol. 19.]

[3.] To hide the general consent of antiquity agreeing in the literal interpretation, they cunningly affirm that "certain" have taken those words as meant of material water, when they know that of all the ancient there is not one to be named that ever did otherwise either expound or allege the place than as implying external baptism. Shall that which hath always [4] received this and no other construction be now disguised with the toy of novelty? Must we needs at the only show of a critical conceit without any more deliberation, utterly condemn them of error, which will not admit that fire in the words of John is quenched with the name of the Holy Ghost, or with the name of the Spirit, water dried up in the words of Christ?

[4.] When the letter of the law hath two things plainly and expressly specified, Water, and the Spirit; Water as a duty required on our parts, the Spirit as a gift which God bestoweth; there is danger in presuming so to interpret it, as if the clause which concerneth ourselves were more than needeth. We may by such rare expositions attain perhaps in the end to be thought witty, but with ill advice.

[5.] Finally if at [5] the time when that Baptism which was meant by John came to be really and truly performed by Christ himself, we find the Apostles that had been, as we are, before baptized, new baptized with the Holy Ghost, and in this their later baptism as well a visible descent of fire [6] as a secret miraculous infusion of the Spirit; if on us he accomplish likewise the heavenly work of our new birth not with the Spirit alone but with water thereunto adjoined, sith the faithfullest expounders of his words are his own deeds, let that which his hand hath manifestly wrought declare what his speech did doubtfully utter.

LX. To this they add that as we err by following a wrong construction of the place before alleged, so our second oversight is, that we thereupon infer a necessity over rigorous and extreme [7].

What kind of necessity in outward baptism hath been gathered by the words of our Saviour Christ, and what the true necessity thereof indeed is.

The true necessity of baptism a few propositions considered will soon decide. All things which either are known Causes or set Means [8], whereby any great good is usually procured, or men delivered from grievous evil, the same we must needs confess necessary. And, if regeneration were not in this very sense a thing necessary to eternal life, would Christ himself have taught Nicodemus [9] that to see the kingdom of God is impossible, saving only for those men which are born from above?

His words following in the next sentence are a proof sufficient, that to our regeneration his Spirit is no less necessary than regeneration itself necessary unto life [10].

Thirdly, unless as the Spirit is a necessary inward cause, so Water were a necessary outward mean to our regeneration, what construction should we give unto those words wherein we are said to be new-born, and that ἐξ ὕδατος, even of Water? Why are we taught that with water God doth purify and cleanse his Church [11]? Wherefore do the Apostles of Christ term baptism a bath of regeneration [12]? What purpose had they in giving men advice to receive outward baptism, and in persuading them it did avail to remission of sins [13]?

[2.] If outward baptism were a cause in itself possessed of that power either natural or supernatural, without the present operation whereof no such effect could possibly grow, it must then follow, that seeing effects do never prevent the necessary causes out of which they spring, no man could ever receive grace before baptism: which being apparently both known and also confessed to be otherwise in many particulars, although in the rest we make not baptism a cause of grace, yet the grace which is given them with their baptism [14] doth so far forth depend on the very outward sacrament,

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[4] "Minime sunt mutanda quæ interpretationem "certam semper habuerunt." D. lib. i. tit. 3. lib. xxiii. [p. 78.]

[5] "John baptized with water, but you shall "within a few days be baptized with the Holy "Ghost." Acts. i. 5.

[6] Acts ii. 3.

[7] T. C. lib. i. p. 143. [113.] "Secondly, this "error" (of private baptism) "came by a false and "unnecessary conclusion drawn of that place. "For although the Scripture should say that none "can be saved but those which have the Spirit of "God, and are baptized with material and cle-"mental water, yet ought it to be understanded "of those which can conveniently and orderly be "brought to baptism, as the Scripture saying that "whoso doth not believe the Gospel is condemned "already, John iii. 18, meaneth this sentence of "those which can hear the Gospel and have "discretion to understand it when they hear it, "and cannot here shut under this condemnation "either those that be born deaf and so remain, or "little infants, or natural fools that have no wit to "conceive what is preached."

[8] Ἀναγκαῖον λέγεται οὗ ἄνευ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται ζην ὡς συναιτίου . καὶ ὧν ἄνευ τὸ ἀγαθὸν μὴ ἐνδέχεται ἢ εἶναι ἢ γενέσθαι, ἢ τι κακὸν ἀποβαλεῖν, ἢ στερηθῆναι. "Necessarium id dicitur sine quo ut concausa "fieri non potest ut vivatur: et ea sine quibus fieri "nequit ut bonum aut sit aut fiat; vel malum ali-"quod amoveatur, aut non adsit." Arist. Metaph. v. cap. 5.

[9] John iii. 3.

[10] Verse 5.

[11] Ephes. v. 26.

[12] Tit. iii. 5.

[13] Acts ii. 38.

[14] "Fideles salutem ex istis elementis non quæ-"runt, etiamsi in istis quærunt. . . . Non enim ista

that God will have it embraced not only as a sign or token what we receive, but also as an instrument or mean whereby we receive grace because baptism is a sacrament which God hath instituted in his Church to the end that they which receive the same might thereby be incorporated into Christ[15], and so through his most precious merit obtain as well that saving grace of imputation which taketh away all former guiltiness[16], as also that infused divine virtue of the Holy Ghost[17], which giveth to the powers of the soul their first disposition towards future newness of life.

[3.] There are that elevate too much the ordinary and immediate means of life, relying wholly upon the bare conceit of that eternal election, which notwithstanding includeth a subordination of means without which we are not actually brought to enjoy what God secretly did intend; and therefore to build upon God's election if we keep not ourselves to the ways which he hath appointed for men to walk in, is but a self-deceiving vanity. When the Apostle saw men called to the participation of Jesus Christ, after the Gospel of God embraced and the sacrament of life received, he feareth not then to put them in the number of elect saints[18], he then accounteth them delivered from death, and clean purged from all sin[19]. Till then notwithstanding their pre-ordination unto life which none could know of saving God, what were they in the Apostle's own account but children of wrath as well as others, plain aliens altogether without hope, strangers utterly without God in this present world[20]? So that by sacraments and other sensible tokens of grace we may boldly gather that he, whose mercy vouchsafeth now to bestow the means, hath also long sithence intended us that whereunto they lead. But let us never think it safe to presume of our own last end by bare conjectural collections of his first intent and purpose, the means failing that should come between. Predestination bringeth not to life, without the grace of external vocation, wherein our baptism is implied[21]. For as we are not naturally men without birth, so neither are we Christian men in the eye of the Church of God but by new birth, nor according to the manifest ordinary course of divine dispensation new-born, but by that baptism which both declareth and maketh us Christians. In which respect we justly hold it to be the door of our actual entrance into God's house, the first apparent beginning of life[22], a seal perhaps to the grace of Election, before received[23], but to our sanctification here a step that hath not any before it.

[4.] There were of the old Valentinian heretics some, which had knowledge in such admiration[24], that to it they ascribed all, and so despised the sacraments of Christ, pretending that as ignorance had made us subject to all misery, so the full redemption of the inward man, and the work of our restoration, must needs belong unto *knowledge only*. They draw very near unto this error, who fixing wholly their minds on the known necessity of faith[25] imagine that nothing but faith is necessary for the attainment of all grace. Yet is it

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"tribuunt quod per ista tribuitur." Hugo de Sacram. lib. i. cap. 3.

[15] "Susceptus a Christo Christumque suscipi-"ens non idem fit post lavacrum qui ante baptis-"mum fuit, sed corpus regenerati fit caro crucifixi." Leo Serm. xiv. de Pas. Dom. [c. 5.]

[16] "Caro abluitur ut anima emaculetur." Tertull. de Carn. Resur. [c. 8.] "Homo per aquam "baptismi licet a foris idem esse videatur, intus "tamen alter efficitur, cum peccato natus sine "peccato renascitur, prioribus perit, succedentibus "proficit, deterioribus exuitur, in meliora innova-"tur, persona tingitur et natura mutatur." Euseb. Emis. de Epiphan. Homil. iii. [in Biblioth. Patr. Colon. t. v. par. i p. 549.] Τρισσὴν γέννησιν ἡμῖν οἶδεν ὁ λόγος, τὴν ἐκ σώματος, [σωμάτων] τὴν ἐκ βαπτίσματος, τὴν ἐξ ἀναστάσεως ... Λύτη μὲν ἡ τοῦ βαπτίσματος χάρις καὶ δύναμις, οὐ κόσμου κατακλυσμὸν ὡς πάλαι, τῆς δὲ τοῦ καθ' ἕκαστον ἁμαρτίας κάθαρσιν ἔχουσα. Greg. Naz. de Sanct. Bapt. [Orat. 40, ad init.]

[17] "Undæ genitalis auxilio superioris ævi labe "detersa in expiatum pectus ac purum desuper se "lumen infudit." Cypr. ad Donat. [de Grat. Dei, c. 3.] p. 3. Οὐ μονον τῶν παλαιῶν ἁμαρτημάτων δωρεῖται τὴν ἄφεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων ἐντίθησιν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ θανάτου καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως καθίστησι κοινωνοὺς, καὶ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος δωρεᾶς τὴν μετουσίαν χαρίζεται. Theod. Epit. Divin. Dogmat. [al. Hæret. Fab. Comp. v. 18. t. iv. pars 1. p. 41.] "Baptizari est purgari a "sordibus peccatorum, et donari varia Dei gratia "ad vitam novam et innocentem." Confess. Helvet. cap. 20. [p. 82.]

[18] Eph. i. 1. [19] Eph. v. 8.

[20] Eph. ii. 3, 12. [21] Rom. viii. 30.

[22] Ἀρχή μοι ζωῆς τὸ βάπτισμα. Basil. de Spir. Sanct. cap. 10. [t. iii. 22. A.]

[23] T. C. lib. iii. p. 134. From Calvin, Inst. iv. 15. 22.] "He which is not a Christian before he "come to receive baptism, cannot be made a "Christian by baptism, which is only the seal of "the grace of God before received."

[24] Iren. contra Hæres. lib. i. c. 18, p. 91. [After describing certain ceremonies, which some of the Valentinians used by way of initiation, he proceeds, Ἄλλοι δὲ ταῦτα πάντα παραιτησάμενοι, φάσκουσι, μὴ δεῖν τὸ τῆς ἀῤῥήτου καὶ ἀοράτου δυνάμεως Μυστήριον δι' ὁρατῶν καὶ φθαρτῶν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι κτισμάτων, καὶ τῶν ἀνεννοήτων καὶ ἀσωμάτων δι' αἰσθητῶν καὶ σωματικῶν. εἶναι δὲ τελείαν ἀπολύτρωσιν, αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ ἀῤῥήτου μεγέθους· ὑπ' ἀγνοίας γὰρ ὑστερῆματος καὶ πάθους γεγονότων, διὰ γνώσεως καταλύεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀγνοίας σύστασιν· ὥστε εἶναι τὴν γνῶσιν, ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ ἔνδον ἀνθρώπου.]

[25] "Hic scelestissimi illi provocant quæstiones. "Adeo dicunt, baptismus non est necessarius "quibus fides satis est." Tertull. de Baptis. [c. 13.] "Huic nulla proderit fides, qui cum possit "non percipit sacramentum." Bern. Epist. 77. ad Hugon. [p. 1458. ed. Antwerp. 1620.]

a branch of belief that sacraments are in their place no less required than belief itself. For when our Lord and Saviour promiseth eternal life, is it any otherwise than as he promised restitution of health unto Naaman the Syrian, namely with this condition, "Wash and be clean[26]?" or, as to them which were stung of serpents, health by beholding the brazen serpent[27]. If Christ himself which giveth salvation do require baptism[28], it is not for us that look for salvation to sound and examine him, whether unbaptized men may be saved, but seriously to do that which is required[29], and religiously to fear the danger which may grow by the want thereof. Had Christ only declared his will to have all men baptized, and not acquainted us with any cause why baptism is necessary, our ignorance in the reason of that he enjoineth might perhaps have hindered somewhat the forwardness of our obedience thereunto; whereas now being taught that baptism is necessary to take away sin, how have we the fear of God in our hearts if care of delivering men's souls from sin do not move us to use all means for their baptism? Pelagius[30] which denied utterly the guilt of original sin, and *in that respect* the necessity of baptism, did notwithstanding both baptize infants, and acknowledge their baptism necessary for "entrance into the kingdom of God."

[5.] Now the law of Christ which in these considerations maketh baptism necessary, must be construed and understood according to rules of natural equity[31]. Which rules if they themselves did not follow in expounding the law of God, would they ever be able to prove that the Scripture in saying, "Whoso believeth not the Gospel "of Christ is condemned already[32]," "meaneth this sentence of those which can "hear the Gospel, and have discretion when "they hear to understand it, neither ought "it to be applied unto infants, deaf men and "fools[33]?" That which teacheth them thus to interpret the law of Christ is natural equity. And (because equity so teacheth) it is on all parts gladly confessed, that *there may be in divers cases* life by virtue of inward baptism, even where outward is not found. So that if any question be made, it is but about the bounds and limits of this possibility.

For example, to think that a man whose baptism the crown of martyrdom preventeth, doth lose in that case the happiness which so many thousands enjoy, that only have had the grace to believe, and not the honour to seal the testimony thereof with death, were almost barbarous[34].

Again, when some certain opinative men in St. Bernard's time began privately to hold that, because our Lord hath said, "Unless a man be born again of water," therefore life, without either actual baptism or martyrdom instead of baptism, cannot *possibly* be obtained at the hands of God: Bernard considering that the same equity which had moved them to think the necessity of baptism no bar against the happy estate of unbaptized martyrs is as forcible for the warrant of their salvation, in whom, although there be not the sufferings of holy martyrs, there are the virtues which sanctified those sufferings, and made them precious in God's sight, professed himself an enemy to that severity and strictness which admitteth no exception but of martyrs only[35]. "For," saith he, "if a man "desirous of baptism be suddenly cut off "by death, in whom there wanted neither "sound faith, devout hope, nor sincere "charity, (God be merciful unto me and "pardon me if I err,) but verily of such a

[26] 2 Kings v. 13.

[27] Numb. xxi. 8.

[28] Mark xvi. 16.

[29] "Institutio sacramentorum quantum ad Deum "auctorem dispensationis est; quantum vero ad "hominem obedientem necessitatis. Quoniam in "potestate Dei est præter ista hominem salvare, "sed in potestate hominis non est sine istis ad "salutem pervenire." Hugo de Sacram. lib. i. [pars 9.] cap. 5.

[30] "Pelagius asserere arrepta impietate præsumit "non propter vitam sed propter regnum cœlorum "baptismum parvulis conferendum." Euseb. Emis. Hom. v. de Pasch. [Bibl. Patr. Colon. t. v. par. 1. p. 560.]

[31] "Benignius leges interpretandæ sunt, quo "voluntas earum conservetur." L. Benign. D. de Legib. et Senatusc. [lib. i. tit. iii. 18. p. 78.]

[32] [St. John iii. 18.]

[33] T. C. lib. i. p. 143. [113.]

[34] "Quidam . . . catechumenos nobis opponunt, "siquis ex his antequam in Ecclesia baptizetur, in "confessione nominis apprehensus fuerit et oc- "cisus: an spem salutis et præmium confessionis "amittat, eo quod ex aqua prius non sit renatus? "Sciant igitur hujusmodi homines . . . . catechu- "menos illos primo integram fidem et Ecclesiæ "unitatem tenere, . . . deinde nec privari baptismi "sacramento, utpote qui baptizentur gloriosissimo "et maximo sanguinis baptismo, de quo et Domi- "nus dicebat habere se aliud baptisma baptizari. "Sanguine autem suo baptizatos et passione sanc- "tificatos consummari, et divinæ pollicitationis "gratiam consequi, declaret in Evangelio idem "Dominus, quando ad Latronem in ipsa passione "credentem et confitentem loquitur, et quod se- "cum futurus sit in paridiso pollicetur." S. Cyprian. Epist. ad Jubaianum, t. ii. 208."]

[35] Bern. Epist. 70. ad Hugonem. [Op. 1457. "Si ante exitum resipuerit, et voluerit, et peticrit "baptizari, sed mortis præoccupatus articulo forte "obtinere nequiverit, dum non desit fides recta, "spes pia, charitas sincera, propitius sit mihi "Deus, quia huic ego ob solam aquam, si defue- "rit, nequaquam omnino possum desperare salu- "tem, nec vacuam credere fidem, nec confundere "spem, nec excidere charitatem, tantum si aquam "non contemptus, sed sola, (ut dixi,) prohibeat "impossibilitas."]

"one's salvation in whom there is no other "defect besides his faultless lack of bap- "tism, despair I cannot, nor induce my "mind to think his faith void, his hope con- "founded, and his charity fallen to nothing, "only because he hath not that which not "contempt but impossibility withholdeth."

"Tell me I beseech you," saith Ambrose [36], "what there is in any of us more "than to will, and to seek for our own good. "Thy servant Valentinian, O Lord, did "both." (For Valentinian the emperor died before his purpose to receive baptism could take effect.) "And is it possible that "he which had purposely thy Spirit given "him to desire grace, should not receive "thy grace which that Spirit did desire? "Doth it move you that the outward accus- "tomed solemnities were not done? As "though converts that suffer martyrdom "before baptism did thereby forfeit their "right to the crown of eternal glory in the "kingdom of heaven. If the blood of mar- "tyrs in that case be their baptism, surely "his religious desire of baptism standeth "him in the same stead."

It[37] hath been therefore constantly held as well touching other believers as martyrs, that baptism taken away by necessity, is supplied by desire of baptism, because with equity this opinion doth best stand.

[6.] Touching infants which die unbaptized, sith they neither have the sacrament itself, nor any sense or conceit thereof, the judgment of many hath gone hard against them. But yet seeing grace is not absolutely tied unto sacraments, and besides such is the lenity of God that unto things altogether impossible he bindeth no man, but where we cannot do what is enjoined us accepteth our will to do instead of the deed itself; again, forasmuch as there is in their Christian parents and in the Church of God a presumed desire that the sacrament of baptism might be given them, yea a purpose also that it shall be given; remorse of equity hath moved divers of the school divines[38] in these considerations ingenuously to grant, that God all merciful to such as are not in themselves able to desire baptism imputeth the secret desire that others have in their behalf, and accepteth the same as theirs rather than casteth away their souls for that which no man is able to help.

And of the will of God to impart his grace unto infants without baptism, in that case the very circumstance of their natural birth may serve as a just argument, whereupon it is not to be misliked that men in charitable presumption do gather a great likelihood of their salvation, to whom the benefit of Christian parentage being given, the rest that should follow is prevented by some such casualty as man hath himself no power to avoid. For we are plainly taught of God, that the seed of faithful parentage is holy from the very birth[39]. Which albeit we may not so understand, as if the children of believing parents were without sin, or grace from baptized parents derived by

[36] [De obitu Valent. Consolatio, §. 51, 52, 53. t. ii. 1187. "Dicite mihi quid aliud in nobis est, nisi "voluntas, nisi petitio? .... Solve igitur, Pater "sancte, munus servo tuo .... solve, inquam, "servo tuo Valentiniano munus quod concupivit, "munus quod poposcit. .... Qui habuit Spiritum "tuum, quomodo non accepit gratiam tuam? "Aut, si, quia solemniter non sunt celebrata mys- "teria, hoc movet; ergo nec Martyres, si Cate- "chumeni fuerint, coronentur; non enim coro- "nantur, si non initiantur. Quod si suo abluuntur "sanguine, et hunc sua pietas abluit et voluntas."]

[37] "Qui ad tolerandam omnem pro Dei gloria "injuriam semel dicavit animum in martyrium "mihi videtur implevisse. Summi ergo meriti est "semel fixisse sententiam; atque ideo ut dixi "ratio principatum obtinet passionis, et si sors "perpetiendi deneget facultatem, pertulit tamen "cuncta quæ voluit pati." Joseph. lib. de Imper. Ration. [Quoted from Erasmus's Paraphrase, p. 825, Basil. 1540: there is nothing answering to it in the original. See Combefis' remarks on the liberties which the translator had taken with this tract, Auct. Bibl. Patr. Paris. 1672. p. 21.]

[38] Gers. Serm. in Nativit. Beatæ Mar. [consid. 2. t. iii. 133. A. "Constat Deum misericordiam "salvationis suæ non ita legibus communibus tra- "ditionis Christianæ, non ita sacramentis ipsis al- "ligasse, quin absque præjudicio legis ejusdem "possit pueros nondum natos extra uterum intus "sanctificare gratiæ suæ baptismo, vel virtute Sp. "Sancti. .... Proficit hæc consideratio ad excita- "tionem devotionis in parentibus, proficit ad levi- "andum eorum angustiam dum sine baptismo "decedit puer, quia non omnis inde spes ablata "est. Sed neque absque revelatione datur, fateor, "certitudo." Ed. Paris. 1506.] Cajetan. in 3 Tho. qu. 68. al. 9, Art. 1 and 2: [quoting the Council of Trent, Sess. vii. c. 9. "Siquis dixerit, "sine eis Sacramentis, *aut eorum voto*, per solam "fidem homines a Deo gratiam justificationis adi- "pisci; anathema sit."] Biel. in iv. Senten. d. 4. q. 2. [not. B. "Dicitur etiam Baptismus attribu- "tive, quod habet effectum simile Baptismo: et "hoc modo baptismus pœnitentiæ vel flaminis et "baptismus sanguinis dicuntur baptismi. .... Est "autem baptismus flaminis vel pœnitentiæ, con- "tritio cordis aut præparatio sufficiens ad gratiæ "infusionem .... dummodo non fuerit contemptus "baptismi, sed impossibilitas suscipiendi."] Tilman. Segeberg. de Sacr. cap. 1. [Colon. 1546. p. 43. "Parvuli ob votum parentum fidelium et fidem "Ecclesiæ. .... Ecclesiæ membris annumerantur, "et per ejus fidem credunt. Quod si repentina "mors .... rapuerit, salvantur, ut plerumque a mul- "tis non impie creditur." Which he confirms from Gerson, Caietan, and the Decretals.] Elisius Neapol. in Clyp. advers. Hæres. cap. de Baptis. [fol. 98. Venet. 1563. "Baptismus est necessarius "absolute et simpliciter omnibus cupientibus vitam "æternam; quem quidem oportet habere in actu "et in re si poterit, sin autem, sufficit in voto et "voluntate."]

[39] 1 Cor. vii. 14.

propagation, or God by covenant and promise tied to save any in mere regard of their parents' belief: yet seeing that to all professors of the name of Christ this pre-eminence above infidels is freely given, the fruit of their bodies bringeth into the world with it a present interest and right to those means wherewith the ordinance of Christ is that his Church shall be sanctified, it is not to be thought that he which as it were from heaven hath nominated and designed them unto holiness by special privilege of their very birth, will himself deprive them of regeneration and inward grace, only because necessity depriveth them of outward sacraments. In which case it were the part of charity to hope, and to make men rather partial than cruel judges, if we had not those fair apparencies which here we have.

[7.] Wherefore a necessity there is of receiving, and a necessity of administering, the sacrament of baptism; the one peradventure not so absolute as some have thought, but out of all peradventure the other more strait and narrow, than that the Church which is by office a mother unto such as crave at her hands the sacred mystery of their new birth, should repel them and see them die unsatisfied of these their ghostly desires, rather than give them their soul's rights with omission of those things that serve [40] but only for the more convenient and orderly administration thereof. For as on the one side we grant that those sentences of holy Scripture which make sacraments most necessary to eternal life are no prejudice to their salvation that want them by some inevitable necessity, and without any fault of their own; so it ought in reason to be likewise acknowledged, that forasmuch as our Lord himself maketh baptism necessary, necessary whether we respect the good received by baptism, or the testimony thereby yielded unto God of that humility and meek obedience, which reposing wholly itself on the absolute authority of his commandment, and on the truth of his heavenly promise, doubteth not but from creatures despicable in their own condition and substance to obtain grace of inestimable value, or rather not from them but from him, yet by them as by his appointed means; howsoever he by the secret ways of his own incomprehensible mercy may be thought to save without baptism, this cleareth not the Church from guiltiness of blood, if through her superfluous scrupulosity lets and impediments of less regard should cause a grace of so great moment to be withheld, wherein our merciless strictness may be our own harm, though not theirs towards whom we shew it; and we for the hardness of our hearts may perish, albeit they through God's unspeakable mercy do live. God which did not afflict that innocent, whose circumcision Moses had over long deferred [41], took revenge upon Moses himself for the injury which was done through so great neglect, giving us thereby to understand that they whom God's own mercy saveth without us are on our parts notwithstanding and as much as in us lieth even destroyed, when under unsufficient pretences we defraud them of such ordinary outward helps as we should exhibit. We have for baptism no day set as the Jews had for circumcision [42]; neither have we by the law of God but only by the Church's discretion a place thereunto appointed. Baptism therefore even in the meaning of the law of Christ belongeth unto infants capable thereof from the very instant of their birth [43]. Which if they have not howsoever, rather than lose it by being put off because the time, the place, or some such like circumstance doth not solemnly enough concur, the Church as much as in her lieth, wilfully casteth away their souls.

LXI. The ancient it may be were too severe, and made the necessity of baptism more absolute than reason would, as touching infants. But will any man say [44] that they, notwithstanding their too much rigour herein, did not in that respect sustain and

What things in baptism have been dispensed with by the Fathers respecting necessity.

[40] T. C. lib. iii. p. 218. "It is in question "whether there be any such necessity of baptism "as that for the ministering thereof the common "decent orders should be broken."

[41] Exod. iv. 24.

[42] [As was once imagined by some of the African bishops, but corrected by Cyprian and the synod of Carthage, A. D. 253. Opp. ii. 158, &c. ed. Fell."]

[43] "In omnibus obligationibus in quibus dies "non ponitur, præsenti die debetur." Lib. xiv. D. de Reg. Jur. [Dig. lib. L. tit. xvii. 14. p. 788.]

[44] T. C. lib. i. p. 146. [115.] "The authors "themselves of that error that they cannot be "saved which are not baptized, did never seek no "remedy of the mischief in women's or private "baptism." T. C. lib. iii. 219. "What plainer tes- "timony can there be than that of Augustine, "which noteth the use of the Church to have "been to come to the church with their children "in danger of death, and that when some had "opinion that their children could not be saved if "they were not baptized? (Cont. Lit. Parm. lib. "ii. c. 13.) I would also know of him what he "will answer to that which is noted of a Christian "Jew desperately sick of the palsy, that was "with his bed carried to the place of baptism, "(Socr. lib. vii. cap. 4.) What will he answer to "this, That those which were baptized in "their beds were thereby made unapt to have any "place amongst the clergy, (as they call them,) "doth it not leave a note of infamy in those which "had procured that baptism should be ministered "in private houses? (Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 43.) "What unto the emperor's decree, which upon "authority of the ancient laws and of the Apos-

tolerate defects of local or of personal solemnities belonging to the sacrament of baptism? The Apostles themselves did neither use nor appoint for baptism any certain time. The Church for general baptism heretofore made choice of two chief days in the year, the feast of Easter, and the feast of Pentecost. Which custom when certain churches in Sicily began to violate without cause, they were by Leo Bishop of Rome advised [45] rather to conform themselves to the rest of the world in things so reasonable, than to offend men's minds through needless singularity: howbeit always providing that nevertheless in apparent peril of death, danger of seige, straits of persecution, fear of shipwreck, and the like exigents, no respect of times should cause this singular defence of true safety to be denied unto any. This of Leo did but confirm that sentence which Victor had many years before given [46], extending the same exception as well unto *places* as times.

[2.] That which St. Augustine speaketh of women hasting to bring their children to the church when they saw danger, is a weak proof that *when necessity did not leave them so much time*, it was not then permitted them neither to make a church of their own home.

Which answer dischargeth likewise their example of a sick Jew carried in bed to the place of baptism, and not baptized at home in private.

The cause why such kind of baptism barred men afterwards from entering into holy orders, the reason wherefore it was objected against Novatian [47], in what respect and how far forth it did disable, may be gathered by the twelfth canon set down in the council of Neocæsarea after this manner. "A man which hath been baptized "in sickness, is not after to be ordained "priest." For it may be thought, "that such "do rather at that time, because they see "no other remedy, than of a voluntary "mind lay hold on the Christian faith, un-"less their true and sincere meaning be "made afterwards the more manifest, or "else the scarcity of others enforce the "Church to admit them [48]."

They bring in Justinian's imperial constitution, but to what purpose, seeing it only forbiddeth men to have the mysteries of God administered in their private chapels, lest under that pretence heretics should do secretly those things which were unlawful? In which consideration he therefore commandeth that if they would use those private oratories otherwise than only for their private prayers, the Bishop should appoint them a clerk whom they might entertain for that purpose. This is plain by later constitutions made in the time of Leo [49]: "It was thought good," saith the emperor, "in their judgment which have gone be-

"tles, forbiddeth that the holy things should be "administered in any man's private house? (Just. "Novel. 57." [58. p. 91. in Corp. Jur. Civ.]

[45] Leo. Epist. iv. ad Episc. Sicil. [§. 1. "Miror "vos, vel præcessores vestros, tam irrationabilem "novitatem usurpare potuisse, ut confuso temporis "ordinisque mysterio, nullam esse differentiam "crederetis inter diem, quo adoratus est Christus "a Magis, et diem quo resurrexit a mortuis. . . . §. "3. Ipsa operis qualitas docet celebrandæ gene-"raliter gratiæ eum esse legitimum diem, in quo "orta est et virtus muneris et species actionis. . . . "Additur sane huic observantiæ etiam Pentecos-"tes ex adventu Spiritus Sancti consecrata solen-"nitas, quæ de Paschatis festi pendet articulo. . . "§. 5, 6. Unde quia manifestissime patet bapti-"zandis in Ecclesia electis hæc duo tempora . . . . "esse legitima, dilectionem vestram monemus, ut "nullos alios dies huic observationi misceatis. "Quia etsi sunt alia quoque festa quibus multa in "honorem Dei reverentia debeatur, principalis ta-"men et maximi sacramenti custodienda nobis "est mysticæ rationis exceptio: non interdicta "licentia, quæ in baptismo tribuendo quolibet "tempore periclitantibus subvenitur. Ita enim ad "has duas festivitates connexas, atque sibimet cog-"natas, incolumium et in pacis securitate degen-"tium libera vota differimus, ut in mortis periculo, "in obsidionis discrimine, in persecutionis angus-"tiis, in timore naufragii, nullo tempore hoc veræ "salutis singulare remedium cuiquam denege-"mus." p. 99, 100.]

[46] Vict. Ep. ad Theoph. Alexand. in Pontif. Damas. [Conc. i. 591, 593. He fixes Easter as the proper time for baptism, adding, "Si necesse "fuerit, aut mortis periculum ingruerit, gentiles "ad fidem venientes quocunque loco vel momen-"to, ubicunque evenerit, sive in flumine, sive in "mari, sive in fontibus, tantum Christianæ con-"fessione credulitatis clarificata, baptizentur." The letter, if genuine, was written to Theophilus of Cæsarea in Palestine. Eus. E. H. v. 22. circ. A. D. 197. The book from which Hooker quotes is the "Liber Pontificalis" or "De Vitis Rom. "Pontificum;" the earlier portion of which work was formerly ascribed to Damasus; and the whole of it since to Anastasius Bibliothecarius, A. D. 870. But it seems now agreed that it is a compilation by various authors. It has been usual to insert it in editions of the Councils. Cave, H. L. i. 183.]

[47] [Cornelius in Euseb. E. H. vi. 43. p. 246. ed. Vales. says of the Bishop who ordained Novatian, Διακωλυόμενος ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ κλήρου, ἀλλὰ καὶ λαϊκῶν πολλῶν· ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐξὸν ἦν τὸν ἐπὶ κλίνης διὰ νόσον περιχυθέντα, ὥσπερ καὶ οὗτος, εἰς κλῆρον τινὰ γένεσθαι· ἠξίωσε συγχωρηθῆναί αὐτῷ τοῦτον μόνον χειροτονῆσαι.]

[48] [Ἐὰν νοσῶν τις φωτισθῇ, εἰς πρεσβύτερον ἄγεσθαι οὐ δύναται. οὐκ ἐκ προαιρέσεως γὰρ ἡ πίστις αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης· εἰ μὴ τάχα διὰ τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ σπουδὴν καὶ πίστιν, καὶ διὰ σπάνιν ἀνθρώπων. [Concil. t. i. 1484.]

[49] Leo Const. iv. [p. 240. in Corp. Jur. Civ. τοῖς μὲν ἀρχαιοτέροις ἔδοξε τὰς κατ' οἴκους ἱερατείας καὶ συνάξεις ὑπὸ μόνων ἐκτελεῖσθαι τῶν ταῖς καθολικαῖς ἐκκλησίαις διαφερόντων ἱερέων· . . . τοῦτο δ' ἔοικεν ἕνεκα γε τῆς περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἀσφαλείας εἰς ἐνθύμιον αὐτοῖς

"fore, that in private chapels none should "celebrate the holy communion but priests "belonging unto greater churches. Which "order they took as it seemeth for the cus- "tody of religion, lest men should secretly "receive from heretics, instead of the food "the bane of their souls, pollution in place "of expiation." Again [50], "Whereas a sa- "cred canon of the sixth reverend synod "requireth baptism, as others have likewise "the holy sacrifices and mysteries, to be "celebrated only in temples hallowed for "public use, and not in private oratories; "which strict decrees appear to have been "made heretofore in regard of heretics, "which entered closely into such men's "houses as favoured their opinions, whom "under colour of performing with them "such religious offices they drew from the "soundness of true religion: now that per- "verse opinions through the grace of Al- "mighty God are extinct and gone, the "cause of former restraints being taken "away, we see no reason but that private "oratories may henceforward enjoy that "liberty which to have granted them here- "tofore had not been safe."

In sum, all these things alleged are noth- ing, nor will it ever be proved while the world doth continue, but that the practice of the Church in cases of extreme necessity hath made for private baptism always more than against it.

[3.] Yea, "Baptism by any man in case "of necessity," was the voice [51] of the whole world heretofore. Neither is Tertullian, Epiphanius, Augustine, or any other of the ancient against it.

The boldness of such as pretending Te- cla's example [52], took openly upon them both baptism and all other public functions of priesthood, Tertullian severely control- leth, saying [53], "To give baptism is in "truth the bishop's right. After him it be- "longeth unto priests and deacons, but not "to them without authority from him re- "ceived. For so the honour of the Church "requireth, which being kept, preserveth "peace. Were it not in this respect the "laity might do the same, all sorts might "give even as all sorts receive. *But be- "cause emulation is the mother of schisms* [54], "let it content thee" (which art of the or- der of laymen) "to do it in necessity when "the state of time or place or person there- "unto compelleth. For then is their bold- "ness privileged that help when the cir- "cumstance of other men's dangers cra- "veth it." What he granteth generally to lay persons of the house of God, the same we cannot suppose he denieth to any sort or sex contained under that name, unless himself did restrain the limits of his own speech, especially seeing that Tertullian's rule of interpretation is elsewhere [55], "Spe- "cialties are signified under that which is "general, because they are therein com- "prehended." All which Tertullian doth deny is [56] that women may be called to bear, or publicly take upon them to execute offi-

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ἐπελθεῖν ἀποθεσπίσαι· ὡς ἂν μὴ, ὡς εἰκὸς, τινῶν ἐπι- κρυπτόντων ἀποστασίας ὀλεθρον ἐν τῳ τῆς ἱερωσύνης σχήματι, συμβαίνοι, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἁγιάζεσθαι. μᾶλλον πλεῖον βεβηλοῦσθαι τοὺς τῆς ἐκείνου μετέχοντας ἀνιέρου τελε- τῆς.]

[50] Leo Const. xv. [p. 244. *Ὁ τῆς σεβασμίας ἐκτῆς συνόδου κάνων ἱερὸς. ...τὸ θεῖον τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως λου- τρὸν ἐν τοῖς κατ' οἶκον εὐκτηρίοις τελεῖσθαι οὐ βούλετ- αι, ἀλλὰ ἐν μόνοις τοῖς πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἀνιερωμένοις ναοῖς. ... τὴν γὰρ τοιαύτην ἀκρίβειαν δοκεῖ μοι πεποιῆσ- θάι τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς συνόδου διάταγμα, διὰ τοὺς ἐν ἱερέων ὀνόματι ἀνιέρους καὶ βεβήλους τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν προσαγ- ομένους τῳ λουτρῳ ποιοῦντας· οἱ, ὡς εἰκος, ἐν τοῖς τῶν ὁμοδόξων οἴκοις ὑποδυόμενοι, οὐ τελοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ συντελ- οῦσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς προερχομένοις· ...πλὴν ἄλλα γε ἓν θεῖα χαριτι πάσης κακοδοξίας ἀπεσκορακισμένης, οὐδὲν καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος δρῶ μοι τὸ δόγμα προβαλλόμε- νον ἀναγκαῖον, εἰς τὸ κωλύειν ἐν τοῖς κατ' οἶκον εὐκτη- ρίοις τὸ λοῦτρον τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως.]*

[51] "To allow of women's baptizing is not only "contrary to the learned writers now, but also "contrary to all learned antiquity, and contrary "to the practice of the Church whilst there was "any tolerable estate. Tertull. de Verg. veland. "et lib. de Baptism. Epiphan. lib. i. et lib. ii. cont. "Hæres. St. Augustine, although he seem to al- "low of a layman's baptism in time of necessity "(Cont. Epist. Parm. lib. ii. cap. 13. [t. ix. 44.]) "yet there he mentioneth not women's baptism; "and in the fourth council of Carthage, can. 100. it "is simply without exception decreed that a wo- "man ought not to baptize." T. C. i. 145. [114.]

[52] ["Quod si, quæ Pauli perperam scripta le- "gunt, exemplum Teclæ ad licentiam mulierum "docendi tingendique defendunt: sciant in Asia "presbyterum, qui eam Scripturam construxit, "quasi titulo Pauli de suo cumulans, convictum "atque confessum id se amore Pauli fecisse, loco "discessisse." Tertull. de Baptismo, 17. See Jones's Canon of the N. T. ii. 375, 378, 380. or Grabe, Spicileg. Patrum. i. 111, 115.]

[53] Tertull. de Baptis. [c. 17. "Dandi quidem "habet jus summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus: "dehinc presbyteri et diaconi, non tamen sine "episcopi auctoritate, propter ecclesiæ honorem. "Quo salvo, salva pax est. Alioquin etiam laicis "jus est. Quod enim ex æquo accipitur ex æquo "dari potest. . . . Æmulatio, schismatum mater "est. Omnia licere dixit sanctissimus Aposto- "lus, sed non omnia expedire. Sufficiat scilicet "in necessitatibus ut utaris, sicubi aut loci aut "temporis aut personæ conditio compellit. Tunc "enim constantia succurrentis excipitur, quum "urget circumstantia periclitantis."]

[54] Tertull. [ibid.]

[55] "Subjectum est generali speciale. In ipso "significatur, quia in ipso continetur." Tertull. de veland. Virg. [c. 4.] Posito genere supponitur species. Azoar. in lib. ii. Cod. De Transact. [p. 73. Basil. 1563. The words are, "A quocunque "removetur genus ab eodem removetur et spe- "cies."]

[56] "Non permittitur mulieri in ecclesia loqui, sed "nec docere, nec tingere, nec offerre, nec ullius "virilis muneris nedum sacerdotalis officii sortem "sibi vindicare." Tertull. de veland. Virg. [c. 9.]

ces of ecclesiastical order, whereof none but men are capable.

As for Epiphanius [57], he striketh on the very self-same anvil with Tertullian.

And in necessity if St. Augustine allow as much unto laymen as Tertullian doth, his "not mentioning" of women is but a slender proof that his meaning was to exclude women.

Finally, the council of Carthage [58] likewise, although it make no express submission, may be very well presumed willing to stoop as other positive ordinances do to the countermands of necessity.

[4.] Judge therefore what the ancient would have thought if in their days it had been heard which is published in ours [59], that because "the substance of the sacra-"ment doth chiefly depend on the institu-"tion of God, which is the form and as it "were the life of the sacrament," therefore first, "if the whole institution be not kept, "it is no sacrament;" and secondly, if baptism be private his institution is broken, inasmuch as, "according to the orders which "he hath set for baptism it should be done "in the congregation," from whose ordinance in this point "we ought not to swerve, "although we know that infants should be "assuredly damned without baptism." O sir, you that would spurn thus at such as in case of so dreadful extremity should lie prostrate before your feet, you that would turn away your face from them at the hour of their most need, you that would dam up your ears and harden your heart as iron against the unresistible cries of supplicants calling upon you for mercy with terms of such invocation as that most dreadful perplexity might minister if God by miracle did open the mouths of infants to express their supposed necessity, should first imagine yourself in their case and them in yours. This done, let their supplications proceed out of your mouth, and your answer out of theirs. Would you then contentedly hear, "My son, the rites and solemnities "of baptism must be kept, we may not do "ill that good may come of it [60], neither are "souls to be delivered from eternal death "and condemnation, by breaking orders "which Christ hath set;" would you in their case yourself be shaken off with these answers, and not rather embrace enclosed with both your arms a sentence which now is no Gospel unto you, "I will have mercy "and not sacrifice [61]?"

[5.] To acknowledge Christ's institution the ground of both sacraments, I suppose no Christian man will refuse: for it giveth them their very nature, it appointeth the matter whereof they consist, the form of their administration it teacheth, and it blesseth them with that grace whereby to us they are both pledges and instruments of life. Nevertheless seeing Christ's institution containeth, besides that which maketh complete the essence or nature, other things that only are parts as it were of the furniture of sacraments, the difference between these two must unfold that which the general terms of indefinite speech would confound. If the place appointed for baptism be a part of Christ's institution, it is but his institution as Sacrifice, baptism his institution as Mercy, in this case. He which requireth both mercy and sacrifice rejecteth his own institution of sacrifice, where the offering of sacrifice would hinder mercy from being shewed. External circumstances even in the holiest and highest actions are but the "lesser things of the law [62]," whereunto those actions themselves being compared are "the greater;" and therefore as the greater are of such importance that they *must be done*, so in that extremity before supposed if our account of the lesser which are *not to be omitted*, should cause

[57] [T. C. ubi supr. "Epiphanius upbraideth "Marcion that he suffered women to baptize." (Epiph. lib. i. hæres. xlii. §. 4. δίδωσι καὶ ἐπιτροπὴν γυναιξὶ βάπτισμα διδόναι· παρ' αὐταῖς γὰρ πάντα χλεύης ἔμπλεα, καὶ οὐδὲν ἕτερον· ὅποτε καὶ τὰ μυστήρια ἐναντίον κατηχουμένων ἐπιτελεῖν τολμῶσιν.) "And in "another book he derideth them that they made "women bishops: lib. ii. ubi de Phrygib. et Pris-"cil." (Hær. xlix. §. 2. ἐπίσκοποί τε πάρ' αὐτοῖς γυναῖκες, καὶ πρεσβύτεροι γυναῖκες, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα· ὡς μηδὲν διαφέρειν φησίν· ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὔτε ἄρσεν, οὔτε θῆλυ.) "And in another book he saith, it was not "granted to the holy mother of Christ to baptize "her son: lib. iii. (Hær. lxxix. c. iii. εἰ ἱερατεύειν γυναῖκες Θεῷ προσετάσσοντο, ἢ κανονικόν τι ἐργάζεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἔδει μᾶλλον αὐτὴν τὴν Μαρίαν ἱερατείαν ἐπιτελέσαι ἐν καινῇ διαθήκῃ· ... ἀλλ' οὐδὲ βάπτισμα διδόναι πεπίστευται· ἔπει ἠδύνατο ὁ Χριστὸς μᾶλλον παρ' αὐτῆς βαπτισθῆναι, ἥπερ παρὰ Ἰωάννου. He is arguing against the heresy of the Collyridians, who had a sort of priestesses to offer meat-offerings to (or in memory of) the Virgin: and much of his argument turns upon the point that it was impossible for a woman to perform any office properly sacerdotal. Comp. §. 2, 4, 7.]

[58] [iv. Conc. Carth. A. D. 398. can. 100. "Mu-"lier baptizare non præsumat." t. ii. 1207. St. Augustine being one of the subscribers.]

[59] T. C. lib. i. p. 144. [114.] "The substance of "the sacrament dependeth chiefly of the institution "and word of God, which is the form and as it "were the life of the sacrament." Ibid. "Al-"though part of the institution be observed, yet if "the whole institution be not, it is no sacrament." T. C. lib. i. p. 146. [115.] "The orders which God "hath set are, that it should be done in the con-"gregation and by the minister." Ibid. "And I "will further say, that although the infants which "die without baptism should be assuredly dam-"ned, (which is most false,) yet ought not the or-"ders which God hath set in his Church to be "broken after this sort."

[60] "Nostro peccato alterius saluti consulere non "debemus." Aug. lib. cont. Mend. cap 17, [t. vi. 468. in substance.]

[61] Matt. ix. 13.

[62] Matt. xxiii. 23.

omission of that which is more to be accounted of, were not this our strict obedience to Christ's institution touching "mint "and cummin," a disobedience to his institution concerning love? But sith no institution of Christ hath so strictly tied baptism to public assemblies as it hath done all men unto baptism, away with these merciless and bloody sentences, let them never be found standing in the books and writings of a Christian man, they savour not of Christ nor of his most gracious and meek Spirit, but under colour of exact obedience they nourish cruelty and hardness of heart.

LXII. To leave private baptism therefore and to come unto baptism by women, which they say[63] is no more a sacrament, than any other ordinary washing or bathing of man's body; the reason whereupon they ground their opinion herein is such, as making baptism by women void, because women are no ministers in the Church of God, must needs generally annihilate the baptism of all unto whom their conceit shall apply this exception, whether it be in regard of sex, of quality, of insufficiency, or whatsoever. For if want of calling do frustrate baptism, they that baptize without calling do nothing, be they women or men.

Whether baptism by women be true baptism, good and effectual to them that receive it.

[2.] To make women teachers in the house of God were a gross absurdity, seeing the Apostle hath said, "I permit not a "woman to teach[64];" and again, "Let "your women in churches be silent[65]." Those extraordinary gifts of speaking with tongues and prophesying, which God at that time did not only bestow upon men, but on women also, made it the harder to hold them confined with private bounds. Whereupon the Apostle's ordinance was necessary against women's public admission to teach. And because when law hath begun some one thing or other well, it giveth good occasion either to draw by judicious exposition out of the very law itself, or to annex to the law by authority and jurisdiction things of like conveniency, therefore Clement extendeth this apostolic constitution to baptism[66]. "For," saith he, "if "we have denied them leave to teach, how "should any man dispense with nature and "make them ministers of holy things, see-"ing this unskilfulness is a part of the Gre-"cians' impiety, which for the service of "women goddesses have women priests?"

I somewhat marvel that men which would not willingly be thought to speak or write but with good conscience, dare hereupon openly avouch Clement for a witness[67], "That as when the Church began not only "to decline but to fall away from the sin-"cerity of religion it borrowed a number "of other profanations of the heathens, so "it borrowed this, and would needs have "women priests as the heathens had, and "that this was one occasion of bringing "baptism by women into the Church of "God." Is it not plain in their own eyes that first by an evidence which forbiddeth women to be ministers of baptism, they endeavour to shew how women were admitted unto that function in the wane and declination of Christian piety; secondly, that by an evidence rejecting the heathens, and condemning them of impiety, they would prove such affection towards heathens as ordereth the affairs of the Church by the pattern of their example; and thirdly, that out of an evidence which nameth the heathens as being in some part a reason why the Church had no women priests, they gather the heathens to have been one of the first occasions why it had? So that throughout every branch of this testimony their issue is *yea*, and their evidence directly *no*.

[3.] But to women's baptism in private

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[63] T. C. lib. i. p. 144. [114.] "On this point, "whether he be a minister or no, dependeth not "only the dignity but also the being of the sacra-"ment. So that I take the baptism of women to "be no more the holy Sacrament of Baptism than "any other daily or ordinary washing of the "child." [That which gave occasion to the writers of the Admonition to insert baptism by women in their list of things found in the Prayer Book contrary to God's word, (ap. Whitg. Def. 503.) was the rubric which on this matter stood as follows in Queen Elizabeth's time: "They "(the pastors and curates) shall warn the people, "that without great cause and necessity, they "baptize not children at home in their houses:" which was altered at the Hampton Court conference in 1603-4 to "they procure not their chil-"dren to be baptized at home." Again, the old rubric directed, "Let them that be present call "upon God for His grace, and say the Lord's "Prayer, if the time will suffice. And then one "of them shall name the child, and dip him in the "water, or pour water upon him," &c. This was altered to, "let the Minister of the parish, (or . . . "any other lawful minister . . .) call upon God, "&c. And then . . . the minister shall pour wa-"ter upon it," &c. See Barlow's account of the Conference at Hampton Court, in the Phœnix, 1, 139, &c. ed. 1707; Strype, Whitg. ii. 494; iii. 402; Wheatly on the Common Prayer, p. 370—372, Oxf. 1810. Whitgift (Def. 793.) questions both the construction of the old rubric, and the practice in his time.]

[64] 1 Tim. ii. 12.

[65] 1. Cor. xiv. 34.

[66] Clem. Const. Apostol. lib. iii. cap. 9. [Περὶ δὲ τοῦ γυναῖκας βαπτίζειν, γνωρίζομεν ὑμῖν, ὅτι κίνδυνος οὐ μικρὸς ταῖς τοῦτο ἐπιχειρούσαις· διὸ οὐ συμβουλεύομεν· ἐπισφαλὲς γάρ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ παράνομον καὶ ἀσεβές, . . . εἰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς προλαβοῦσι διδάσκειν αὐταῖς οὐκ ἐπετρέψαμέν, πῶς ἱερατεῦσαι ταύταις παρὰ φύσιν τις συγχωρήσει; τοῦτο γὰρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀθεότητος τὸ ἀγνόημα, θηλείαις θεαῖς ἱερείας χειροτονεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ τῆς Χριστοῦ διατάξεως.]

[67] T. C. lib. i. p. 144. [113.]

by occasion of urgent necessity, the reasons that only concern ordinary baptism in public are no just prejudice, neither can we by force thereof disprove the practice of those churches which (necessity requiring) allow baptism in private to be administered by women. We may not from laws that prohibit any thing with restraint conclude absolute and unlimited prohibitions. Although we deny not but they which utterly forbid such baptism may have perhaps wherewith to justify their orders against it. For even things lawful [68] are well prohibited, when there is fear lest they make the way to unlawful more easy. And it may be the liberty of baptism by women at such times doth sometimes embolden the rasher sort to do it where no such necessity is [69].

[4.] But whether of permission besides law, or in presumption against law, they do it, is it thereby altogether frustrate, void, and as though it were never given?

They which have not at the first their right baptism must of necessity be rebaptized, because the law of Christ tieth all men to receive baptism. Iteration of baptism once given hath been always thought a manifest contempt of that ancient apostolic aphorism, "One Lord, one Faith, one "Baptism [70]," baptism not only one inasmuch as it hath every where the same substance and offereth unto all men the same grace, but one also for that it ought not to be received by any one man above once. We serve that Lord which is but one, because no other can be joined with him: we embrace that Faith which is but one, because it admitteth no innovation: that Baptism we receive which is but one, because it cannot be received often. For how should we practise iteration of baptism, and yet teach that we are by baptism born anew, that by baptism we are admitted into the heavenly society of saints, that those things be really and effectually done by baptism which are no more possible to be often done than a man can naturally be often born [71], or civilly be often adopted into any one's stock and family? This also is the cause why they that present us unto baptism are entitled for ever after our parents in God, and the reason why there we receive new names in token that by baptism we are made new creatures. As Christ hath therefore died and risen from the dead but once, so the sacrament which both extinguisheth in him our former sin and beginneth in us a new condition of life, is by one only actual administration for ever available, according to that in the Nicene Creed, "I believe one baptism for re-"mission of sins."

[5.] And because second baptism was ever abhorred [72] in the Church of God as a kind of incestuous birth, they that iterate baptism are driven under some pretence or other to make the former baptism void. Tertullian the first that proposed to the Church [73],

[68] Licita prohibentur, ne si permitterentur eorum occasione perveniatur ad illicita. L. neque tamen. Just. de Asuth. Tut. l. Officium. D. de rei Vind. [The places referred to apparently are, Just. Inst. 1. 21. De Authoritate Tutorum, §. 1. "Neque "tamen hereditatem adire," &c. et Dig. vi. 1. 9. But the connection of these places with the subject matter of the text is not clear. The references perhaps have strayed from their proper place. In Digest. i. 18. 6. t. i. p. 46, ed. Lugd. 1552, the following gloss occurs, "Prætextu liciti, non "debet committi illicitum."]

[69] [Bishop Cooper. quoted by the author of "M. "Some laid out in his colours," p. 66, says, "As "touching the baptism by midwives, I can assure "you that the Church of England, or any that I "know of in place of government thereof, doth not "maintain either the baptism of midwives as a "thing tolerable in the Church, or else the con-"demnation of those children that depart this "world unbaptized, but doth account them both "erroneous, and not according to the word of God. "for in the convocation the matter was debated "amongst us, wherein some of those persons were "present, to whom the drawing of the book was "permitted: who protested that neither the order "of the book did allow any such thing, neither "that it was any part of their meaning to approve "the same. But for so much as baptizing by wo-"men hath been aforetime commonly used, and "now also of rashness by some is done, the book "only taketh order and provideth, that if the child "be baptized by the midwife rebaptizing be not "admitted." Bridges, Defence, p. 576. "Concern-"ing 'permitting the administration of baptism "(in this light of the Gospel) to women,' (be it "spoken with the reverence of our brethren) it is "most untrue. When as it is not only given cus-"tomarily in the open charge of every visitation, "whether any such thing be done by them, as in "the time of the popish darkness was used: but "also if any such thing have happened, and be "found out, the parties that so have done are "openly punished for the same."]

[70] Ephes. iv. 5.

[71] "Una est nativitas de terra, alia de cœlo; "una de carne, alia de Spiritu; una de æterni-"tate, alia de mortalitate; una de masculo et "fœmina, alia de Deo et Ecclesia. Sed ipsæ duæ "singulares sunt. Quo modo enim uterus non "potest repeti, sic nec baptismus iterari." Prosp. Senten. 331. "Eja fratres lacteum genitalis fon-"tis ad laticem convolate ut semper vobis aqua "sufficiat, hoc ante omnia scientes, quia hanc nec "effundere licet nec rursus haurire." Zeno. Invit. ad Font. [i. p. 117. t. iii. Biblioth. Patr. Colon.]

[72] August. de Bapt. cont. Don. lib. ii. cap. 14. [t. ix. 107. A. "Quid sit perniciosius, utrum om-"nino non baptizari, an rebaptizari, judicare diffi-"cile est. Video quidem quid amplius homines "detestentur atque horreant."]

[73] Tert. de Bapt. [c. 15. "Circa hæreticos sane "quid custodiendum sit, digne quis retractet: ad "nos enim editum est. Hæretici autem nullum "habent consortium nostræ disciplinæ, quos extra-"neos utique testatur ipsa ademptio communica-"tionis. Non debeo in illis cognoscere quod mihi "est præceptum, quia non idem Deus est nobis et

Agrippinus [74] the first in the Church that accepted, and against the use of the Church Novatian the first that publicly began to practise rebaptization, did it therefore upon these two grounds, a true persuasion that baptism is necessary, and a false that the baptism which others administered was no baptism. Novatianus' conceit was that none can administer true baptism but the true Church of Jesus Christ, that he and his followers alone were the Church, and for the rest he accounted them wicked and profane persons, such as by baptism could cleanse no man, unless they first did purify themselves, and reform the faults wherewith he charged them. At which time St. Cyprian [75] with the greatest part of African bishops, because they likewise thought that none but only the true Church of God can baptize, and were of nothing more certainly persuaded than that heretics are as rotten branches cut off from the life and body of the true Church, gathered hereby that the Church of God both may with good consideration and ought to reverse that baptism which is given by heretics. These held and practised their own opinion, yet with great protestations often made that they neither loved a whit the less, nor thought in any respect the worse of them that were of a contrary mind. In requital of which ingenuous moderation the rest that withstood them did it in peaceable sort with very good regard had of them as of men in error but not in heresy.

[6.] The bishop of Rome against their novelties upheld as beseemed him the ancient and true apostolic customs [76], till they which unadvisedly before had erred became in a manner all reconciled friends unto truth [77], and saw that heresy in the ministers of baptism could no way evacuate the force thereof; such heresy alone excepted [78], as by reason of unsoundness in the highest articles of Christian faith, presumed to change, and by changing to maim the substance, the form of baptism. In which respect the Church did neither simply disannul, nor absolutely ratify baptism by heretics. For the baptism which Novatianists gave stood firm, whereas they whom Samosatenians had baptized were rebaptized [79]. It was likewise ordered in the council of Arles [80], that if any Arian did reconcile himself to the Church they should admit him without new baptism, unless by examination they found him not baptized in the name of the Trinity.

Dionysius bishop of Alexandria maketh report [81] how there lived under him a man

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"illis, nec unus Christus, id est idem. Ideoque "nec baptismus unus, quia non idem. Quem "quum rite non habeant, sine dubio non habent."]

74 Cypr. Epist. 71. [t. ii. p. 196. "Sciamus, re-"missam peccatorum non nisi in Ecclesia dari "posse, nec posse adversarios Christi quicquam "sibi circa gratiam ejus vindicare. Quod quidem "et Agrippinus, bonæ memoriæ vir, cum cæteris "coepiscopis suis, qui illo tempore in provincia "Africa et Numidia Ecclesiam Domini guberna-"bant, statuit, et librato consilii communis exam-"ine firmavit."]

75 Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 2, 3. Cypr. Epist. 70—76.

76 Ὁ γε Στέφανος μὴ δεῖν τι νεωτέρου παρὰ τὴν κρατήσασαν ἀρχῆθεν παράδοσιν ἐπικαινοτομεῖν οἰόμενος, ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ διηγανάκτει. Euseb. E. H. vii. 3.]

77 "Illi ipsi episcopi qui rebaptizandos hæreti-"cos cum Cypriano statuerant ad antiquam con-"suetudinem revoluti novum emisere decretum." Hieron. cont. Lucifer. [ad. fin.] Vide et August. contr. Crescon. lib. iii. cap. ii, iii. [t. ix. 435—437,] et Epist. 48. [t. ii. 245—249.]

78 "Dixisti fieri non posse ut in falso baptismate "inquinatus abluat, immundus emundet, supplan-"tator erigat, perditus liberet, reus veniam tribuat, "damnatus absolvat. Bene hæc omnia poterunt "ad solos hæreticos pertinere, qui [quia] falsave-"runt symbolum, dum alter dixerit duos Deos cum "Deus unus sit, alter Patrem vult in Persona Filii "cognosci, alter carnem subducens Filio Dei per "quam Deo reconciliatus est mundus: et cæteri "hujusmodi, qui a sacramentis catholicis alieni "noscuntur." Optat. lib. i. [c. 10. p. 12. Paris, 1679.]

79 Synod. Nicæn. can. 19. [περὶ τῶν Παυλιανιστῶν, εἶτα προσφυγόντων τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὅρος ἐκτεθεῖται ἀναβαπτίζεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐξάπαντος. Item can. 8: περὶ τῶν ὀνομαζόντων μὲν ἑαυτοὺς Καθαρούς ποτε, προσερχομένων δὲ τῇ καθολικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ, ὥστε χειροθετουμένους αὐτοὺς μένειν οὕτως ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ. Ap Routh, Script. Ecclesiast. Opusc. p. 366, 359.]

80 Synod. i. Arelat. can. 8. ["De Afris, quod "propria lege utuntur, ut rebaptizent; placuit ut "si ad Ecclesiam aliquis de hæresi venerit, inter-"rogent eum symbolum; et si perviderint eum in "Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto esse baptizatum, "manus ei tantum imponatur, ut accipiat Spirit-"um sanctum. Quod si interrogatus non respon-"derit hanc Trinitatem, baptizetur." Routh, Rel Sac. iv. 91.]

81 Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 9. [Quoted also by T. C. iii. 135, to shew that the presumed invalidity of baptism in any case does not imply a necessity of rebaptization. Ὅντως, ἀδελφε, συμβουλῆς δέομαι, καὶ γνωμὴν αἰτῶ παρὰ σοῦ, τοιούτου τινός μοι προσέλθοντος πράγματος, δεδίως μὴ ἄρα σφάλλωμαι. τῶν γὰρ συναγομένων ἀδελφῶν πίστος. νομιζόμενος ἀρχαῖος καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐμῆς χειροτονίας... τοῖς ὑπόγυων βαπτιζομένοις παρατύχων, καὶ τῶν ἐπερωτήσεων καὶ ἀποκρίσεων ἐπακούσας, προσῆλθε μοι κλαίων καὶ καταθρηνῶν ἑαυτὸν, καὶ πίπτων πρὸ τῶν πόδων μου ἐξομολογούμενος μὲν καὶ ἐξομνύμενος τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ παρὰ τοῖς αἱρετικοῖς βεβάπτιστο, μὴ τοιοῦτον εἶναι, μηδὲ ὅλως ἔχειν τινὰ πρὸς τοῦτο κοινωνίαν· ἀσεβείας γὰρ ἐκεῖνο καὶ βλασφημιῶν πεπλήρωσθαι· λέγων δὲ πανὺ τι τὴν ψυχὴν νῦν κατανένυχθαι... καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δεόμενος τῆς εἰλικρινεστάτης ταύτης καθάρσεως καὶ παραδοχῆς καὶ χάριτος τυχεῖν· ὅπερ ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησα ποιῆσαι, φήσας αὐτάρκη τὴν πολυχρονίαν αὐτῷ κοινωνίαν εἰς τοῦτο γεγονέναι. θαρσεῖν δὲ ἐκέλευον, καὶ μετὰ βεβαίας πίστεως καὶ ἀγαθῆς συνειδήσεως τῇ μετοχῇ τῶν ἁγίων προσιέναι· ὁ δὲ οὔτε πενθῶν παύεται, πέφρικέ τε τῇ τραπέζῃ προσιέναι, καὶ μόλις παρακαλούμενος συνεστάντα ταῖς προσευχαῖς ἀνέχεται.]

of good reputation and of very ancient continuance in that church, who being present at the rites of baptism, and observing with better consideration than ever before what was there done, came and with weeping submission craved of his bishop not to deny him baptism, the due of all which profess Christ, seeing it had been so long sithence his evil hap to be deceived by the fraud of heretics, and at their hands (which till now he never thoroughly and duly weighed) to take a baptism full fraught with blasphemous impieties, a baptism in nothing like unto that which the true Church of Christ useth. The bishop greatly moved thereat, yet durst not adventure to rebaptize, but did the best he could to put him in good comfort, using much persuasion with him not to trouble himself with things which were past and gone, nor after so long continuance in the fellowship of God's people to call now in question his first entrance. The poor man that saw himself in this sort answered but not satisfied, spent afterwards his life in continual perplexity, whereof the bishop remained fearful to give release: perhaps too fearful, if the baptism were such as his own declaration importeth. For that the substance whereof was rotten at the very first, is never by tract of time able to recover soundness. And where true baptism was not before given, the case of rebaptization is clear.

[7.] But by this it appeareth that baptism is not void in regard of heresy, and therefore much less through any *other moral* defect in the minister thereof. Under which second pretence Donatists notwithstanding took upon them to make frustrate the Church's baptism, and themselves to rebaptize their own fry. For whereas some forty years after the martyrdom of blessed Cyprian the emperor Dioclesian began to [82] persecute the Church of Christ, and for the speedier abolishment of their religion to burn up their sacred books, there were in the Church itself *Traditors* content to deliver up the books of God by composition, to the end their own lives might be spared. Which men growing thereby odious to the rest whose constancy was greater, it fortuned that after, when one Cæcilian was ordained bishop in the church of Carthage, whom others endeavoured in vain to defeat by excepting against him as a *Traditor*, they whose accusations could not prevail, desperately joined themselves in one, and made a bishop of their own crew, accounting from that day forward their faction the only true and sincere Church. The first bishop on that part was Majorinus, whose successor Donatus being the first that wrote in defence of their schism, the birds that were hatched before by others have their names from him.

[8.] Arians and Donatists began both about one time. Which heresies according to the different strength of their own sinews, wrought as hope of success led them, the one with the choicest wits, the other with the multitude so far, that after long and troublesome experience the perfectest view men could take of both was hardly able to induce any certain determinate resolution, whether error may do more by the curious subtilty of sharp discourse, or else by the mere appearance of zeal and devout affection, the latter of which two aids gave Donatists beyond all men's expectation as great a sway as ever any schism or heresy had within that reach of the Christian world where it bred and grew; the rather perhaps because the Church which neither greatly feared them, and besides had necessary cause to bend itself against others that aimed directly at a far higher mark, the Deity of Christ, was contented to let Donatists have their forth by the space of threescore years and above, even from ten years before Constantine till the time that Optatus bishop of Milevis published his books against Parmenian [83].

During which term and the space of that schism's continuance afterwards, they had besides many other secular and worldly means to help them forward, these special advantages. First, the very occasion of their breach with the Church of God, a just hatred and dislike of *Traditors*, seemed plausible: they easily persuaded their hearers that such men could not be holy as held communion and fellowship with them that betray religion. Again, when to dazzle the eyes of the simple, and to prove that it can be no church which is not holy, they had in show and sound of words the glorious pretence of the creed apostolic, "I believe the "Holy Catholic Church," we need not think it any strange thing that with the multitude they gained credit. And avouching that such as are not of the true Church can administer no true baptism, they had for this point whole volumes of St. Cyprian's own writing, together with the judgment of divers African synods whose sentence was the same with his. Whereupon the Fathers were likewise in defence of their just cause very greatly prejudiced, both for that they could not enforce the duty of men's communion with a church confessed to be in many things blameworthy, unless they should oftentimes seem to speak as half-defenders of the faults themselves, or at the least not so vehement accusers thereof as their adversaries; and to withstand iteration of baptism, the other branch of the

[82] Circa an. 300.

[83] Circa an. 370.

Donatists' heresy, was impossible without manifest and professed rejection of Cyprian, whom the world universally did in his lifetime admire as the greatest amongst prelates, and now honour as not the lowest in the kingdom of heaven. So true we find it by experience of all ages in the Church of God, that the teacher's error is the people's trial, harder and heavier by so much to bear, as he is in worth and regard greater that mispersuadeth them. Although there was odds between Cyprian's cause and theirs, he differing from others of sounder understanding in that point, but not dividing himself from the body of the Church by schism as did the Donatists. For which cause, saith Vincentius [84], "Of one and the "same opinion we judge (which may seem "strange) the authors catholic, and the "followers heretical; we acquit the mas- "ters, and condemn the scholars; they are "heirs of heaven which have written those "books, the defenders whereof are trodden "down to the pit of hell."

[10.] The invectives of catholic writers therefore against them are sharp; the words of imperial edicts by Honorius and Theodosius [85] made to bridle them very bitter, the punishments severe in revenge of their folly. Howbeit for fear (as we may conjecture) lest much should be derogated from the baptism of the Church, and baptism by Donatists be more esteemed of than was meet, if on the one side that which heretics had done ill should stand as good, on the other side that be reversed which the Catholic Church had well and religiously done, divers better minded than advised men thought it fittest to meet with this inconvenience by rebaptizing Donatists as well as they rebaptized Catholics. For stay whereof the same emperors saw it meet to give their law a double edge [86], whereby it might equally on both sides cut off not only heretics which rebaptized whom they could pervert, but also Catholic and Christian priests which did the like unto such as before had taken baptism at the hands of heretics, and were afterwards reconciled to the Church of God. Donatists were therefore in process of time, though with much ado, wearied and at the length worn out by the constancy of that truth which teacheth, that evil ministers of good things are as torches, a light to others, a waste to none but themselves only, and that the foulness of their hands can neither any whit impair the virtue nor stain the glory of the mysteries of Christ.

[11.] Now that which was done amiss by virtuous and good men, as Cyprian carried aside with hatred against heresy, and was secondly followed by Donatists, whom envy and rancour covered with show of godliness made obstinate to cancel whatsoever the Church did in the sacrament of baptism, hath of later days in another respect far different from both the former, been brought freshly again into practice. For the Anabaptist rebaptizeth, because in his estimation the baptism of the Church is frustrate, for that we give it unto infants which have not faith, whereas according unto Christ's institution, as they conceive it, true baptism should always presuppose actual belief in receivers, and is otherwise no baptism.

[12.] Of these three errors there is not any but hath been able at the least to allege in defence of itself many fair probabilities. Notwithstanding, sith the Church of God hath hitherto always constantly maintained, that to rebaptize them which are known to have received true baptism is unlawful; that if baptism seriously be administered in the same element and with the same form of words which Christ's institution teacheth, there is no other defect in the world that can make it frustrate, or deprive it of the nature of a true sacrament; and lastly, that baptism is only then to be readministered, when the first delivery thereof is void in regard of the forealleged imperfections and no other; shall we now in the case of baptism, which having both for matter and form the substance of Christ's institution, is by a fourth sort of men voided for the only defect of ecclesiastical authority in the minister, think it enough that they blow away the force

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84 Vincent. Lirin. adver. Hæres. cap. 11. ["O "rerum mira conversio! auctores ejusdem opinio- "nis catholici, consectatores vero hæretici judi- "cantur: absolvuntur magistri, condemnantur dis- "cipuli: conscriptores librorum filii regni erunt, "assertores vero gehenna suscipiet." In Bibl. Pat. Colon. t. v. p. 2. pag. 239.]

85 Vide C. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. 6. l. "Adversa- "rios," et l. "Nullus," circa an. 405. [t. vi. 196, Lyons, 1665, is a decree of Honorius, beginning with "Adversarios catholicæ fidei extirpare hujus "decreti auctoritate prospeximus." Then enlarging on the guilt of rebaptizing, and its immoral effects, he enacts forfeiture of all property as the penalty: to be restored however to the children if catholic. The endowments of places where such baptism had been permitted are also confiscated. In p. 200, occurs the other law, one of Honorius and the younger Theodosius, re-enacting the penalty. The emperors use such expressions as these: "iterati baptismatis polluunt sa- "crilegio;" "feralibus sacrilegiis;" "piaculare "crimen," &c.]

86 "Siquis." C. "Ne Sanct. Baptis." circa an. 413. [Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. 6. 2. "Siquis rebapti- "zare quempiam de *ministris* (Godefroi, *myste- "riis*) catholicæ sectæ fuerit detectus, una cum "eo qui piaculare crimen commisit, si tamen "criminis per ætatem capax sit, cui persuasum sit, "statuti prioris supplicio percellatur." Thus the passage stands in the latter part of the law of Honorius and Theodosius, just quoted."]

thereof with the bare strength of their very breath by saying, "We take such baptism "to be no more the Sacrament of Baptism, "than any other ordinary bathing to be a "sacrament?"

[13.] It behoveth generally all sorts of men to keep themselves within the limits of their own vocation [87]. And seeing God from whom men's several degrees and pre-eminences do proceed, hath appointed them in his Church, at whose hands his pleasure is that we should receive both baptism and all other public medicinable helps of soul, perhaps thereby the more to settle our hearts in the love of our ghostly superiors, they have small cause to hope that with him their voluntary services will be accepted who thrust themselves into functions either above their capacity or besides their place, and over boldly intermeddle with duties whereof no charge was ever given them. They that in any thing exceed the compass of their own order do as much as in them lieth to dissolve that order which is the harmony of God's Church.

Suppose therefore that in these and the like considerations the law did utterly prohibit baptism to be administered by any other than persons thereunto solemnly consecrated, what necessity soever happen. Are not many things firm [88] being done, although in part done otherwise than positive rigour and strictness did require? Nature as much as is possible inclineth unto validities and preservations. Dissolutions and nullities of things done, are not only not favoured, but hated when either urged without cause, or extended beyond their reach.

If therefore at any time it come to pass, that in teaching publicly, or privately in delivering this blessed Sacrament of regeneration, some unsanctified hand contrary to Christ's supposed ordinance do intrude itself, to execute that whereunto the laws of God and his Church have deputed others, which of these two opinions seemeth more agreeable with equity, ours that disallow what is done amiss, yet make not the force of the word and sacraments, much less their nature and very substance to depend on the minister's authority and calling, or else theirs [89] which defeat, disannul, and annihilate both, in respect of that one only personal defect, there being not any law of God which saith that if the minister be incompetent his word shall be no word, his baptism no baptism? He which teacheth and is not sent loseth the reward, but yet retaineth the name of a teacher: his usurped actions have in him the same nature which they have in others, although they yield him not the same comfort. And if these two cases be peers, the case of doctrine and the case of baptism both alike, sith no defect in their vocation that teach the truth is able to take away the benefit thereof from him which heareth, wherefore should the want of a lawful calling in them that baptize make baptism to me vain?

[14.] They [90] grant that the matter and the form in sacraments are the only parts of substance, and that if these two be retained, albeit other things besides be used which are inconvenient, the sacrament notwithstanding is administered but not sincerely. Why persist they not in this opinion? When by these fair speeches they have put us in hope of agreement, wherefore sup they up their words again, interlacing such frivolous interpretations and glosses as disgrace their sentence? What should move them, having named the *matter* and the *form* of the sacrament, to give us presently warning, that they mean by the *form* of the sacrament the *institution*, which exposition darkeneth whatsoever was before plain? For whereas in common understanding that *form*, which added to the element doth make a sacrament, and is of the outward substance thereof, containeth only the words of usual application, they set it down (lest common dictionaries should deceive us) that the *form* doth signify in their language the *institution*, which institution in truth comprehendeth both form and matter. Such are their fumbling shifts to enclose the minister's vocation within the compass of some essential part of the sacrament.

[87] Numb. xvi. 10; Levit. x. 1; 1 Sam. xiii. 11; 2 Sam. vi. 6; 2 Chron. xxvi. 16; Heb. v. 4.

[88] 9. q. 2. c. "Lugdunensis." [Decr. Gratian. pars ii. caus. ix. qu. 2. p. 860. ed. Lugd. 1572. In which the ordination of an intruding bishop is held good, and persons so ordained are declared admissible to sacred offices with certain precautions.] c. "ex literis." Decretal. [Gregor.] de Matrim. contrac. [lib. iv. tit. 16. cap. 2. col. 1400; where is a similar decision with regard to a marriage contracted after espousals with another person, the espousals being first renounced on both sides.] Damas. Burch. [Brocarda Damasi.] Reg. 109. "Prohibita fieri si fiant non tenent. In pro-"hibitionibus autem circa res favorabiles contra-"rium obtinet." [ap. Tract. Illustr. Jurisc. t. xviii. p. 511, Venet. 1584.]

[89] T. C. lib. i. p. 144. [114.] "As St. Paul saith, "that a man cannot preach which is not sent; "(Rom. x. 15.) no not although he speak the words "of the Scripture and interpret them: So I can-"not see how a man can baptize unless he be sent "to that end, although he pour water and rehearse "the words which are to be rehearsed in the min-"istry of baptism."

[90] T. C. lib. i. p. 165. [131] "If either the mat-"ter of the sacrament, or the form of it, which is "the institution, (which things are only substan-"tial parts,) were wanting, there should then have "been no sacrament at all ministered. But they "being retained and yet other things used which "are not convenient, the sacrament is ministered, "but not sincerely."

A thing that can never stand with sound and sincere construction. For what if the minister be "no circumstance but a subor- "dinate efficient cause" in the work of baptism [91]? What if the minister's vocation be a matter [92] "of perpetual necessity and not "a ceremony variable as times and occa- "sions require?" What if his calling be "a "principal part of the institution of Christ?" Doth it therefore follow that the minister's authority is [93] "of the substance of the sa- "crament," and as incident into the nature thereof as the matter and the form itself, yea more incident? For whereas in case of necessity the greatest among them [94] professeth the change of the element of water lawful, and others which like not so well this opinion could be better content that voluntarily the Words of Christ's institution were altered, and men baptized in the name of Christ without either mention made of the Father or of the Holy Ghost, nevertheless in denying that baptism administered by private persons ought to be reckoned of as a sacrament they both agree.

[15.] It may therefore please them both to consider that Baptism is an action in part moral, in part ecclesiastical, and in part mystical: moral, as being a duty which men perform towards God; ecclesiastical, in that it belongeth unto God's Church as a public duty; finally mystical, if we respect what God doth thereby intend to work.

The greatest moral perfection of baptism consisteth in men's devout obedience to the law of God, which law requireth both the outward act or thing done, and also that religious affection which God doth so much regard, that without it whatsoever we do is hateful in his sight, who therefore is said to respect *adverbs* more than *verbs* [95], because the end of his law in appointing what we shall do is our own perfection, which perfection consisteth chiefly in the virtuous disposition of the mind, and approveth itself to him not by *doing* but by doing *well*. Wherein appeareth also the difference between human and divine laws, the one of which two are content with *opus operatum*, the other require *opus operantis*, the one do but claim the deed, the other especially the mind. So that according to laws which principally respect the heart of men, works of religion being not religiously performed, cannot morally be perfect.

Baptism as an ecclesiastical work is for the manner of performance ordered by divers ecclesiastical laws, providing that as the sacrament itself is a gift of no mean worth, so the ministry thereof might in all circumstances appear to be a function of no small regard.

All that belongeth to the mystical perfection of baptism outwardly, is the element, the word, and the serious application of both unto him which receiveth both; whereunto if we add that secret reference which this action hath to life and remission of sins by virtue of Christ's own compact solemnly made with his Church, to accomplish fully the Sacrament of Baptism, there is not any thing more required.

Now put the question whether baptism administered to infants without any spiritual calling be unto them both a true sacrament and an effectual instrument of grace, or else an act of no more account than the ordina-

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91 T. C. lib. iii. p. 117, [and 138.]

92 T. C. lib. iii. 127. ["This is a matter of doc- "trine, and a matter of faith :..... this is none of "the variable ceremonies, which alter by the di- "versity of times, of countries, and of persons."]

93 T. C. lib. [i. 114. and] iii. 135. "The minis- "ter is of the substance of the Sacrament, consid- "ering that it is a principal part of Christ's Insti- "tution."

94 Beza, Epist. 2. [t. iii. 196. ed. 1582.] "Desit "aqua et tamen baptismus alicujus differri cum "ædificatione non possit nec debeat, ego certe "quovis alio liquore non minus rite quam aqua "baptizarim." T. C. lib. iii. p. 138. "Shew me "why the breach of the institution in the form "should make the sacrament unavailable, and not "the breach of this part [which concerneth the "minister]?" T. C. ibid. "Howsoever some "learned and godly, give some liberty in the "change of the elements of the holy Sacrament, "yet I do not see how that can stand." Idem, p. 137. "I would rather judge him baptized which "is baptized into the name of Christ without add- "ing the Father and the Holy Ghost when the "element of water is added, than when the other "words being duly kept, some other liquor is "used."

95 [Camden (Ann. pars i. p. 368. A. D. 1584.) in his summary of Parry's confession, mentions that he was deterred for a while from practising on the Queen's life by the scruples of his spiritual advisers. "Creictonus etiam Scotus Jesuita, do- "cendo mala non perpetranda ut inde bonum pro- "veniret, Deum magis *Adverbiis*, quam *Nomini- "bus*, delectari, magisque quod *bene* ac *legitime* "factum, quam quod *bonum*, ei placere; nec "unius exitio multas animas redimendas sine ex- "presso Dei mandato." The paper referred to may be found in Holinshed, iii. 1388. It is a let- of Creighton's to Walsingham. "He, Parry, al- "leged the utility of the deed for delivering of so "many Catholics out of misery, and restitution "of the Catholic religion. I answered, that the "Scripture answered thereto, Non sunt facienda "mala, ut veniant bona. So that for no good, "how great that ever it be, may be wrought any "evil, how little that ever it be. He replied, that "it was not evil to take away so great evil and "induce so great good. I answered, that all "good is not to be done, but that only, 'quod "bene et legitime fieri potest.' And therefore, "'dixi Deum magis amare adverbia quam no- "mina. Quia in actionibus magis ei placent "bene ac legitime, quam bonum. Ita ut nullum "bonum liceat facere, nisi bene et legitime fieri "possit. Quod in hoc casu fieri non potest.'"]

ry washings are? The sum of all that can be said to defeat such baptism is, that those things which have no being can work nothing, and that baptism without the power of ordination is as judgment without sufficient jurisdiction, void, frustrate, and of no effect[96]. But to this we answer, that the fruit of baptism dependeth only upon the covenant which God hath made; that God by covenant requireth in the elder sort Faith and Baptism, in children the Sacrament of Baptism alone, whereunto he hath also given them right by special privilege of birth within the bosom of the holy Church; that infants therefore, which have received baptism complete as touching the mystical perfection thereof, are by virtue of his own covenant and promise cleansed from all sin, forasmuch as all other laws concerning that which in baptism is either moral or ecclesiastical do bind the Church which giveth baptism, and not the infant which receiveth it of the Church. So that if any thing be therein amiss, the harm which groweth by violation of holy ordinances must altogether rest where the bonds of such ordinances hold.

[16.] For that in actions of this nature it fareth not as in jurisdictions may somewhat appear by the very opinion which men have of them. The nullity of that which a judge doth by way of authority without authority, is known to all men, and agreed upon with full consent of the whole world, every man receiveth it as a general edict of nature; whereas the nullity of baptism in regard of the like defect is only a few men's new, ungrounded, and as yet unapproved imagination. Which difference of generality in men's persuasions on the one side, and their paucity whose conceit leadeth them the other way, hath risen from a difference easy to observe in the things themselves. The exercise of unauthorized jurisdiction is a grievance unto them that are under it, whereas they that without authority presume to baptize, offer nothing but that which to all men is good and acceptable. Sacraments are food, and the ministers thereof as parents or as nurses, at whose hands when there is necessity but no possibility of receiving it, if that which they are not present to do in right of their office be of pity and compassion done by others, shall this be thought to turn celestial bread into gravel, or the medicine of souls into poison? Jurisdiction is a yoke which law hath imposed on the necks of men in such sort that they must endure it for the good of others, how contrary soever it be to their own particular appetites and inclinations; jurisdiction bridleth men against their wills, that which a judge doth prevaileth by virtue of his very power, and therefore not without great reason, except the law have given him authority, whatsoever he doth vanisheth. Baptism on the other side being a favour which it pleaseth God to bestow, a benefit of soul to us that receive it, and a grace which they that deliver are but as mere vessels either appointed by others or offered of their own accord to this service; of which two if they be the one it is but their own honour, their own offence to be the other; can it possibly stand with equity and right[97], that the faultiness of their presumption in giving baptism should be able to prejudice us, who by taking baptism have no way offended?

[17.] I know there are many sentences found in the books and writings of the ancient Fathers to prove both ecclesiastical and also moral defects in the minister of baptism a bar to the heavenly benefit thereof. Which sentences we always so understand, as Augustine understood in a case of like nature the words of Cyprian[98]. When infants baptized were after their parents' revolt carried by them in arms to the stews of idols, those wretched creatures as St. Cyprian thought were not only their own ruin but their children's also; "Their "children," whom this their apostasy profaned, "did lose what Christian baptism had "given them being newly born." "They "lost," saith St. Augustine, "the grace of "baptism, *if we consider to what their pa-* "*rents' impiety did tend;* although the "mercy of God preserved them, and will "also in that dreadful day of account give "them favourable audience pleading in

[96] [T. C. iii. 128. "It is all one as if he should "say, that if there be no magistrate at hand, or "none that will do his duty in executing justice "against a murderer, that then a private man "may take upon him to hang the murderer." 239. "As a private man, killing a murderer, hath him- "self murdered, and executed no justice, because "he had no calling thereunto; even so those, "which without all calling have taken in hand to "baptize, have made a profane washing, and "made no sacrament of the Lord."]

[97] "Factum alterius alii nocere non debet." Ulp. l. De Pupillo. sect. "Si plurium." [Dig. xxxix. 1. 5. p. 558.] Item, Alphen. l. "Paterfamilias." de Hæred. Instituend. [Dig. xxviii. v. 44. 402.] "Maleficia teneant auctores suos non alios." l. "Sancimus," 22. C. de Pœn. [Cod. Just. ix. 47. 22. p. 305.]

[98] August. Epist. 23. [al. 98. § 3. t. ii. 264. Cypr. de Laps. t. i. 125. "Infantes quoque paren- "tum manibus impositi vel attrectati, amiserunt "parvuli, quod in primo statim nativitatis exordio "fuerant consecuti." Aug. "Amiserunt, dixit, "quantum attinuit ad illorum scelus, a quibus "amittere coacti sunt. Amiserunt in eorum mente "ac voluntate, qui in illos tantum facinus commi- "serunt. Nam si in seipsis amisissent, remansis- "sent utique divina sententia sine ulla dubitatione "damnandi. Quod si sanctus Cyprianus arbitra- "retur, non eorum defensionem continuo subjice- "ret, dicens, Nonne illi, cum judicii dies venerit, "dicent, *Nos nihil fecimus?*"]

"their own behalf, 'The harm of other "men's perfidiousness it lay not in us to "avoid.'" After the same manner whatsoever we read written if it sound to the prejudice of baptism through any either moral or ecclesiastical defect therein, we construe it, as equity and reason teacheth, with restraint to the offender only, which doth, as far as concerneth himself and them which wittingly concur with him, make the sacrament of God fruitless.

[18.] St. Augustine's *doubtfulness* [99], whether baptism by a layman may stand or ought to be readministered, should not be mentioned by them which presume to define peremptorily of that wherein he was content to profess himself unresolved. Albeit in very truth his opinion is plain enough, but the manner of delivering his judgment being modest, they make of a virtue an imbecility, and impute his calmness of speech to an irresolution of mind. His disputation in that place is against Parmenian, which held, that a Bishop or a Priest if they fall into any heresy do thereby lose the power which they had before to baptize, and that therefore baptism by heretics is merely void. For answer whereof he first denieth that heresy can more deprive men of power to baptize others than it is of force to take from them their own baptism [1]; and in the second place he farther addeth that if heretics did lose the power which before was given them by ordination, and did therefore unlawfully usurp as often as they took upon them to give the Sacrament of Baptism, it followeth not that baptism by them administered without authority is no baptism. For then what should we think of baptism by laymen to whom authority was never given [2]? "I doubt," saith St. Augustine, "whether any man which car-"rieth a virtuous and godly mind will af-"firm that the baptism which laymen do in "case of necessity administer should be "iterated. For to do it unnecessarily is to "execute another man's office; necessity "urging, to do it is then either no fault at "all" (much less so grievous a crime that it should deserve to be termed by the name of sacrilege [3]) "or if any, a very pardona-"ble fault. But suppose it even of very "purpose usurped and given unto any man "by every man that listeth, yet that which "is given cannot possibly be denied to have "been given, how truly soever we may say it "hath not been given lawfully. Unlawful "usurpation a penitent affection must re-"dress. If not, the thing that was given "shall remain to the hurt and detriment of "him which unlawfully either administer-"ed or received the same, yet so, that in "this respect it ought not to be reputed as "if it had not at all been given." Whereby we may plainly perceive that St. Augustine was not himself uncertain what to think, but doubtful whether any well-minded man in the whole world could think otherwise than he did.

[19.] Their argument taken from a stolen seal [4] may return to the place out of which they had it, for it helpeth their cause nothing. That which men give or grant to others must appear to have proceeded of their own accord. This being manifest, their gifts and grants are thereby made effectual both to bar themselves from revocation, and to assecure the right they have

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[99] T. C. lib. iii. p. 136. "Augustine standeth in "doubt whether baptism by a layman be available "or no. [Cont. Lit. Parm. lib. ii. c. 13.)" [t. ix. 44.] "Where by all likelihood he was out of "doubt, that that which was ministered by a wo-"man, whose unaptness herein is double to that "of a layman, was of no effect."

[1] ["Nulla ostenditur causa cur ille qui ipsum "baptismum amittere non potest, jus dandi potest "amittere. Utrumque enim sacramentum est; "et quadam consecratione utrumque homini datur, "illud cum baptizatur, istud cum ordinatur: ide-"oque in Catholica utrumque non licet iterari. "Nam si quando ex ipsa parte venientes etiam "præpositi pro bono pacis correcto schismatis "errore suscepti sunt, . . . non eis in populo manus "imponitur, ne non homini sed ipsi sacramento "fiat injuria."]

[2] ["Quanquam etsi laicus pereunti dederit ne-"cessitate compulsus, quod cum ipse acciperet, "quomodo dandum esset addidicit, nescio an pie "quisquam dixerit esse repetendum. Nulla enim "cogente necessitate si fiat, alieni muneris usur-"patio est: si autem necessitas urgeat, aut nul-"lum aut veniale delictum est. Sed et si nulla "necessitate usurpetur, et a quolibet cuilibet detur, "quod datum fuerit non dici potest non datum, "quamvis recte dici possit illicite datum. Illici-"tam autem usurpationem corrigit reminiscentis "et pœnitentis affectus. Quod si non correxerit, "manebit ad pœnam usurpatoris quod datum est, "vel ejus qui illicite dedit, vel ejus qui illicite ac-"cepit: non tamen pro non dato habebitur." Cartwright does not seem to have been aware of the force of the common idiom "nescio an:" otherwise he could hardly have missed the true construction; "Augustine standeth in doubt, wheth-"er a man could rightly as a Christian say that "lay baptism is invalid in case of necessity."]

[3] T. C. lib. iii. p. 116. "The sacrilege of private "persons, women especially, in administering the "holy sacrament of baptism."

[4] T. C. lib. iii. p. 139. "As by the seal which "the prince hath set apart to seal his grants with, "when it is stolen and set to by him that hath no "authority, there groweth no assurance to the "party that hath it: So if it were possible to be "the seal of God which a woman should set to, yet "for that she hath stolen it and put it to not only "without but contrary to the commandment of "God, I see not how any can take any assurance "by reason thereof." [This image was also, as it may seem, borrowed from St. Augustine, ibid. p. 45. "Neque unquam per devotum militem, quod "a privatis usurpatum est signum regale violabi-"tur," &c.

given. Wherein for further prevention of mischiefs that otherwise might grow by the malice, treachery, and fraud of men, it is both equal and meet that the strength of men's deeds and the instruments which declare the same should strictly depend upon divers solemnities, whereof there cannot be the like reason in things that pass between God and us, because sith we need not doubt lest the treasures of his heavenly grace should without his consent be passed by forged conveyances, nor lest he should deny at any time his own acts, and seek to revoke what hath been consented unto before, as there is no such fear of danger through deceit and falsehood in this case, so neither hath the circumstance of men's persons that weight in baptism which for good and just considerations in the custody of seals of office it ought to have. The grace of baptism cometh by donation from God alone. That God hath committed the ministry of baptism unto special men, it is for order's sake in his Church, and not to the end that their authority might give being, or add force to the sacrament itself. That infants have right to the sacrament of baptism we all acknowledge. Charge them we cannot as guileful and wrongful possessors of that whereunto they have right by the manifest will of the donor, and are not parties unto any defect or disorder in the manner of receiving the same. And if any such disorder be, we have sufficiently before declared that "delictum cum capite semper ambulat," men's own faults are their own harms.

[20.] Wherefore to countervail this and the like mischosen resemblances with that which more truly and plainly agreeth, the ordinance of God concerning their vocation that minister baptism wherein the mystery of our regeneration is wrought, hath thereunto the same analogy which laws of wedlock have to our first nativity and birth. So that if nature do effect procreation notwithstanding the wicked violation and breach even of nature's law made that the entrance of all mankind into this present world might be without blemish, may we not justly presume that grace doth accomplish the other, although there be faultiness in them that transgress the order which our Lord Jesus Christ hath established in his Church?

[21.] Some light may be borrowed from circumcision for explication what is true in this question of baptism. Seeing then that even they which condemn Sephora the wife of Moses for taking upon her to circumcise her son[5], a thing necessary at that time for her to do, and as I think very hard to reprove in her, considering how Moses, because himself had not done it sooner, was therefore stricken by the hand of God, neither could in that extremity perform the office; whereupon, for the stay of God's indignation, there was no choice, but the action must needs fall into her hands; whose fact therein whether we interpret as some have done, that being a Midianite, and as yet not so thoroughly acquainted with the exercise of Jewish rites, it much discontented her, to see herself through her husband's oversight, in a matter of his own religion, brought unto these perplexities and straits, that either she must now endure him perishing before her eyes, or else wound the flesh of her own child, which she could not do but with some indignation shewed, in that she fumingly both threw down the foreskin at his feet, and upbraided him with the cruelty of his religion: or if we better like to follow their more judicious exposition which are not inclinable to think that Moses was matched like Socrates, nor that circumcision could now in Eleazar be strange unto her, having had Gersom her elder son before circumcised, nor that any occasion of choler could rise from a spectacle of such misery as doth[6] naturally move compassion and not wrath, nor that Sephora was so impious as in the visible presence of

[5] Exod. iv. 24. T. C. lib. i. p. 144. [113.] "I "say that the unlawfulness of that fact doth ap- "pear sufficiently, in that she did it before her "husband Moses, which was a prophet of the "Lord, to whom that office of circumcision did "appertain. Besides that she did cut off the "foreskin of the infant not of mind to obey "the commandment of God, or for the salvation "of the child, but in a choler only, to the end that "her husband might be eased and have release: "which mind appeareth in her both by her words, "and by casting away in anger the foreskin which "she had cut off. And if it be said that the "event declared that the act pleased God, because "that Moses forthwith waxed better, and was re- "covered of his sickness, I have shewed before "that if we measure things by the event, we shall "oftentimes justify the wicked, and take the "righteousness of the righteous from them." [Ap. Whitg. Def. 517: who answers, "Moses at this "time was extremely sick, and therefore could not "execute that office himself. And in the Geneva "Bible there is this note, that 'it was extraordina- "ry, for Moses was sore sick, and God even then "required it.' Sephora therefore did circumcise in "a point of extremity, and not wilfully or of pur- "pose; and that circumcision was a true circum- "cision, though it were not done ordinarily; even "so baptism is true baptism, though it be some- "times ministered by such as be not ordinary min- "isters." T. C. rejoins, iii. 126: "That the Lord "required circumcision, if there were no ordinary "minister for it doth not appear. For as it was "an order of God that the male child should be "circumcised the eighth day, so was it also his "order that he should be circumcised by a minis- "ter." In this he contradicts his master, Calvin, from whom most of his other arguments are derived. Inst. iv. 15, 22.]

[6] "Mala passis non irascimur sed compatimur." Boet. de Consol.

God's deserved anger to storm at the ordinance and law of God, nor that the words of the history itself can enforce any such affection, but do only declare how after the act performed she *touched* the feet of Moses saying [7], "Sponsus tu mihi es sanguinum," "Thou art unto me an husband of "blood," which might be very well the one done and the other spoken even out of the flowing abundance of commiseration and love, to signify with hands laid under his feet that her tender affection towards him had caused her thus to forget womanhood, to lay all motherly affection aside, and to redeem her husband out of the hands of death with effusion of blood; the sequel thereof, take it which way you will, is a plain argument, that God was satisfied with that she did, as may appear by his own testimony declaring how there followed in the person of Moses present release of his grievous punishment upon her speedy discharge of that duty which by him neglected had offended God, even as after execution of justice by the hands of Phineas [8] the plague was immediately taken away, which former impunity of sin had caused; in which so manifest and plain cases not to make that a reason of the event which God himself hath set down as a reason, were falsely to accuse whom he doth justify, and without any cause to traduce what we should allow; yet seeing they which will have it a breach of the law of God for her to circumcise in that necessity, are not able to deny but circumcision being in that very manner performed was to the innocent child which received it true circumcision, why should that defect whereby circumcision was so little weakened be to baptism a deadly wound?

[22.] These premises therefore remaining as hitherto they have been laid, because the commandment of our Saviour Christ, which committeth jointly to public ministers both doctrine and baptism [9] doth no more by linking them together import that the nature of the sacrament dependeth on the minister's authority and power to preach the word than the force and virtue of the word doth on license to give the sacrament; and considering that the work of external ministry in baptism is only a preeminence of honour, which they that take to themselves and are not thereunto called as Aaron was, do but themselves in their own persons by means of such usurpation incur the just blame of disobedience to the law of God; farther also inasmuch as it standeth with no reason that errors grounded on a wrong interpretation of other men's deeds should make frustrate whatsoever is misconceived, and that baptism by women should cease to be baptism as oft as any man will thereby gather that children which die unbaptized are damned, which opinion if the act of baptism administered in such manner did enforce, it might be sufficient cause of disliking the same, but none of defeating or making it altogether void; last of all whereas general and full consent of the godly learned in all ages doth make for validity of baptism, yea albeit administered in private and even by women, which kind of baptism in case of necessity divers reformed churches do both allow and defend, some others which do not defend tolerate,

[7] Where the usual translation hath, Exod. iv. 25; "She cut away the foreskin of her son and "cast it at his feet, and said, Thou art indeed a "bloody husband unto me. So he departed from "him. Then she said, O bloody husband, because "of the circumcision:" the words as they lie in the original are rather to be thus interpreted, "And she cut off the foreskin of her son. Which "being done she touched his feet (the feet of Mo"ses) and said, 'Thou art to me an husband of "blood,' (in the plural number, thereby signifying "effusion of blood). And the Lord withdrew from "him at the very time when she said, 'A husband "of blood,' in regard of circumcision." [See the Targum of Onkelos *in loco:* which instead of "cast it at his feet" has ריבת לקדמוהי obtulit coram "eo." And her words are rendered, "propter "sanguinem circumcisionis hujus detur" [datur?] "nobis sponsus meus." And afterwards, "Nisi "propter sanguinem circumcisionis hujus, condem"natus erat ad mortem sponsus meus." To this "construction Mede (i. 53.) objects that חתן "sponsus" could hardly be applied so long after marriage: which is answered by a remark of Tirinus in Pol. Synops. that it may mean, "'ego te "morti destinatum redemi sanguine filii, atque ita "jam secundo te mihi sponsum coemo: nam nup"tiæ solebant olim coemptione fieri, tum apud "Hebræos, tum apud Romanos." Compare Pococke, ad Port. Mos. Not. Miscell. p. 51: who seems to think the place best illustrated by the double meaning of the root חתן in Arabic: viz. "1. Affinitatem contrahere," and 2. "Circumci"dere."]

[8] Psalm cvi. 30.

[9] T. C. lib. iii. p. 142. "Seeing they only are bid"den in the Scripture to administer the sacra"ments which are bidden to preach the word, and "that the public ministers have only this charge "of the word; and seeing that the administration "of both these are so linked together that the de"nial of license to do one is a denial to do the "other, as of the contrary part license to one is li"cense to the other; considering also that to min"ister the sacraments is an honor in the church "which none can take unto him but he which is "called unto it as was Aaron: and further foras"much as the baptizing by private persons and by "women especially confirmeth the dangerous er"ror of the condemnation of young children which "die without baptism; last of all seeing we have "the consent of the godly learned of all times "against the baptism by women, and of the re"formed churches now against the baptism by "private men; we conclude that the administra"tion of this sacrament by private persons and es"pecially by women is merely both unlawful and "void."

few in comparison and they without any just cause do utterly disannul and annihilate; surely howsoever through defects on either side the sacrament may be without fruit, as well in some cases to him which receiveth as to him which giveth it, yet no disability of either part can so far make it frustrate and without effect as to deprive it of the very nature of true baptism, having all things else which the ordinance of Christ requireth. Whereupon we may consequently infer that the administration of this sacrament by private persons, be it lawful or unlawful, appeareth not as yet to be merely void.

LXIII. All that are of the race of Christ, the Scripture nameth them "children of "the promise[10]" which God hath made. The promise of eternal life is the seed of the Church of God. And because there is no attainment of life but through the only begotten Son of God, nor by him otherwise than being such as the Creed apostolic describeth, it followeth that the articles thereof are principles necessary for all men to subscribe unto whom by baptism the Church receiveth into Christ's school.

Interrogatories in baptism touching faith, and the purpose of a Christian life.

All points of Christian doctrine are either demonstrable conclusions or demonstrative principles. Conclusions have strong and invincible proofs as well in the school of Jesus Christ as elsewhere. And principles be grounds which require no proof in any kind of science, because it sufficeth if either their certainty be evident in itself, or evident by the light of some higher knowledge, and in itself such as no man's knowledge is ever able to overthrow. Now the principles whereupon we do build our souls have their evidence where they had their original, and as received from thence we adore them, we hold them in reverent admiration, we neither argue nor dispute about them, we give unto them that assent which the oracles of God require.

We are not therefore ashamed of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ because miscreants in scorn have upbraided us, that the highest point of our wisdom is *believe*[11]. That which is true and neither can be discerned by sense, nor concluded by mere natural principles, must have principles of revealed truth whereupon to build itself, and an habit of faith in us wherewith principles of that kind are apprehended. The mysteries of our religion are above the reach of our understanding[12], above discourse of man's reason, above all that any creature can comprehend. Therefore the first thing required of him which standeth for admission into Christ's family is belief. Which belief consisteth not so much in knowledge as in acknowledgment of all things that heavenly wisdom revealeth; the affection of faith is above her reach, her love to Godward above the comprehension which she hath of God.

And because only for believers all things may be done, he which is goodness itself loveth them above all. Deserve we then the love of God, because we believe in the Son of God? What more opposite than faith and pride? When God had created all things, he looked upon them and loved them, because they were all as himself had made them. So the true reason wherefore Christ doth love believers is because their belief is the gift of God, a gift than which flesh and blood in this world cannot possibly receive a greater[13]. And as to love them of whom we receive good things is duty, because they satisfy our desires in that which else we should want; so to love them on whom we bestow is nature, because in them we behold the effects of our own virtue.

Seeing therefore no religion enjoyeth sacraments the signs of God's love, unless it have also that faith whereupon the sacraments are built; could there be any thing more convenient than that our first admittance to the actual receipt of his grace in the Sacrament of baptism should be consecrated with profession of belief[14], which is to the kingdom of God as a key, the want whereof excludeth infidels both from that and from all other saving grace.

[2.] We find by experience that although faith be an intellectual habit of the mind, and have her seat in the understanding, yet an evil moral disposition obstinately wedded to the love of darkness dampeth the very light of heavenly illumination, and permitteth not the mind to see what doth shine before it. Men are "lovers of plea-"sure more than lovers of God[15]." Their assent to his saving truth is many times withheld from it, not that the truth is too weak to persuade, but because the stream of corrupt affection carrieth them a clean contrary way. That the mind therefore may abide in the light of faith, there must abide in the will as constant a resolution to have no fellowship at all with the vanities and works of darkness.

[3.] "Two covenants there are which Christian men," saith Isidore, "do make in

[10] [Galat. iv. 28.]

[11] Apostatæ maledictum, *οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ τὸ πίστευσον τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐστὶ σοφίας.* Naz. Orat. i. contr. Julian. [§. 97. t. i. 97 B.]

[12] *Ὑπὲρ νοῦν, ὑπὲρ λόγον, ὑπὲρ κατάληψιν κτιστῆς φύσεως τὰ ἡμέτερα.* Just. Mart. Expos. Fid. [p. 388. Paris, 1615.]

[13] Matt. xvi. 17; John i. 12, 13.

[14] "Spiritus Sanctus habitator ejus templi non "efficitur quod antistitem non habet veram fidem." Hieron. adv. Lucif. c. 4.

[15] [2 Tim. iii. 4.]

"baptism, the one concerning relinquish-
"ment of Satan, the other touching obedi-
"ence to the faith of Christ[16]." In like sort St. Ambrose, "He which is baptized "*forsaketh the intellectual Pharaoh, the "Prince of this world*, saying, *Abrenuncio*, "Thee O Satan and thy angels, thy works "and thy mandates I forsake utterly[17]." Tertullian having speech of wicked spirits, "These," saith he, "are the angels which "we in baptism renounce[18]." The declaration of Justin the Martyr concerning baptism[19] sheweth, how such as the Church in those days did baptize made profession of Christian belief, and undertook to live accordingly. Neither do I think it a matter easy for any man to prove, that ever baptism did use to be administered without interrogatories of these two kinds. Whereunto St. Peter (as it may be thought) alluding, hath said[20], that the baptism "which "saveth" us is not (as legal purifications were) a cleansing of the flesh from outward impurity, but ἐπερώτημα, "an interrogative "trial of a good conscience towards God."

LXIV. Now the fault which they find with us concerning interrogatories is, our moving of these questions unto infants which cannot answer them, and the answering of them by others as in their names.

Interrogatories proposed unto infants in baptism, and answered as in their names by godfathers.

The Anabaptist hath many pretences to scorn at the baptism of children, first because the Scriptures he saith do no where give commandment to baptize infants; secondly, for that as there is no commandment so neither any manifest example shewing it to have been done either by Christ or his Apostles; thirdly, inasmuch as the word preached and the sacraments must go together, they which are not capable of the one are no fit receivers of the other; last of all sith the order of baptism continued from the first beginning hath it in those things which are unfit to be applied unto sucking children, it followeth in their conceit that the baptism of such is no baptism but plain mockery.

They with whom we contend are no enemies to the baptism of infants; it is not their desire that the Church should hazard so many souls by letting them run on till they come to ripeness of understanding, that so they may be converted and then baptized as infidels heretofore have been; they bear not towards God so unthankful minds as not to acknowledge it even amongst the greatest of his endless mercies, that by making us his own possession so soon, many advantages which Satan otherwise might take are prevented, and (which should be esteemed a part of no small happiness) the first thing whereof we have occasion to take notice is, how much hath been done already to our great good, though altogether without our knowledge; the baptism of infants they esteem as an ordinance which Christ hath instituted even in special love and favour to his own people; they deny not the practice thereof accordingly to have been kept as derived from the hands and continued from the days of the Apostles themselves unto this present. Only it pleaseth them not that to infants there should be interrogatories proposed in baptism[21]. This they condemn as foolish, toyish, and profane mockery.

[2.] But are they able to shew that ever the Church of Christ had any public form of baptism without interrogatories; or that the Church did ever use at the solemn baptism of infants to omit those questions as needless in this case? Boniface a bishop in St. Augustine's time knowing that the Church did universally use this custom of baptizing infants with interrogatories, was

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[16] Isid. de Offic. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. 24. [p. 612. ed. Du Breul. "Duæ sunt pactiones credentium. "Prima pactio est, qua renunciatur diabolo et "pompis ejus, et universæ conversationi illius. "Secunda pactio est, qua se in Patrem et Filium "et Sp. Sanctum credere fatetur."]

[17] Ambros. Hexam. lib. i. cap. 4. ["Derelinquit "enim et deserit, qui abluitur, intelligibilem illum "Pharao principem istius mundi, dicens, Abrenun-"cio tibi, diabole, et angelis tuis, et operibus tuis, "et imperiis tuis."]

[18] Tertull. de Spectac. [c. 4. "Cum aquam in-"gressi Christianam fidem in legis suæ verba pro-"fitemur, renunciasse nos diabolo, et pompæ, et "angelis ejus, ore nostro contestamur."]

[19] "Ὅσοι ἂν πεισθῶσι καὶ πιστεύωσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιοῦν οὕτως δύνασθαι ὑπισχνῶνται, εὔχεσθαί τε καὶ αἰτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν προημαρτημένων ἄφεσιν διδάσκονται, ἔπειτα ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἔνθα ὕδωρ ἐστι, καὶ τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀνεγεννήθημεν ἀναγεννῶνται. Justin. Apol. [ii. p. 93. ed. 1615. In later editions it is the first Apology.]

[20] 1 Pet. iii. 21.

[21] "They profane holy baptism in toying foolish-"ly, for that they ask questions of an infant which "cannot answer, and speak unto them as was "wont to be spoken unto men, and unto such as "being converted answered for themselves and "were baptized. Which is but a mockery of God, "and therefore against the holy Scriptures. Gal. "vi. 7." Admonition to the Parliament. [ap. Whitg. Def. 610.] The same defended in T. C. lib. i. p. 168. [134. And by Beza in his twelfth Epistle, Strype, Grind. 512. "Puerorum baptizan-"dorum interrogationem non dubitamus ex eo in-"vasisse Ecclesiam, quod episcoporum negligentia "retenta sit eadem in baptismo infantium formula, "quæ initio in adultis catechumenis observabatur: "id quod etiam ex aliis multis quæ in baptismo "papistico adhuc vigent perspicere licet. Itaque "sicut chrisma et exorcismus, quantum vis vetus-"ta, optimo jure abolita sunt, cupceremus quoque "istam non modo supervacuam sed etiam ineptam "interrogationem omitti, quantumvis illam in "epistola quadam Augustinus ipse aliqua inter-"pretatione tueatur." Tract. Theol. iii. 220.]

desirous to learn from St. Augustine the true cause and reason thereof[22]. "If," saith he, "I should set before thee a young "infant, and should ask of thee whether "that infant when he cometh unto riper age "will be honest and just or no, thou wouldst "answer (I know) that to tell in these "things what shall come to pass is not in the "power of a mortal man. If I should ask "what good or evil such an infant thinketh, "thine answer hereunto must needs be "again with the like uncertainty. If thou "neither canst promise for the time to come "nor for the present pronounce any thing "in this case, how is it that when such are "brought unto baptism, their parents there "undertake what the child shall afterwards "do, yea they are not doubtful to say it "doth that which is impossible to be done "by infants? at the least there is no man "precisely able to affirm it done. Vouch-"safe me hereunto some short answer, such "as not only may press me with the bare "authority of custom but also instruct me "in the cause thereof."

Touching which difficulty, whether it may truly be said for infants at the time of their baptism that they do believe, the effect of St. Augustine's answer is yea, but with this distinction[23], a present *actual habit of faith there is not* in them, there is delivered unto them that sacrament, a part of the due celebration whereof consisteth in answering to the articles of faith, *because* the habit of faith which afterwards doth come with years, is but a *farther* building up of the same edifice, the *first foundation whereof was laid by the sacrament* of baptism. For that which there we professed without any understanding, when we afterwards come to acknowledge, do we any thing else but only bring unto ripeness the very seed that was sown before? We are *then believers* because *then we begin to be* that which process of time doth make perfect. And till we come to actual belief, the very sacrament of faith is a shield as strong as after this the faith of the sacrament against all contrary infernal powers. Which whosoever doth think impossible, is undoubtedly farther off from Christian belief though he be baptized than are these innocents, which at their baptism albeit they have no conceit or cogitation of faith, are notwithstanding pure and free from all opposite cogitations, whereas the other is not free. If therefore without any fear or scruple we may account them and term

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[22] Aug. Epist. xxiii. [al. 98. §. 7. t. ii. 266. F. "Si constituam ante te parvulum, et interrogem, "utrum quum creverit futurus sit castus, vel fur "non sit futurus; sine dubio respondebis, Nescio. "Et utrum in eadem parvula ætate constitutus co-"gitet aliquid boni vel mali; dices, Nescio. Si "itaque de moribus ejus futuris nihil audes certi "promittere, et de præsenti cogitatione; quid "est illud quod quando ad baptismum offeruntur, "pro eis parentes tanquam fidedictores respondent, "et dicunt illos facere quod illa ætas cogitare non "potest, aut si potest, occultum est?...Ad istas er-"go quæstiones peto breviter respondere digneris, "ita ut non mihi de consuetudine præscribas, sed "rationem reddas."]

[23] "Sicut credere respondetur, ita etiam fidelis "vocatur; non rem ipsa mente annuendo, sed ip-"sius rei sacramentum percipiendo." Aug. [Ep. 23. al. 98. §. 10. t. ii. 268. D. "Sæpe ita loquimur, "ut Pascha propinquante dicamus, crastinam vel "perindinam Domini passionem, cum ille ante "tam multos annos passus sit.....Ipso die Domin-"ico dicimus, Hodie Dominus resurrexit, cum ex "quo resurrexit tot anni transierint. Cur nemo "tam ineptus est ut nos ita loquentes arguat esse "mentitos, nisi quia istos dies secundum illorum "quibus hæc gesta sunt similitudinem nominamus, "ut dicatur ipse dies qui non est ipse, sed revolu-"tione temporis similis ejus; et dicatur illo die "fieri, propter sacramenti celebrationem, quod non "illo die sed jam olim factum est? Nonne semel "immolatus est Christus in seipso? et tamen in "sacramento non solum per omnes Paschæ sollen-"nitates sed omni die populis immolatur, nec "utique mentitur, qui interrogatus eum respondet "immolari.....Sicut ergo secundum quendam mo-"dum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Chris-"ti est, sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis "Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est. Ni-"hil est autem aliud credere, quam fidem habere. "Ac per hoc cum respondetur parvulus credere, "qui fidei nondum habet affectum, respondetur "fidem habere propter fidei sacramentum et con-"vertere se ad Deum propter conversionis sacra-"mentum, quia et ipsa responsio ad celebrationem "pertinet sacramenti. Sicut de ipso baptismo "Apostolus, consepulti, inquit, sumus Christo per "baptismum in mortem. Non ait, sepulturum "significavimus; sed prorsus ait, consepulti sumus. "Sacramentum ergo tantæ rei nonnisi ejusdem "rei vocabulo noncupavit.

"Itaque parvulum, etsi nondum fides illa quæ "in credentium voluntate consistit, jam tandem "ipsius fidei sacramentum fidelem facit. Nam "sicut credere respondetur, ita" &c. (ut supr.) "Cum autem homo sapere cœperit; non illud sa-"cramentum repetet, sed intelliget, ejusque veritati "consona etiam voluntate coaptabitur. Hoc "quamdiu non potest, valebit sacramentum ad "ejus tutelam adversus contrarias potestates; et "tantum valebit, ut si ante rationis usum ex hac "vita emigraverit, per ipsum sacramentum, com-"mendante Ecclesiæ caritate, ab illa condemna-"tione, quæ per unum hominem intravit in mun-"dum, Christiano adjutorio liberetur. Hoc qui non "credit, et fieri non posse arbitratur, profecto infi-"delis est, etsi habeat fidei sacramentum; longe-"que melior est illa parvulus, qui etiamsi fidem "nondum habeat in cogitatione, non ei tamen obi-"cem contrarie cogitationis opponit, unde sacra-"mentum ejus salubriter percipit.

"Respondi, sicut existimo, quæstionibus tuis, "quantum adtinet ad minus capaces et ad conten-"tiosos, non satis; quantum autem ad pacatos et "ad intelligentes plus forte quam sat est. Nec ti-"bi ad excusationem meam objeci firmissimam "consuetudinem, sed saluberrimæ consuetudinis "reddidi quam potui rationem."]

them believers only for their outward profession's sake, which inwardly are farther from faith than infants, why not infants much more at the time of their solemn initiation by baptism the sacrament of faith, whereunto they not only conceive nothing opposite, but have also that grace [24] given them which is the first and most effectual cause out of which our belief groweth?

In sum, the whole Church is a multitude of believers, all honoured with that title, even hypocrites for their profession's sake as well as saints because of their inward sincere persuasion, and *infants as being in the first degree of their ghostly motion towards the actual habit of faith;* the first sort are faithful in the eye of the world, the second faithful in the sight of God; the last in the ready direct way to become both if all things after be suitable to these their present beginnings [25]. "This," saith St. Augustine, "would not haply content such "persons as are uncapable or unquiet, but "to them which having knowledge are not "troublesome it may suffice. Wherein I "have not for ease of myself objected "against you that custom only than which "nothing is more firm, but of a custom most "profitable I have done that little which I "could to yield you a reasonable cause."

[3.] Were St. Augustine now living there are which would tell him for his better instruction that to say of a child [26] "it is elect" and to say it doth believe are all one, for which cause sith no man is able precisely to affirm the one of any infant in particular, it followeth that "precisely" and "absolutely" we ought not to say the other.

Which "precise" and "absolute terms" are needless in this case. We speak of infants *as the rule of piety* alloweth both to speak and think. They that can take to themselves in ordinary talk a charitable kind of liberty to name men of their own sort *God's dear children*, (notwithstanding the large reign of hypocrisy,) should not methinks be so strict and rigorous against the Church for presuming as it doth of a Christian innocent. For when we know how Christ in general hath said that *of such* is the kingdom of heaven [27], which kingdom is the inheritance of God's elect, and do withal behold how his providence hath called them unto the first beginnings of eternal life, and presented them at the wellspring of new birth wherein original sin is purged, besides which sin there is no hinderance of their salvation known to us, as themselves will grant; hard it were that having so many fair inducements whereupon to ground, we should not be thought to utter at the least a truth as probable and allowable in terming any such particular infant an elect babe [29]: as in presuming the like of others, whose safety nevertheless we are not *absolutely* able to warrant.

[4.] If any troubled with these scruples be only for instruction's sake desirous to know yet some further reason why interrogatories should be ministered to infants in baptism, and be answered unto by others as in their names, they may consider that baptism implieth a covenant or league between God and man, wherein as God doth bestow presently remission of sins and the Holy Ghost, binding also himself to add in process of time what grace soever shall be farther necessary for the attainment of everlasting life; so every baptized soul receiving the same grace at the hands of God tieth likewise itself for ever to the observation of his law, no less than the Jews by circumcision bound themselves to the law of Moses [30]. The law of Christ requiring therefore faith and newness of life in all men by virtue of the covenant which they make in baptism, is it toyish that the Church in baptism exacteth at every man's hands an express profession of faith and an irrevocable promise of obedience by way of solemn stipulation [31]?"

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[24] Aug. Epist. 57. [al. 187. c. 6. t. ii. 684.] "Multum mirabilis res est quemadmodum quorun-"dam nondum cognoscentium Deum sit inhabita-"tor Deus et quorundam cognoscentium non sit. "Nec illi enim ad templum Dei pertinent qui cog-"noscentes Deum non sicut Deum glorificaverunt, "et ad templum Dei pertinent parvuli sanctificati "sacramento Christi, regenerati Spiritu Sancto, "qui per ætatem nondum possunt cognoscere De-"um. Unde quem potuerunt illi nosse nec habere "isti potuerunt habere antequam nosse."

[25] [Ep. 23. al. 98. §. 10.]

[26] T. C. lib. i. p. 169. [136, 137.] "If children "could have faith, yet they that present the child "cannot precisely tell whether that particular child "hath faith or no; we are to think charitably and "to hope it is one of the Church, but it can be no "more precisely said that it hath faith, than it may "be said precisely elected."

[27] [S. Matth. xix. 14.]

[29] 2 John i. [Chr. Letter, p. 36: "What warrant "have you of present grace in the verie worke "wrought of baptism?"

Hooker, MS. note: "Warrant sufficient I hope "for present grace in the sacrament. As for *in the* "*very worke wrought*, they are not my wordes, but "yours. What mean you by this your glose? "Doth it not shew that in my speech there is lesse "than you looked for, and therefore to draw it "somewhat nearer your own construction, you "help it with a worde or two, but so botcht, that "one peace will not hold with another. Had you "placed *ex opere operato* where you use *in opere* "*operato*, it might have stood you in more stead, "and yeat the labour all one. But *in* and *ex* "make no great ods, I suppose, in your theologi-"call dictionary."]

[30] Gal. v. 3.

[31] "Stipulatio est verborum conceptio, quibus is "qui interrogatur daturum facturumve se quod in-"terrogatus est respondet." Sect. 1. ff. de Oblig. et Act. [de Verb. Oblig. Dig. xlv. 1. v. §. 1. p. 660.]

That infants may contract and covenant with God, the law is plain [32]. Neither is the reason of the law obscure. For sith it tendeth we cannot sufficiently express how much to their own good, and doth no way hurt or endanger them to begin the race of their lives herewith, they are as equity requireth admitted hereunto, and in favour of their tender years, such formal complements of stipulation as being requisite are impossible by themselves in their own persons to be performed, leave is given that they may sufficiently discharge by others [33]. Albeit therefore neither deaf nor dumb men, neither furious persons nor children can receive any civil stipulation, yet this kind of ghostly stipulation they may through his indulgence, who respecting the singular benefit thereof accepteth children brought unto him for that end, entereth into articles of covenant with them, and in tender commiseration granteth that other men's professions and promises in baptism made for them shall avail no less than if they had been themselves able to have made their own.

[5.] None more fit to undertake this office in their behalf than such as present them unto baptism. A wrong conceit that none may receive the sacrament of baptism but they whose parents at the least the one of them are by the soundness of their religion and by their virtuous demeanour known to be men of God, hath caused some to repel children [34] whosoever bring them if their parents be mispersuaded in religion, or for other misdeserts excommunicated; some likewise for that cause to withhold baptism, unless the father, albeit no such exception can justly be taken against him, do notwithstanding make profession of his faith, and avouch the child to be his own [35]. Thus whereas God hath appointed them ministers of holy things, they make themselves inquisitors of men's persons a great deal farther than need is.

They should consider that God hath ordained baptism in favour of mankind. To restrain favours is an odious thing, to enlarge them acceptable both to God and man. Whereas therefore the civil law gave divers immunities to them which were fathers of three children and had them living, those immunities they held although their children were all dead, if war had consumed them, because it seemed in that case not against reason to repute them by a courteous construction of law as live men [36], in that the honour of their service done to the commonwealth would remain always. Can it hurt us in exhibiting the graces which God doth bestow on men, or can it prejudice his glory, if the selfsame equity guide and direct our hands?

When God made his covenant with such as had Abraham to their father, was only Abraham's immediate issue, or only his lineal posterity according to the flesh included in that covenant? Were not proselytes as well as Jews always taken for the sons of Abraham? Yea because the very heads of families are fathers in some sort as touching providence and care for the meanest that belong unto them, the servants which Abraham had bought with money were as capable of circumcision, being newly born, as any natural child that Abraham himself begat.

Be it then that baptism belongeth to none but such as either believe presently, or else being infants are the children of *believing parents*. In case the Church do bring children to the holy font whose natural parents are either unknown, or known to be such as the Church accurseth but yet forgetteth not in that severity to take compassion upon

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" In hac re olim talia verba tradita fuerunt: Spon-
" des? Spondeo. Promittis? Promitto. Fide pro-
" mittis? Fide promitto. Fide jubes? Fide ju-
" beo. Dabis? Dabo. Facies? Faciam." Instit. de Verb. Oblig. lib. iii. tit. 16. [p. 26.]

[32] Gen. xvii. 14.

[33] " Accommodat illis mater ecclesia aliorum
" pedes ut veniant, aliorum cor ut credant, aliorum
" linguam ut fateantur; ut quoniam quod ægri
" sunt alio peccante prægravantur, sic cum sani
" fiant alio pro eis confitente salventur." Aug. Serm. 10. de Verb. Apost. [al. serm. 176. §. 2. t. v. 840.]

[34] T. C. lib. i. p. 172. [137.]

[35] [Adm. ap. Whitg. Def. 620. " How conveni-
" ent it were, seeing the children of the faithful
" only are to be baptized, that the father should
" and might, if conveniently, offer and present his
" child to be baptized, making an open confession
" of that faith, wherein he would have his child
" baptized." And p. 619. " If upon necessary oc-
" casion the parents be absent, some one of the con-
" gregation, *knowing the good behaviour and* " *sound faith of the parents*, may both make re-
" hearsal of their faith, and also *if their faith be* *sound and agreeable to Holy Scriptures*, de-
" sire to be in the same baptized." Upon which
" Whitgift asks, " What if the parents be of evil
" behaviour? . . what if they be papists or heretics?
....." T. C. (i. 137.) answers, " If one of the pa-
" rents be not so, the child is holy by virtue of the
" covenant, for one of the parents' sakes. If they
" be both, and yet not obstinate in their sin, where-
" by the church hath not proceeded to excommu-
" nication, (themselves being yet of the Church,)
" their child cannot, nor ought not to be refused.
" If both be papists or condemned heretics...and
" cut off from the Church, their children cannot be
" received..." In the rubric before baptism, in
" the form of Common Prayer used by the English
" at Geneva," (Phœnix, ii. 237.) it is directed that
" the father, or in his absence, the godfather, shall
" rehearse the articles of his faith." Some such regulation was proposed in Convocation, 1562. Strype, An. I. i. 508.]

[36] " Hi enim qui pro Rep. ceciderunt in perpetu-
" um per gloriam vivere intelliguntur." Instit. lib. i. tit. 25. sect. 1.

their offspring, (for it is the Church [37] which doth offer them to baptism by the ministry of presentors,) were it not against both equity and duty to refuse the mother of believers herself, and not to take her in this case for a faithful parent? It is not the virtue of our fathers nor the faith of any other that can give us the true holiness which we have by virtue of our new birth. Yet even through the common faith and spirit of God's Church, (a thing which no quality of parents can prejudice,) I say through the faith of the Church of God undertaking the motherly care of our souls, so far forth we may be and are in our infancy sanctified as to be thereby made sufficiently capable of baptism, and to be interessed in the rites of our new birth for their piety's sake that offer us thereunto.

"It cometh sometime to pass," saith St. Augustine [38], "that the children of bond-"slaves are brought to baptism by their "lord; sometime the parents being dead, "the friends alive undertake that office; "sometime strangers or virgins consecrated "unto God which neither have nor can have "children of their own take up infants in "the open streets, and so offer them unto "baptism, whom the cruelty of unnatural "parents casteth out and leaveth to the ad-"venture of uncertain pity. As therefore "he which did the part of a neighbour was "a neighbour to that wounded man whom "the parable of the Gospel describeth; so "they are fathers although strangers that "bring infants to him which maketh them "the sons of God." In the phrase of some kind of men they use to be termed Witnesses, as if they came but to see and testify what is done. It savoureth more of piety to give them their old accustomed name of Fathers and Mothers in God, whereby they are well put in mind what affection they ought to bear towards those innocents, for whose religious education the Church accepteth them as pledges.

[6.] This therefore is their own duty. But because the answer which they make to the usual demands of stipulation proposed in baptism is not their own, the Church doth best to receive it of them in that form which best sheweth whose the act is. That which a guardian doth in the name of his guard or pupil standeth by natural equity forcible for his benefit though it be done without his knowledge. And shall we judge it a thing unreasonable, or in any respect unfit, that infants by words which others utter should though unwittingly yet truly and forcibly bind themselves to that whereby their estate is so assuredly bettered? Herewith Nestorius the heretic was charged [39] as having fallen from his first profession, and broken the promise which he made to God in the arms of others. Of such as profaned themselves being Christians with irreligious delight in the ensigns of idolatry, heathenish spectacles, shows, and stage-plays, Tertullian to strike them the more deep claimeth the promise which they made in baptism [40]. Why were they dumb being thus challenged? Wherefore stood they not up to answer in their own defence, that such professions and promises made in their names were frivolous, that all which others undertook for them was but

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[37] "Offeruntur quippe parvuli ad percipiendam "spiritualem gratiam non tam ab eis quorum ges-"tantur manibus, quamvis et ab ipsis si et ipsi "boni et fideles sint, quam ab universa societate "sanctorum atque fidelium." Aug. in Epist. 23. [al. 98. §. 5. t. ii. 265.] Ἀξιοῦνται δὲ τῶν διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἀγαθῶν τὰ βρέφη τῃ πίστει τῶν προσφερόντων αὐτὰ τῳ βαπτίσματι. Justin. Resp. ad Orthod. [resp. 56.]

[38] [Aug. Ep. 23. al. 98. §. 6. t. ii. 266. "Illud "nolo te fallat, ut existimes reatus vinculum ex "Adam tractum aliter non posse disrumpi, nisi "parvuli ad percipiendam Christi gratiam *a parent-"ibus* offerantur. Sic enim scribens dicis, *ut sicut "parentes fuerunt auctores ad eorum pœnam, per "fidem parentum identidem justificentur;* cum vi-"deas multos non offerri a parentibus, sed etiam "a quibuslibet extrancis, sicut a dominis servuli "aliquando offeruntur. Et nonnunquam mortuis "parentibus suis, parvuli baptizantur ab eis oblati, "qui illis ejusmodi misericordiam præbere potue-"runt. Aliquando etiam quos crudeliter parentes "exposuerunt nutriendos a quibuslibet, nonnun-"quam a sacris virginibus colliguntur, et ab eis "offeruntur ad baptismum. Quæ certe proprios "filios nec habent ullos nec habere disponunt: ac "per hoc nihil aliud hic fieri vides, nisi quod in "evangelio scriptum est, cum Dominus interrog-"asset, quis ei a latronibus sauciato et semivivo "in via derelicto proximus fuisset: responsum est "enim, Qui in illum fecit misericordiam."]

[39] "Si Arianæ aut Sabellianæ hæreseos assertor "esses, et non tuo ipsius symbolo tecum uterer, "convincerem te tamen testimoniorum sacrorum "auctoritate;...quid tandem si sic apud te age-"rem? quid diceres? quid responderes? nonne ob-"secro illud,...in eo te baptizatum, in eo te rena-"tum esse?... Et vere in negotio quamvis improbo "non importuna defensio, et quæ non absurde cau-"sam erroris diceret, si pertinaciam non sociares "errori. Nunc autem cum in catholica urbe na-"tus, catholica fide institutus, catholico baptis-"mate regeneratus sis, numquid agere tecum quasi "cum Ariano aut Sabelliano possim? Quod uti-"nam fuisses. Minus dolerem in malis editum "quam de bonis lapsum, minus fidem non habitam "quam amissam...Non iniquum autem, hæretice, "non iniquum aut grave aliquid postulo. Hoc fac "in catholica fide editus quod fueras pro perver-"sitate facturus." Cassian. de Incarn. lib. vi. cap. 5. [in Bibl. Pat. Colon. V. p. 2. 77.]

[40] Tertull. lib. de. Spectac. [c. 4. "Si ex idolo-"latria universam spectaculorum paraturam con-"stare constiterit, indubitate præjudicatum erit, "etiam ad spectacula pertinere renunciationis nos-"træ testimonium in lavacro, quæ diabolo et pom-"pæ et angelis ejus sint mancipata, scilicet per "idololatriam."]

mockery and profanation? That which no heretic, no wicked liver, no impious despiser of God, no miscreant or malefactor, which had himself been baptized, was ever so desperate as to disgorge in contempt of so fruitfully received customs, is now their voice that restore as they say the ancient purity of religion.

Of the Cross in Baptism.

LXV. In baptism many things of very ancient continuance are now quite and clean abolished, for that the virtue and grace of this sacrament had been therewith overshadowed, as fruit with too great abundance of leaves. Notwithstanding to them which think it always imperfect reformation that doth but shear and not flay, our retaining certain of those former rites, especially the *dangerous* sign of the cross, hath seemed almost an impardonable oversight [41]. "The cross," they say, "sith it "is but a mere invention of man, should not "therefore at all have been added to the "sacrament of baptism. To sign children's "foreheads with a cross, in token that here-"after they shall not be ashamed to make "profession of the faith of Christ, is to bring "into the Church a new word, whereas "there ought to be no doctor heard in the "Church but our Saviour Christ. That "reason which moved the Fathers to use "should move us not to use the sign of the "cross. They lived with heathens which "had the cross of Christ in contempt, we "with such as adore the cross, and there-"fore we ought to abandon it even as in "like consideration Ezechias did of the old "brazen serpent [42]."

[2.] These are the causes of displeasure conceived against the cross, a ceremony the use whereof hath been profitable although we observe it not as the ordinance of God but of man. [43] For, saith Tertullian, "if of this and the like customs thou "shouldst require some commandment to "be shewed thee out of Scriptures, there "is none found." What reason there is to justify tradition, use or custom in this behalf, "either thou mayest of thyself per-"ceive, or else learn of some other that "doth." Lest therefore the name of tradition should be offensive to any, considering how far by some it hath been and is abused, we mean by traditions [44], ordinances made in the prime of Christian religion, established with that authority which Christ hath left to his Church for matters indifferent, and in that consideration requisite to be observed, till like authority see just and reasonable cause to alter them. So that traditions ecclesiastical are not rudely and in gross to be shaken off, because the inventors of them were men.

[3.] Such as say they allow no invention of man [45] to be mingled with the outward administration of sacraments, and under that pretence condemn our using the sign of the cross, have belike some special dispensation themselves to violate their own rules. For neither can they indeed decently nor do they ever baptize any without manifest breach of this their profound axiom, that "men's inventions should not be "mingled with sacraments and institutions "of God." They seem to like very well in baptism the custom of godfathers, "be-"cause so generally all churches have re-"ceived it [46]." Which custom being of God no more instituted than the other, (howsoever they pretend the other hurtful and this profitable,) it followeth that even in their own opinion, if their words do shew their minds, there is no necessity of stripping sacraments out of all such attire of ceremonies as man's wisdom hath at any time clothed them withal, and consequently that either they must reform their speech as over general, or else condemn their own practice as unlawful.

[4.] Ceremonies have more in weight

[41] [Adm. ap. Whitg. Def. 607. "Crossing and "such like pieces of Popery, which the Church "of God in the Apostles' time never knew, and "therefore not to be used." Id. ibid. 617. "They "do superstitiously and wickedly institute a new "Sacrament, which is proper to Christ only, "marking the child in the forehead with a cross, "in token that he shall not be ashamed to confess "the Faith of Christ."]

[42] [Abridged from T. C. i. 135, 136. al. 170, 171. Beza, Epist. 12. Tract. Theol. iii. 220. "Signi crucis ut olim aliquis fuerit usus, eam ta-"men esse et quidem adhuc adeo recentem super-"stitionem, superstitionem maxime execrabilem, "certum est, ut rectissime fecisse arbitremur, qui "semel istum ritum ex ecclesiis expulerunt; cu-"jus etiam non videmus quæ sit utilitas." Comp. Str. Grind. 512.]

[43] Tertull. de Coron. Militis. [c. 4. "Ad omnem "progressum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum "et exitum, ad vestitum, ad calceatum, ad lava-"cra, ad mensas, ad lumina, ad cubilia, ad se-"dilia, quæcunque nos conversatio exercet, fron-"tem crucis signaculo terimus. Harum et alia-"rum ejusmodi disciplinarum si legem expostules "scripturarum, nullam invenies: traditio tibi præ-"tendetur auctrix, consuetudo confirmatrix, et "fides observatrix. Rationem traditioni, consue-"tudini, fidei, patrocinaturam aut ipse perspicies "aut ab aliquo qui perspexerit disces."]

[44] "Traditiones non scriptas si doctrinam re-"spiciant cum doctrina scripta convenire debere "dicimus. Quod ad rituales et ecclesiasticas at-"tinet, ordinis et ædificationis ecclesiarum in his "semper habenda ratio est; inutiles autem et nox-"ias, nempe ineptas et superstitiosas, patronis suis "relinquamus." Goulart. Genev. Annot. in Ep. Cypr. 74.

[45] T. C. lib. i. p. 171. [136.] "They should not "have been so bold as to have brought it into the "holy Sacrament of Baptism, and so mingle the "ceremonies and inventions of men with the sa-"craments and institutions of God."

[46] T. C. lib. i. p. 170. [137.]

than in sight, they work by commonness of use much, although in the several acts of their usage we scarcely discern any good they do. And because the use which they have for the most part is not perfectly understood, superstition is apt to impute unto them greater virtue than indeed they have. For prevention whereof when we use this ceremony we always plainly express the end whereunto it serveth, namely, for a sign of remembrance to put us in mind of our duty.

But by this mean they say [47] we make it a great deal worse. For why? Seeing God hath no where commanded to draw two lines in token of the duty which we owe to Christ, our practice with this exposition publisheth a new *gospel*, and causeth another *word* to have place in the Church of Christ, where no voice ought to be heard but his.

By which good reason the authors of those grave Admonitions to the Parliament are well holpen up, which held that "sitting" at communions "betokeneth rest "and full accomplishment of legal ceremonies in our Saviour Christ [48]." For although it be the word of God that such ceremonies are expired, yet seeing it is not the word of God that men to signify so much should sit at the table of our Lord, these have their doom as well as others, "Guilty of a new-devised gospel in the "Church of Christ [49]."

[5.] Which strange imagination is begotten of a special dislike they have to hear that ceremonies now in use should be thought significant, whereas in truth such as are not significant must needs be vain. Ceremonies destitute of signification are no better than the idle gestures of men whose broken wits are not masters of that they do. For if we look but into secular and civil compliments, what other cause can there possibly be given why to omit them where of course they are looked for, (for [50] where they are not so due to use them, bringeth men's secret intents oftentimes into great jealousy,) I would know I say what reason we are able to yield why things so light in their own nature should weigh in the opinions of men so much, saving only in regard of that which they use to signify or betoken?

Doth not our Lord Jesus Christ himself impute the omission of some courteous ceremonies even in domestical entertainment to a colder degree of loving affection, and take the contrary in better part, not so much respecting what was less done as what was signified less by the one than by the other? For to that very end he refereth in part those gracious expostulations [51], "Simon, seest thou this woman? Since I "entered into thine house thou gavest me "no water for my feet, but she hath washed "my feet with tears, and wiped them with "the hairs of her head; thou gavest me no "kiss, but this woman since the time I came "in, hath not ceased to kiss my feet; mine "head with oil thou didst not anoint, but "this woman hath anointed my feet with "ointment."

Wherefore as the usual dumb ceremonies of common life are in request or dislike according to that they import, even so religion having likewise her silent rites, the chiefest rule whereby to judge of their quality is that which they mean or betoken. For if they signify good things, (as somewhat they must of necessity signify, because it is of their very nature to be signs of intimation, presenting both themselves unto outward sense and besides themselves some other thing to the understanding of beholders,) unless they be either greatly mischo-

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[47] T. C. lib. i. p. 171. [136.] "The profitable "signification of the cross maketh the thing a "great deal worse, and bringeth in a new word "into the Church, whereas there ought to be no "doctor heard in the Church but only our Saviour "Christ. For although it be the word of God "that we should not be ashamed of the cross of "Christ, yet it is not the word of God that we "should be kept in remembrance of that by two "lines drawn across one over another in the "child's forehead." [In i. 80. al. 59, the same argument is employed against the surplice. "Although the Church have authority to make cer"emonies, (so they be according to the rules be"fore recited. . . .) I could for all that never yet "learn that it hath power to give new significa"tions, as it were to institute new sacraments. . . "And therefore although the surplice have a "black spot when it is whitest, *yet is it not "so black as you make it with your white signifi"cations:* nor the cause so evil, as you defend it." Id. iii. 227. "Although the ceremony of crossing "were convenient, yet to raise a doctrine of it is "unlawful: forasmuch as it is not enough to "teach the truth unless it be truly taught, and "that is only out of the word of God. Now let "him shew a word of God, that two lines laid "crosswise signifieth that we should not be "ashamed of the passion or cross of Christ."]

[48] [See hereafter, c. lxviii. 3. They had omitted this opinion in their second edition. Whitg. Answ. 303.]

[49] [So Whitgift, Answ. 244. "It (crossing) "may be left, and hath been used in the primitive "Church, and may be so still, without either su"perstition or wickedness. Neither doth it any "more make a sacrament because it is in token "that hereafter he shall not be ashamed to con"fess Christ crucified, than your sitting doth at "the communion in token of rest, that is a full "finishing through Christ of the ceremonial law." See also Def. 618, and T. C. iii. 227.]

[50] [The original edition has "looked for, or," but in the list of errata at the end "for" is directed to be substituted instead of "or." The present editor has ventured to insert the marks of a parenthesis.]

[51] Luke vii. 44—46.

sen to signify the same, or else applied where that which they signify agreeth not, there is no cause of exception against them as against evil and unlawful ceremonies, much less of excepting against them only in that they are not without sense.

And if every religious ceremony which hath been invented of men to signify any thing that God himself alloweth were the publication of another gospel in the Church of Christ, seeing that no Christian church in the world is or can be without continual use of some ceremonies which men have instituted, and that to signify good things (unless they be vain and frivolous ceremonies) it would follow that the world hath no Christian church which doth not daily proclaim new gospels, a sequel the manifest absurdity whereof argueth the rawness of that supposal out of which it groweth.

[6.] Now the cause[52] why antiquity did the more *in actions of common life* honour the ceremony of the cross might be for that they lived with infidels. But that which they did in the sacrament of baptism was for the selfsame good of believers which is thereby intended still. The Cross is for us an admonition no less necessary than for them to glory in the service of Jesus Christ, and not to hang down our heads as men ashamed thereof although it procure us reproach and obloquy at the hands of this wretched world.

Shame is a kind of fear to incur disgrace and ignominy. Now whereas some things are worthy of reproach, some things ignominious only through a false opinion which men have conceived of them, nature that generally feareth opprobrious reprehension must by reason and religion be taught what it should be ashamed of and what not[52]. But be we never so well instructed what our duty is in this behalf, without some present admonition at the very instant of practice, what we know is many times not called to mind till that be done whereupon our just confusion ensueth. To supply the absence of such as that way might do us good when they see us in danger of sliding, there are judicious and wise men which think we may greatly relieve ourselves by a bare imagined presence of some, whose authority we fear and would be loth to offend, if indeed they were present with us[53]. "Witnesses at hand are a bridle "unto many offences. Let the mind have "always some whom it feareth, some whose "authority may keep even secret thoughts "under awe. Take Cato, or if he be too "harsh and rugged, choose some other of "a softer mettle, whose gravity of life and "speech thou lovest, his mind and countenance carry with thee, set him always "before thine eyes either as a watch or as "a pattern. That which is crooked we "cannot straighten but by some such "level."

If men of so good experience and insight in the maims of our weak flesh, have thought these fancied remembrances available to awaken shamefacedness, that so the boldness of sin may be stayed ere it look abroad, surely the wisdom of the Church of Christ which hath to that use converted the ceremony of the cross in baptism, it is no Christian man's part to despise, especially seeing that by this mean where nature doth earnestly implore aid, religion yieldeth her that ready assistance than which there can be no help more forcible serving only to relieve memory, and to bring to our cogitation that which should most make ashamed of sin.

[7.] The mind while we are in this present life, whether it contemplate[54], meditate,

[52] T. C. lib. i. p. 170. [136.] "It is known to all "that have read the ecclesiastical stories that the "heathen did object to Christians in times past in "reproach that the God which they believed of "was hanged upon a cross. And they thought "good to testify that they were not ashamed "therefore of the Son of God, by the often using "of the sign of the cross. Which carefulness "and good mind to keep amongst them an open "profession of Christ crucified, although it be to "be commended, yet is not this means so. For "they might otherwise have kept it and with less "danger than by this use of crossing. And as it "was brought in upon no good ground, so the "Lord left a mark of his curse of it, and whereby "it might be perceived to come out of the forge "of man's brain, in that it began forthwith while "it was yet in the swaddling clouts to be superstitiously abused. The Christians had such a "superstition in it that they would do nothing "without crossing. But if it were granted that "upon this consideration which I have before-"mentioned, the ancient Christians did well, yet "it followeth not that we should so do. For we "live not amongst those nations which do cast us "in the teeth or reproach us with the cross of "Christ. Now that we live amongst papists that "do not contemn the cross of Christ, but which "esteem more of the wooden cross than of the "true cross which is his sufferings, we ought now "to do clean contrariwise to the old Christians, "and abolish all use of these crosses. For contrary diseases must have contrary remedies. If "therefore the old Christians to deliver the cross "of Christ from contempt did often use the cross, "the Christians now to take away the superstitious estimation of it ought to take away the "use of it."]

[52] Ephes. v. 12; Rom. vi. 21.

[53] Sen. Epist. lib. i. Ep. 11. "Magna pars peccatorum tollitur, si peccaturis testis adsistat. "Aliquem habeat animus, quem vereatur, cujus "auctoritate etiam secretum suum sanctius faciat "……Elige itaque Catonem: si hic videtur tibi "nimis rigidus, elige remissioris animi virum, Lælium; elige cum, cujus tibi placuit et vita et "oratio, et ipsius animum ante te ferens et vultus, "illum semper tibi ostende, vel custodem vel exemplum…Nisi ad regulam, prava non corriges."]

[54] Τὸ νοεῖν ἢ φαντασία τις ἢ οὐκ ἄνευ φαντασίας. A-

deliberate, or howsoever exercise itself, worketh nothing without continual recourse unto imagination, the only storehouse of wit and peculiar chair of memory. On this anvil it ceaseth not day and night to strike, by means whereof as the pulse declareth how the heart doth work, so the very thoughts [55] and cogitations of man's mind be they good or bad do no where sooner bewray themselves, than through the crevices of that wall wherewith nature hath compassed the cells and closets of fancy. In the forehead nothing more plain to be seen than the fear of contumely and disgrace. For which cause the Scripture (as with great probability it may be thought) describeth them [56] marked of God in the forehead, whom his mercy hath undertaken to keep from final confusion and shame. Not that God doth set any corporal mark on his chosen, but to note that he giveth his elect security of preservation from reproach, the fear whereof doth use to shew itself in that part [57]. Shall I say, that the sign of the Cross (as we use it) is in some sort a mean to work our preservation from reproach [58]? Surely the mind which as yet hath not hardened itself in sin is seldom provoked thereunto in any gross and grievous manner, but nature's secret suggestion objecteth against it ignominy as a bar. Which conceit being entered into that palace of man's fancy, the gates whereof hath imprinted in them that holy sign which bringeth forthwith to mind whatsoever Christ hath wrought and we vowed against sin, it cometh hereby to pass that Christian men never want a most effectual though a silent teacher to avoid whatsoever may deservedly procure shame. So that in things which we should be ashamed of we are by the Cross admonished faithfully of our duty at the very moment when admonition doth most need.

[8.] Other things there are which deserve honour and yet do purchase many times our disgrace in this present world, as of old the very truth of religion itself, till God by his own outstretched arm made the glory thereof to shine over all the earth. Whereupon St. Cyprian exhorting to martyrdom in times of heathenish persecution and cruelty, thought it not vain to allege unto them with other arguments the very ceremony of that Cross whereof we speak [59]. Never let that hand offer sacrifice to idols which hath already received the Body of our Saviour Christ, and shall hereafter the crown of his glory; "Arm your foreheads" unto all boldness, that the "Sign of God" may be kept safe.

Again, when it pleased God that the fury of their enemies being bridled the Church had some little rest and quietness (if so small a liberty but only to breathe between troubles may be termed quietness and rest,) to such as fell not away from Christ through former persecutions, he giveth due and deserved praise in the selfsame manner. "[60] You that were ready to endure impri- "sonment, and were resolute to suffer death; "you that have courageously withstood the "world, ye have made yourselves both a "glorious spectacle for God to behold, and "a worthy example for the rest of your "brethren to follow. Those mouths which "had sanctified themselves with food com- "ing down from heaven loathed after "Christ's own Body and Blood to taste the "poisoned and contagious scraps of idols; "those foreheads which the Sign of God "had purified kept themselves to be crowned "by him, the touch of the garlands of Sa- "tan they abhorred [61]." Thus was the memory of that sign which they had in baptism a kind of bar or prevention to keep them even from apostasy, whereinto the frailty of flesh and blood overmuch fearing to endure shame, might peradventure the more easily otherwise have drawn them.

[9.] We have not now through the gracious goodness of Almighty God, those extreme conflicts which our fathers had with blasphemous contumelies every where of-

rist. de Anim. lib. i. cap. 1. [§. 18.] Ἡ μὲν αἰσθητικὴ φαντασία καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζώοις ὑπάρχει· ἡ δὲ βουλευτικὴ ἐν τοῖς λογιστικοῖς. lib. iii. cap. 11. [§. 13.] Τὰ μὲν οὖν εἴδη τὰ νοητικὸν ἐν τοῖς φαντάσμασι νοεῖ, καὶ ὡς ἐν ἐκείνοις ὥρισται αὐτῷ τὸ διωκτὸν καὶ φευκτόν, καὶ ἐκτὸς τῆς αἰσθήσεως ὄν, ὅταν ἐπὶ τῶν φαντασμάτων ᾖ, κινεῖται. lib. iii. cap. 8. [§. 8.]

[55] "Frons hominis tristitiæ, hilaritatis, clemen- "tiæ, severitatis index est." Plin. lib. xi. [c. 37.]

[56] Ezek. ix. 4; Apoc. vii. 3; ix. 4.

[57] Ἐρυθριάνουσι γὰρ οἱ αἰσχυνόμενοι. Arist. Eth. iv. c. 9.

[58] "Caro signatur ut et anima muniatur." Tertull. de Resur. Carn. [c. 8.]

[59] Cypr. Epist. 56. [al. 58. c. 6.] ad Thibaritanos, [t. ii. 125. "Accipiamus quoque ad tegumentum "capitis galeam salutarem, ut muniantur aures, "ne audiant edicta feralia; muniantur oculi, ne "videant detestanda simulacra: *muniatur frons "ut signum Dei incolume servetur;* muniatur os, "ut Dominum suum Christum victrix lingua fate- "atur. Armemus et dextram gladio spiritali, ut "sacrificia funesta fortiter respuat, et eucharistiæ "memor, quæ Domini corpus accepit, ipsum com- "plectatur, postea a Domino sumtura præmium "cælestium coronarum."]

[60] Cypr. de Laps. [c. 2. t. i. 121. "Parati ad pa- "tientiam carceris, armati ad tolerantiam mortis, "repugnastis fortiter sæculo, spectaculum glorio- "sum præbuistis Deo, secuturis fratribus fuistis "exemplo....Sanctificata ora cælestibus cibis, post "corpus et sanguinem Domini, profana contagia "et idolorum reliquias respuerunt.....*Frons cum "signo Dei pura diaboli coronam ferre non potuit, "coronæ se Domini reservavit.*"]

[61] "Erant enim supplices conarii." Tertull. lib de Coron. Mil. [c. 7.] In the service of idols, the doors of their temples, the sacrifices, the altars, the priests and the supplicants that were present wore garlands.

fered to the name of Christ, by such as professed themselves infidels and unbelievers. Howbeit, unless we be strangers to the age wherein we live, or else in some partial respect dissemblers of that we hourly both hear and see, there is not the simplest of us but knoweth with what disdain and scorn Christ is honoured far and wide. Is there any burden in the world more heavy to bear than contempt? Is there any contempt that grieveth as theirs doth whose quality no way making them less worthy than others are of reputation, only the service which they do to Christ in the daily exercise of religion treadeth them down? Doth any contumely which we sustain for religion's sake pierce so deeply as that which would seem even of mere conscience religiously spiteful? When they that honour God are despised; when the chiefest service of honour that man can do unto him, is the cause why they are despised; when they which pretend to honour him and that with greatest sincerity, do with more than heathenish petulancy trample under foot almost whatsoever either we or the whole Church of God by the space of so many ages have been accustomed unto, for the comelier and better exercise of our religion according to the soundest rules that wisdom directed by the word of God, and by long experience confirmed, hath been able with common advice, with much deliberation and exceeding great diligence, to comprehend; when no man fighting under Christ's banner can be always exempted from seeing or sustaining those indignities, the sting whereof not to feel, or feeling, not to be moved thereat, is a thing impossible to flesh and blood: if this be any object for patience to work on, the strictest bond that thereunto tieth us is our vowed obedience to Christ; the solemnest vow that we ever made to obey Christ and to suffer willingly all reproaches for his sake was made in baptism; and amongst other memorials to keep us mindful of that vow we cannot think that the sign which our new baptized foreheads did there receive is either unfit or unforcible, the reasons hitherto alleged being weighed with indifferent balance.

[10.] It is not (you will say) the cross in our foreheads, but in our hearts the faith of Christ that armeth us with patience, constancy, and courage. Which as we grant to be most true, so neither dare we despise no not the meanest helps that serve though it be but in the very lowest degree of furtherance towards the highest services that God doth require at our hands. And if any man deny that such ceremonies are available at the least as memorials of duty, or do think that himself hath no need to be so put in mind what our duties are, it is but reasonable that in the one the public experience of the world overweigh some few men's persuasion, and in the other the rare perfection of a few condescend unto common imbecility.

[11.] Seeing therefore that to fear shame which doth worthily follow sin, and to bear undeserved reproach constantly is the general duty of all men professing Christianity; seeing also that our weakness while we are in this present world doth need towards spiritual duties the help even of corporal furtherances, and that by reason of natural intercourse between the highest and the lowest powers of man's mind in all actions, his fancy or imagination carrying in it that special note of remembrance, than which there is nothing more forcible where either too weak or too strong a conceit of infamy and disgrace might do great harm, standeth always ready to put forth a kind of necessary helping hand; we are in that respect to acknowledge the good and profitable use of this ceremony [62]. and not to think it superfluous that Christ hath his mark applied [63] unto that part where bashfulness appeareth, in token that they which are Christians should be at no time ashamed of his ignominy.

But to prevent some inconveniences which might ensue if the over ordinary use thereof (as it fareth with such rites when they are too common) should cause it to be of less observation or regard where it most availeth, we neither omit it in that place, nor altogether make it so vulgar as the custom heretofore hath been: although to condemn the whole Church of God when it most flourished in zeal and piety, to mark that age with the brand of error and superstition only because they had this ceremony more in use than we now think needful, boldly to affirm that this their practice grew so soon through a fearful malediction of God upon the ceremony of the cross, as if we knew that his purpose was thereby to make it manifest in all men's eyes how execrable those things are in his sight which have proceeded from human invention, is as we take it a censure of greater zeal than knowledge. Men whose judgments in these cases are grown more moderate, although they retain not as we do the use of this ceremony, perceive notwithstanding very well such censures to be out of square, and do therefore not only acquit the Fathers from superstition therein [64] but also think it suf-

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[62] Ἔστω δὲ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ φυλακτικὸν τῶν τοιούτων καὶ ᾧ ἀκολουθεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ κωλυτικὰ τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ τὰ φθαρτικά. Arist. Rhet. lib. i. cap. 6.

[63] "Ozias Rex lepræ varietate in fronte macula-"tus est, ea parte corporis notatus offenso Domi-"no, ubi signantur qui Dominum promerentur." Cypr. de Unit. Eccles. cap. 16. [i. 116.]

[64] Goulart. Annot. in Cypr. lib. ad Demetr. cap. 19. "Quamvis veteres Christiani externo signo "crucis usi sunt, id tamen fuit sine superstitione, "et doctrina de Christi merito ab errore qui postea "irrepsit pios servavit immunes."

ficient to answer in excuse of themselves, "This ceremony which was but a thing in- "different even of old we judge not at this "day a matter necessary for all Christian "men to observe [65]."

[12.] As for their last upshot of all towards this mark, they are of opinion that if the ancient Christians to deliver the Cross of Christ from contempt did well and with good consideration use often the sign of the cross, in testimony of their faith and profession before infidels which upbraided them with Christ's sufferings, now that we live with such as contrariwise adore the sign of the cross, (because contrary diseases should always have contrary remedies,) we ought to take away all use thereof. In which conceit they both ways greatly seduce themselves, first for that they imagine the Fathers to have had no use of the cross but with reference unto infidels, which mispersuasion we have before discovered at large; and secondly by reason that they think there is not any other way besides universal extirpation to reform superstitious abuses of the cross. Wherein because there are that stand very much upon the example of Ezechias [66], as if his *breaking to pieces that serpent* of brass [67] whereunto the children of Israel had *burnt incense*, did enforce the utter abolition of this ceremony, the fact of that virtuous prince is by so much the more attentively to be considered.

[13.] Our lives in this world are partly guided by rules, and partly directed by examples. To conclude out of general rules and axioms by discourse of wit our duties in every particular action, is both troublesome and many times so full of difficulty that it maketh deliberations hard and tedious to the wisest men. Whereupon we naturally all incline to observe examples, to mark what others have done before us, and in favour of our own ease rather to follow them than to enter into new consultation, if in regard of their virtue and wisdom we may but probably think they have waded without error. So that the willingness of men to be led by example of others both discovereth and helpeth the imbecility of our judgment. Because it doth the one, therefore insolent and proud wits would always seem to be their own guides; and because it doth the other, we see how hardly the vulgar sort is drawn unto any thing for which there are not as well examples as reasons alleged. Reasons proving that which is more particular by things more general and farther from sense are with the simpler sort of men less trusted, for that they doubt of their own judgment in those things; but of examples which prove unto them one doubtful particular by another more familiarly and sensibly known, they easily perceive in themselves some better ability to judge. The force of examples therefore is great, when in matter of action being doubtful what to do we are informed what others have commendably done whose deliberations were like.

[14.] But whosoever doth persuade by example must as well respect the fitness as the goodness of that he allegeth. To Ezechias God himself in this fact giveth testimony of well doing. So that nothing is here questionable but only whether the example alleged be pertinent, pregnant, and strong.

The serpent spoken of was first erected for the extraordinary and *miraculous cure* of the Israelites in the desert. This use having presently an end when the cause for which God ordained it was once removed, the thing itself they notwithstanding kept for a *monument of God's mercy*, as in like consideration they did the pot of manna, the rod of Aaron, and the sword which David took from Goliah. In process of time they made of a monument of divine power a plain idol, they burnt incense before it contrary to the law of God, and did it the services of honour due unto God only. Which gross and grievous abuse continued till Ezechias restoring the purity of sound religion, destroyed utterly that which had been so long and so generally a snare unto them.

It is not amiss which the canon law hereupon concludeth, namely [68] that "if our "predecessors have done some things which "at that time might be without fault, and "afterward be turned to error and superstition, we are taught by Ezechias breaking

[65] Goulart. Annot. in Cypr. Epist. 56. cap. 7.

[66] 2 Kings xviii. 3, 4.

[67] [T. C. i. 60. al. 81. "If there were no harm "in it, (the apparel,) and that it were also profit- "able, yet forasmuch as it is not commanded of "God expressly, but a thing (as you say) indiffer- "ent, and notwithstanding is cause of so many "incommodties, and so abused . . . it ought to be "sufficient reason to abolish them: seeing that the "brazen serpent, which was instituted of the Lord "himself, and contained a profitable remembrance "of the wonderful benefit of God towards his peo- "ple, was beaten to powder, when as it began to "be an occasion of falling to the children of Isra- "el." Whitg. Def. 294. "Do you think that any "man doth worship the apparel, as the Israelites "did worship the serpent?" T. C. iii. 261. "Al- "though no man worship the apparel by falling "down before it, yet he may have a damnable "opinion of it, and as hard to be pulled out as the "other."]

[68] [Decr. 1.] Dist. 63. cap. Quia. ["Sancta." Corp. Jur. Can. 75. "Per hoc magna auctoritas "ista est habenda in Ecclesia, ut si nonnulli ex "prædecessoribus et majoribus nostris fecerunt al- "iqua, quæ illo tempore potuerunt esse sine culpa, "et postea vertuntur in errorem et superstitionem, "sine tarditate aliqua, et cum magna auctoritate, "a posteris destruantur."]

"the brazen serpent that posterity may de-"stroy them without any delay and with "great authority." But may it be simply and without exception hereby gathered, that posterity is "bound to destroy" whatsoever hath been either at the first invented, or but afterwards turned to like superstition and error? No, it cannot be.

The serpent therefore and the sign of the cross, although seeming equal in this point, that superstition hath abused both, yet being herein also unequal, that neither they have been both subject to the like degree of abuse, nor were in hardness of redress alike, it may be that even as the one for abuse was religiously taken away, so now, when religion hath taken away abuse from the other, we should by utter abolition thereof deserve hardly his commendation whose example there is offered us no such necessary cause to follow.

[15.] For by the words of Ezechias in terming the serpent but "a lump of brass[69]," to shew that the best thing in it now was the metal or matter whereof it consisted, we may probably conjecture, that the people whose error is therein controlled had the selfsame opinion of it which the heathens had of idols, they thought that the power of Deity was with it, and when they saw it dissolved haply they might to comfort themselves imagine as Olympius the sophister did beholding the dissipation of idols[70], "Shapes and counterfeits they "were, fashioned of matter subject unto cor-"ruption, therefore to grind them to dust "was easy, but those celestial powers "which dwelt and resided in them are as-"cended into heaven."

Some difference there is between these opinions of palpable idolatry and that which the schools in speculation have bolted out concerning the cross. Notwithstanding forasmuch as the Church of Rome hath hitherto practised and doth profess the same adoration to the sign of the cross and neither less nor other than is due unto Christ himself, howsoever they varnish and qualify their sentence, pretending that the cross, which to outward sense presenteth visibly itself alone, is not by them apprehended alone, but hath in their secret surmise or conceit a reference to the person of our Lord Jesus Christ, so that the honour which they jointly do to both respecteth principally his person, and the cross but only for his person's sake, the people not accustomed to trouble their wits with so nice and subtile differences in the exercise of religion are apparently no less ensnared by adoring the cross, than the Jews by burning incense to the brazen serpent.

It is by Thomas ingenuously granted[71], that because unto reasonable creatures a kind of reverence is due for the excellency which is in them and whereby they resemble God, therefore if reasonable creatures, angels or men, should receive at our hands holy and divine honour as the sign of the cross doth at theirs, to pretend that we honour not them alone but we honour God, with them would not serve the turn, neither would this be able to prevent the error of men, or cause them always to respect God in their adorations, and not to finish their intents in the object next before them. But unto this he addeth, that no such error can grow by adoring in that sort a dead image, which every man knoweth to be void of excellency in itself, and therefore will easily conceive that the honour done unto it hath an higher reference.

Howbeit, seeing that we have by overtrue experience been taught how often especially in these cases, the light even of common understanding faileth, surely their usual adoration of the cross is not hereby freed. For in actions of this kind we are more to respect what the greatest part of men is commonly prone to conceive, than what some few men's wits may devise in construction of their own particular meanings. Plain it is, that a false opinion of some personal divine excellency to be in those things which either nature or art hath framed causeth always religious adoration. And as plain that the like adoration applied unto things sensible argueth to vulgar capacities, yea leaveth imprinted in them the very same opinion of Deity from whence all idolatrous worship groweth. Yea the meaner and baser a thing worshipped is in itself, the more they incline to think that every man which doth adore it, knoweth there is in it or with it a presence of divine power.

[16.] Be it therefore true that crosses purposely framed or used for receipt of divine honour be even as scandalous as the brazen serpent itself, where they are in such sort adored. Should we hereupon think ourselves in the sight of God and in

[69] [Grot. in loc. "Q. d. *Æs est, præterea ni-*"*hil.*"]

[70] Sozom. lib. ii. cap. 15. [Ὀλύμπιός τις ἐν φιλοσόφου σχήματι συνὼν αὐτοῖς, καὶ πείθων χρῆναι μὴ ἀμελεῖν τῶν πατρίων, ἀλλ' εἴ δέοι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν θνήσκειν· καθαιρουμένων δὲ τῶν ξοάνων, ἀθυμοῦντας ὁρῶν, σύνεβούλευε μὴ ἐξιστάσθαι τῆς θρησκείας, ὕλην φθαρτὴν καὶ ἐνδάλματα λέγων εἶναι τὰ ἀγάλματα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀφανισμὸν ὑπομένειν· δυνάμεις δέ τινας ἐνοικῆσαι αὐτοῖς, καὶ εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀποπτῆναι. This happened at Alexandria in the reign of Valentinian and Theodosius.]

[71] Tho. p. iii. q. 25. art. 3. Resp. ad Tert. [t. xii. 98. "Creaturæ rationali debetur reverentia propter ipsam; et ideo si creaturæ rationali, in qua "est imago Dei, exhiberetur adoratio latriæ, posset "esse erroris occasio, ut scil. motus adorantis sis-"teret in homine, in quantum est res quædam, et "non ferretur in Deum cujus est imago: quod non "potest contingere de imagine sculpta, vel picta "in materia sensibili."]

conscience charged to abolish utterly the very *ceremony* of the cross, neither meant at the first, nor now converted unto any such offensive purpose? Did the Jews which could never be persuaded to admit in the city of Jerusalem[72] that image of Cæsar which the Romans were accustomed[73] to adore, make any scruple of Cæsar's image in the coin which they knew very well that men were not wont to worship[74]? Between the cross which superstition honoureth as Christ, and that ceremony of the cross which serveth only for a sign of remembrance, there is as plain and as great a difference as between those brazen images which Solomon made to bear up the cistern of the temple[75], and (sith both were of like shape but of unlike use) that which the Israelites in the wilderness did adore[76]; or between the altars which Josias destroyed because they were instruments of mere idolatry[77], and that which the tribe of Reuben with others erected near to the river Jordan[78], for which also they grew at the first into some dislike, and were by the rest of their brethren suspected yea hardly charged with open breach of the law of God, accused of backwardness in religion, upbraided bitterly with the fact of Peor, and the odious example of Achan, as if the building of their altar in that place had given manifest show of no better than intended apostasy, till by a true declaration made in their own defence it appeared that such as misliked misunderstood their enterprise, inasmuch as they had no intent to build any altar for sacrifice, which God would have no where offered saving in Jerusalem only, but to a far other end and purpose, which being opened satisfied all parts, and so delivered them from causeless blame.

[17.] In this particular suppose the worst, imagine that the immaterial ceremony of the Cross had been the subject of as gross pollution as any heathenish or profane idol. If we think the example of Ezechias a proof that things which error and superstition hath abused may in no consideration be tolerated, although we presently find them not subject to so vile abuse, the plain example of Ezechias proveth the contrary. The temples and idols which under Solomon had been of very purpose framed for the honour of foreign gods[79] Ezechias destroyed not, because they stood as forlorn things and did now no harm, although formerly they had done harm. Josias[80] for some inconvenience afterwards razed them up. Yet to both there is one commendation given even from God himself, that touching matter of religion they walked in the steps of David and did no way displease God[81].

[18.] Perhaps it seemeth that by force and virtue of this example although in bare detestation and hatred of idolatry all things which have been at any time worshipped are not necessarily to be taken out of the world, nevertheless for remedy and prevention of so great offences wisdom should judge it the safest course to remove altogether from the eyes of men that which may put them in mind of evil.

Some kinds of evil no doubt there are very quick in working on those affections that most easily take fire, which evils should in that respect no oftener than need requireth be brought in presence of weak minds. But neither is the Cross any such evil, nor yet the brazen serpent itself so strongly poisoned, that our eyes, ears, and thoughts ought to shun them both, for fear of some deadly harm to ensue the only representation thereof by gesture, shape, sound, or such like significant means. And for mine own part I most assuredly persuade myself, that had Ezechias (till the days of whose most virtuous reign they ceased not continually to burn incense to the brazen serpent) had he found the serpent, though sometime adored, yet at that time recovered from the evil of so gross abuse, and reduced to the same that was before in the time of David, at which time they esteemed it only as a memorial, sign, or monument of God's miraculous goodness towards them, even as we in no other sort esteem the ceremony of the Cross, the due consideration of an use so harmless common to both might no less have wrought their equal preservation, than different occasions have procured, notwithstanding the one's extinguishment, the other's lawful continuance.

[19.] In all persuasions which ground themselves upon example, we are not so much to respect what is done, as the causes and secret inducements leading thereunto. The question being therefore whether this ceremony supposed to have been *sometimes* scandalous and offensive ought for that

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[72] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 8. [c. 6. §. 2. ed. Huds.] et lib. xviii. cap. 3. [§. 1.] et de Bell. lib. ii. cap. 9.

[73] Their eagles, their ensigns, and the images of their princes, they carried with them in all their armies, and had always a kind of chapel wherein they placed and adored them as their gods. Dio. lib. xl. [c. 6. p. 128. D. ed. Leunclav. ὁ ἀετὸς ὠνομασμένος (ἔστι δὲ νεὼς μικρὸς, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀετὸς χρυσοῦς ἐνίδρυται. καθίσταταί τε ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ κατα-λόγου στρατοπέδοις.)] Herodian. lib. iv. [c. 8. ἐσέπεσεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔς τε τὸν νεὼν ἔνθα τὰ σημεῖα καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τοῦ στρατοπέδου προσκυνεῖται.]

[74] Matt. xxii. 20.

[75] 2 Chron. iv. 3.

[76] Exod. xxxii. 4.

[77] 2 Chron. xxxiv. 7.

[78] Josh. xxii. 10.

[79] 1 Kings xi. 7.

[80] 2 Kings xxiii. 13.

[81] 2 Kings xviii. 3, 6; xxii. 2.

cause to be *now* removed; there is no reason we should forthwith yield ourselves to be carried away with examples, no not of them whose acts the highest judgment approveth for having reformed in that manner any public evil: but before we either attempt any thing or resolve, the state and condition as well of our own affairs as theirs whose example presseth us, is advisedly to be examined; because some things are of their own nature scandalous, and cannot choose but breed offence, as those sinks of execrable filth which Josias did overwhelm [82]; some things albeit not by nature and of themselves, are notwithstanding so generally turned to evil by reason of an evil corrupt habit grown and through long continuance incurably settled in the minds of the greatest part, that no redress can be well hoped for without removal of that wherein they have ruined themselves, which plainly was the state of the Jewish people, and the cause why Ezechias did with such sudden indignation destroy what he saw worshipped; finally some things are as the sign of the Cross though subject either almost or altogether to as great abuse, yet curable with more facility and ease. And to speak as the truth is, our very nature doth hardly yield to destroy that which may be fruitfully kept, and without any great difficulty clean scoured from the rust of evil which by some accident hath grown into it. Wherefore to that which they build in this question upon the example of Ezechias let this suffice.

[20.] When heathens despised Christian religion, because of the sufferings of Jesus Christ, the Fathers to testify how little such contumelies and contempts prevailed with them chose rather the sign of the Cross than any other outward mark, whereby the world might most easily discern always what they were. On the contrary side now, whereas they which do all profess the Christian religion are divided amongst themselves, and the fault of the one part is that in zeal to the sufferings of Christ they admire too much and over-superstitiously adore the visible sign of his Cross, if you ask what we that mislike them should do, we are here advised to cure one contrary by another. Which art or method is not yet so current as they imagine.

For if, as their practice for the most part sheweth, it be their meaning that the scope and drift of reformation when things are faulty should be to *settle* the Church in the contrary, it standeth them upon to beware of this rule, because seeing vices have not only virtues but other vices also in nature opposite unto them, it may be dangerous in these cases to seek but that which we find contrary to present evils. For in sores and sicknesses of the mind we are not simply to measure good by distance from evil, because one vice may in some respect be more opposite to another than either of them to that virtue which holdeth the mean between them both. Liberality and covetousness, the one a virtue and the other a vice, are not so contrary as the vices of covetousness and prodigality; religion and superstition have more affiance, though the one be light and the other darkness, than superstition and profaneness which both are vicious extremities. By means whereof it cometh also to pass that the mean which is virtue seemeth in the eyes of each extreme an extremity; the liberal hearted man is by the opinion of the prodigal miserable, and by the judgment of the miserable lavish; impiety for the most part upbraideth religion as superstitious, which superstition often accuseth as impious, both so conceiving thereof because it doth seem more to participate each extreme, than one extreme doth another, and is by consequent less contrary to either of them, than they mutually between themselves. Now if he that seeketh to reform covetousness or superstition should but labour to induce the contrary, it were but to draw men out of lime into coal-dust. So that their course which will remedy the superstitious abuse of things profitable in the Church is not still to abolish utterly the use thereof, because not using at all is most opposite to ill using, but rather if it may be to bring them back to a right perfect and religious usage, which albeit less contrary to the present sore is notwithstanding the better and by many degrees the sounder way of recovery.

[21.] And unto this effect that very precedent itself which they propose may be best followed. For as the Fathers when the Cross of Christ was in utter contempt did not superstitiously adore the same, but rather declare that they so esteemed it as was meet: in like manner where we find the Cross to have that honour which is due to Christ, is it not as lawful for us to retain it in that estimation which it ought to have and in that use which it had of old without offence, as by taking it clean away to seem followers of their example which cure wilfully by abscission that which they might both preserve and heal?

Touching therefore the sign and ceremony of the Cross, we no way find ourselves bound to relinquish it, neither because the first inventors thereof were but mortal men, nor lest the sense and signification we give unto it should burden us as authors of a new gospel in the house of God, nor in respect of some cause which the Fathers had more than we have to use the same, nor finally for any such offence or

[82] 2 Kings xxiii. 7.

scandal as heretofore it hath been subject unto by error now reformed in the minds of men.

Of Confirmation after Baptism.

LXVI. The ancient custom of the Church was after they had baptized, to add thereunto imposition of hands with effectual prayer for the illumination of God's most Holy Spirit [83] to confirm and perfect that which the grace of the same Spirit had already begun in baptism.

For our means to obtain the graces which God doth bestow are our prayers. Our prayers to that intent are available as well for others as for ourselves. To pray for others is *to bless* them for whom we pray, because prayer procureth the blessing of God upon them, especially the prayer of such as God either most respecteth for their piety and zeal that way, or else regardeth for that their place and calling bindeth them above others unto this duty as it doth both natural and spiritual fathers.

With prayers of spiritual and personal benediction the manner hath been in all ages to use *imposition of hands*, as a ceremony betokening our *restrained desires* to the party, whom we present unto God by prayer. Thus when Israel *blessed* Ephraim and Manasses Joseph's sons, he *imposed* upon them his hands and prayed [84], "God, "in whose sight my fathers Abraham and "Isaac did walk, God which hath fed me "all my life long unto this day, and the "Angel which hath delivered me from evil "bless these children." The prophets which healed diseases by prayer, used therein the selfsame ceremony. And therefore when Eliseus willed Naaman to wash himself seven times in Jordan for cure of his foul disease it much offended him: "[85] I thought," saith he, "with myself, surely the man will "come forth and stand and call upon the "name of the Lord his God, and put his "hand on the place to the end he may so "heal the leprosy." In consecrations and ordinations of men unto rooms of divine calling, the like was usually done from the time of Moses to Christ [86]. Their suits that came unto Christ for help were also tendered oftentimes and are expressed in such forms or phrases of speech as shew that he was himself an observer of the same custom [87]. He which with imposition of hands and prayer did so great works of mercy for restoration of bodily health, was worthily judged as able to effect the infusion of heavenly grace into them whose age was not yet depraved with that malice which might be supposed a bar to the goodness of God towards them. They [88] brought him therefore young children to put *his hands* upon them and *pray*.

[2.] After the ascension of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that which he had begun continued in the daily practice of his Apostles, whose prayer and imposition of hands were a mean whereby thousands became partakers of the wonderful gifts of God. The Church had received from Christ a promise that such as have believed in him these signs and tokens should follow them [89]. "To cast out devils, to speak with "tongues, to drive away serpents, to be free "from the harm which any deadly poison "could work, and to cure diseases by im-"position of hands." Which power, common at the first in a manner unto *all believers*, all believers had not power to derive or communicate unto all other men, but whosoever was the instrument of God to instruct, convert and baptize them, the gift of miraculous operations by the power of the Holy Ghost they had not but only at the Apostles' own hands [90]. For which cause Simon Magus perceiving that power to be in none but them, and presuming that they which had it might sell it, sought to purchase it of them with money [91].

[3.] And as miraculous graces of the Spirit continued after the Apostles' times [92]; ("for," saith Irenæus, "they which are tru-"ly his disciples do in his name and through "grace received from him such works for "the benefit of other men as every of them "is by him enabled to work; some cast out "devils, insomuch as they which are deliv-"ered from wicked spirits have been there-"by won unto Christ, and do constantly "persevere in the church and society of "faithful men; some excel in the knowledge "of things to come, in the grace of visions "from God, and the gift of prophetical pre-

[83] Tertull. de Resur. Car. [c. 8.] "Caro manus "impositione adumbratur, ut et anima Spiritu il-"luminetur."

[84] Gen. xlviii. 14.

[85] 2 Kings v. 11.

[86] Num. xxvii. 18.

[87] Matt. ix. 18; Mark v. 23; viii. 22.

[88] Matt. xix. 13; Mark x. 13; Luke xviii. 15.

[89] Mark xvi. 17.

[90] Acts xix. 6.

[91] Acts viii. 17, 18.

[92] Iren. lib. ii. cap. 57. [p. 188. Διὸ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐκείνου ὀνόματι οἱ ἀληθῶς αὐτοῦ μαθηταὶ, παρ' αὐτοῦ λάβοντες τὴν χάριν, ἐπιτελοῦσιν ἐπ' εὐεργεσίᾳ τῇ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων, καθὼς εἷς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τὴν δωρεὰν εἴληφε παρ' αὐτοῦ· οἱ μὲν γὰρ δαίμονας ἐλαύνουσι βεβαίως καὶ ἀληθῶς, ὥστε πολλάκις καὶ πιστεύειν αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους τοὺς καθαρισθέντας ἀπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν πνευμάτων, καὶ εἶναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. οἱ δὲ καὶ πρόγνωσιν ἔχουσι τῶν μελλόντων, καὶ ὀπτασίας, καὶ ῥήσεις προφητικάς· ἄλλοι δὲ τοὺς κάμνοντας διὰ τῆς τῶν χειρῶν ἐπιθέσεως ἰῶνται, καὶ ὑγιεῖς ἀποκαθιστᾶσιν· ἤδη δὲ, κάθως ἔφαμεν, καὶ νεκροὶ ἠγέρθησαν, καὶ παρέμειναν σὺν ἡμῖν ἱκανοῖς ἔτεσι. καὶ τί γάρ; οὐκ ἔστιν ἀριθμὸν εἰπεῖν τῶν χαρισμάτων, ὧν κατὰ πάντος τοῦ κόσμου ἡ ἐκκλησία παρὰ θεοῦ λαβοῦσα, ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, ἑκαστῆς ἡμέρας ἐπ' εὐεργεσίᾳ τῇ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπιτελεῖ, μήτε ἐξαπατῶσα τινὰς, μήτε ἐξαργυριζομένη· ὡς γὰρ δωρεὰν εἴληφε παρὰ θεοῦ, δωρεὰν καὶ διακονεῖ.]

"diction; some by laying on their hands "restore them to health which are grievously afflicted with sickness; yea there "are that of dead have been made alive "and have afterwards many years conversed with us. What should I say? The "gifts are innumerable wherewith God hath "enriched his Church throughout the world, "and by virtue whereof in the name of "Christ crucified under Pontius Pilate the "Church every day doth many wonders for "the good of nations, neither fraudulently "nor in any respect of lucre and gain to "herself, but as freely bestowing as God on "her hath bestowed his divine graces;") so it no where appeareth that ever any did by prayer and imposition of hands sithence the Apostles' times make others partakers of the like *miraculous gifts* and graces, as long as it pleased God to continue the same in his Church, but only Bishops the Apostles' successors for a time even in that power. St. Augustine acknowledgeth that such gifts were not permitted to last always, lest men should wax cold with the commonness of that the strangeness whereof at the first inflamed them [93]. Which words of St. Augustine declaring how the vulgar use of those miracles was then expired, are no prejudice to the like extraordinary graces more rarely observed in some either then or of later days.

[4.] Now whereas the successors of the Apostles had but only for a time such power as by prayer and imposition of hands to bestow the Holy Ghost; the reason wherefore confirmation nevertheless by prayer and laying on of hands hath hitherto always continued, is for other very special benefits which the Church thereby enjoyeth. The Fathers every where impute unto it that gift or grace of the Holy Ghost, not which maketh us first Christian men, but when we are made such, assisteth us in all virtue, armeth us against temptation and sin. For, after baptism administered, "there "followeth," saith Tertullian [94], "imposition "of hands with invocation and invitation "of the Holy Ghost, which willingly com-"eth down from the Father to rest upon the "purified and blessed bodies, as it were "acknowledging the waters of baptism a "fit seat." St. Cyprian in more particular manner alluding to that effect of the Spirit which here especially was respected [95], "How great," saith he, "is that power and "force wherewith the mind is here" (he meaneth in baptism) "enabled, being not "only withdrawn from that pernicious hold "which the world before had of it, not only "so purified and made clean that no stain "or blemish of the enemy's invasion doth "remain, but over and besides" (namely through prayer and imposition of hands) "becometh yet greater, yet mightier in "strength, so far as to reign with a kind of "imperial dominion over the whole band "of that roaming and spoiling adversary." As much is signified by Eusebius Emisenus saying, "the Holy Ghost which descendeth "with saving influence upon the waters of "baptism doth there give that fulness which "sufficeth for innocency, and afterwards ex-"hibiteth in confirmation an augmentation "of further grace [96]." The Fathers therefore being thus persuaded held confirmation as [97] an ordinance apostolic *always profitable* [98] in God's Church, although not always accompanied with equal largeness of those external effects which gave it countenance at the first.

[5.] The cause of severing confirmation

[93] August. de Vera Relig. cap. 25. [t. i. 763. "F. "Accipimus majores nostros eo gradu fidei, quo a "temporalibus ad æterna conscenditur, visibilia "miracula (non enim aliter poterant) secutos esse: "per quos id actum est, ut necessaria non essent "posteris. Cum enim Ecclesia catholica per to-"tum orbem diffusa atque fundata sit, nec mirac-"ula illa in nostra tempora durare permissa sunt, "ne animus, semper visibilia quæreret, et eorum "consuetudine frigesceret genus humanum, quo-"rum novitate flagravit: nec jam nobis dubium "esse oportet iis esse credendum, qui cum ea "prædicarent quæ pauci assequuntur, se tamen "sequendos populis persuadere potuerunt."]

[94] Tertull. de Baptis. [c. 8. "Dehinc manus im-"ponitur, per benedictionem advocans et invitans "Spiritum Sanctum...Tunc ille sanctissimus Spir-"itus super emundata et benedicta corpora libens "a Patre descendit, super baptismi aquas tanquam "pristinam sedem recognoscens conquiescit." Vid. Gen. i. 2.]

[95] Cypr. Tract. ad Donat. c. 2. [t. i. p. 4. "Quan-"tus hic animi potentatus! quanta vis est! non "tantum ipsum esse subtractum perniciosis con-"tactibus mundi, ut qui expiatus et purus, nulla "incursantis inimici labe capiatur; sed adhuc "majorem et fortiorem viribus fieri, ut in omnem "adversarii grassantis exercitum imperioso jure "dominetur."]

[96] Euseb. Emis. Ser. de Pentec. [p. 572. par. i. tom. v. Biblioth. Patr. Colon. 'Spiritus Sanctus, "qui super aquas baptismi salutifero descendit il-"lapsu, in fonte plenitudinem tribuit ad innocen-"tiam, in confirmatione augmentum præstat ad "gratiam." Hooker, b. vi. expresses an opinion that these homilies were Salvian's.]

[97] Aug. de Trin. lib. xv. cap. 26. [t. viii. 999. "Quomodo ergo Deus non est, qui dat Sp. Sanc-"tum? Immo quantus Deus est qui dat Deum! "Neque enim aliquis discipulorum ejus dedit "Sp. Sanctum. Orabant quippe ut veniret in eos "quibus manum imponebant, non ipsi eum dabant. "Quem morem in suis Præpositis etiam nunc ser-"vat Ecclesia.....' Unxit eum Deus Sp. Sancto.' "Non utique oleo visibili, sed dono gratiæ, quod "visibili significatur unguento, quo baptizatos un-"guit Ecclesia.....Nos accipere quidem hoc do-"num possumus pro modulo nostro, effundere au-"tem super alios non utique possumus; sed ut hoc "fiat, Deum super eos, a quo hoc efficitur, invo-"camus."]

[98] Heb. vi. 2.

from baptism (for most commonly they went together) was sometimes in the minister, which being of inferior degree might baptize but not confirm, as in their case it came to pass whom Peter and John did confirm, whereas Philip had before baptized them [99]; and in theirs of whom St. Jerome hath said [1], "I deny not but the "custom of the churches is that the Bishop "should go abroad, and imposing his hands "pray for the gift of the Holy Ghost on "them whom presbyters and deacons far "off in lesser cities have already baptized." Which ancient custom of the Curch St. Cyprian groundeth upon the example of Peter and John in the eighth of the Acts before alleged [2]. The faithful in Samaria, saith he, "had already obtained baptism: "only that which was wanting Peter and "John supplied, by prayer and imposition "of hands to the end the Holy Ghost might "be poured upon them. Which also is "done amongst ourselves, when they which "be already baptized are brought to the "Prelates of the Church to obtain by our "prayer and imposition of hands the Holy "Ghost." By this it appeareth that when the ministers of baptism were persons of inferior degree, the Bishops did after confirm whom such had before baptized.

[6.] Sometimes they which by force of their ecclesiastical calling might do as well the one as the other, were notwithstanding men whom heresy had disjoined from the fellowship of true believers. Whereupon when any man by them baptized and confirmed came afterwards to see and renounce their error, there grew in some churches very hot contention about the manner of admitting such into the bosom of the true Church, as hath been declared in already the question of rebaptization. But the general received custom was only to admit them with imposition of hands and prayer. Of which custom while some imagined the reason to be for that heretics might give remission of sins by baptism, but not the Spirit by imposition of hands because themselves had not God's Spirit, and that therefore their baptism might stand but confirmation must be given again: the imbecility of this ground gave Cyprian occasion to oppose himself against the practice of the Church herein, labouring many ways to prove that heretics could do neither [3], and, consequently, that their baptism in all respects was as frustrate as their chrism; for the manner of those times was in confirming to use anointing [4]. On the other side against Luciferians which ratified only the baptism of heretics but disannulled their confirmations and consecrations under pretence of the reason which hath been before specified, "heretics cannot give the Holy "Ghost," St. Jerome proveth at large, that if baptism by heretics be granted available to remission of sins, which no man receiveth without the Spirit, it must needs follow that the reason taken from disability of bestowing the Holy Ghost was no reason wherefore the Church should admit converts with any new imposition of hands. Notwithstanding because it might be objected, that if the gift of the Holy Ghost do always join itself with true baptism, the Church, which thinketh the bishop's confirmation after other men's baptism needful for the obtaining of the Holy Ghost, should hold an error, St. Jerome hereunto maketh answer, that the cause of this observation is not any absolute impossibility of receiving the Holy Ghost by the sacrament of baptism unless a bishop add after it the imposition of hands, but rather a certain congruity and fitness to honour prelacy with such preeminences, because the safety of the Church dependeth upon the dignity of her chief superiors, to whom if some eminent offices of power above others should not be given, there

[99] Acts viii. 12—17.

[1] Hieron. advers. Lucif. cap. 4. [t. ii. p. 139. "Non abnuo hanc esse ecclesiarum consuetudi- "nem, ut ad eos qui longa in minoribus urbibus "per presbyteros et diaconos baptizati sunt, epis- "copus ad invocationem Sancti Spiritus manum "impositurus excurrat."]

[2] Cypr. Epist. 73. [c. 6.] ad Jubaianum. [t. ii. p. 202. "Baptizari eos ultra non oportebat; sed tan- "tummodo quod deerat, id a Petro et Joanne fac- "tum est, ut oratione pro eis habita, et manu im- "posita, invocaretur et infunderetur super eos "Spiritus Sanctus. Quod nunc quoque apud nos "geritur, ut qui in Ecclesia baptizantur præpositis "Ecclesiæ offerantur, et per nostram orationem "ac manus impositionem Spiritum Sanctum con- "sequantur, et signaculo Dominico consummen- "tur."]

[3] [Ep. 74. ii. 213. "Cur eadem ejusdem ma- "jestas nominis non prævalet manus impositione, "quam valuisse contendunt in baptismi sanctifi- "catione? Nam si potest quis extra Ecclesiam "natus templum Dei fieri, cur non possit super "templum et Spiritus Sanctus infundi?.....Qui "potest apud hæreticos baptizatus Christum in- "duere, multo magis potest Spiritum Sanctum, "quem Christus misit, accipere." et Ep. 75. Fir- "milianus Cypriano, p. 226. "Si in nomine "Christi valuit foris baptisma ad hominem pur- "gandum, in ejusdem Christi nomine valere illic "potuit et manus impositio ad accipiendum Spir- "itum Sanctum. Et incipient cætera quoque quæ "apud hæreticos aguntur justa ac legitima vide- "ri."]

[4] [Tertull. de Baptismo, c. 7. "Egressi de la- "vacro, perunguimur benedicta unctione de pris- "tina disciplina, qui ungui oleo de cornu in sacer- "dotium solebant." This seems to be the earliest mention of Chrism. See Bingham, Antiq. xii. 3. 2. From Tertullian's mode of speaking it would seem to have been then a settled and probably a general custom. And Bishop Pearson (Lect. in Act. Apost. v. 6.) considers it to have been practised immediately after the Apostles.]

would be in the Church as many schisms as priests [5]. By which answer it appeareth his opinion was, that the Holy Ghost is received in baptism; that confirmation is only a sacramental complement; that the reason why bishops alone did ordinarily confirm, was not because the benefit, grace, and dignity thereof is greater than of baptism, but rather, for that by the Sacrament of Baptism men being admitted into God's Church, it was both reasonable and convenient that if he baptize them not unto whom the chiefest authority and charge of their souls belongeth, yet for honour's sake and in token of his spiritual superiority over them, because to bless is an act of authority [6], the performance of this annexed ceremony should be sought for at his hands. Now what effect their imposition of hands hath either after baptism administered by heretics or otherwise, St. Jerome in that place hath made no mention, because all men understood that in converts it tendeth to the fruits of repentance, and craveth in behalf of the penitent such grace as David after his fall desired at the hands of God [7]; in others the fruit and benefit thereof is that which hath been before shewed.

[7.] Finally sometime the cause of severing confirmation from baptism was in the parties that received baptism being infants, at which age they might be very well admitted to live in the family; but because to fight in the army of God, to discharge the duties of a Christian man, to bring forth the fruits and to do the works of the Holy Ghost their time of ability was not yet come (so that baptism were not deferred) there could by stay of their confirmation no harm ensue but rather good. For by this mean it came to pass that children in expectation thereof were seasoned with the principles of true religion before malice and corrupt examples depraved their minds, a good foundation was laid betimes for direction of the course of their whole lives, the seed of the Church of God was preserved sincere and sound, the prelates and fathers of God's family to whom the cure of their souls belonged saw by trial and examination of them a part of their own heavy burden discharged, reaped comfort by beholding the first beginnings of true godliness in tender years, glorified Him whose praise they found in the mouths of infants, and neglected not so fit opportunity of giving every one fatherly encouragement and exhortation. Whereunto imposition of hands and prayer being added, our warrant for the great good effect thereof is the same which Patriarchs, Prophets, Priests, Apostles, Fathers and men of God have had for such their particular invocations and benedictions, as no man I suppose professing truth of religion will easily think to have been without fruit.

[8.] No, there is no cause we should doubt of the benefit, but surely great cause to make complaint of the deep neglect of this Christian duty [8] almost with all them to whom by right of their place and calling the same belongeth. Let them not take it an evil part, the thing is true, their small regard hereunto hath done harm in the Church of God. That which error rashly uttereth in disgrace of good things [9] may

[5] [t. ii. 137. "Lucif. 'Ego recipio laicum pœnitentem per manus impositionem et invocationem Spiritus Sancti sciens ab hæreticis Spiritum Sanctum non posse conferri'.....Orthod..... 'Quomodo dicis, sine adventu Spiritus Sancti apud Arianos peccata posse dimitti? Quomodo antiquis sordibus anima purgatur, quæ sanctum non habet Spiritum? Neque enim aqua lavat animam, sed prius ipsa lavatur a Spiritu, ut alios lavare spiritualiter possit . . . Apparet, Baptisma non esse sine Spiritu Sancto . . . (p. 138.) Igitur si Arianus Spiritum Sanctum non potest dare, ne baptizare quidem potest: quia Ecclesiæ baptisma sine Spiritu Sancto nullum est'. . . (p. 139.) Lucif. 'An nescis etiam ecclesiarum hunc esse morem, ut baptizatis postea manus imponantur, et ita invocetur Spiritus Sanctus? Ex quo animadvertes non Ecclesiæ consuetudinem sequi, licet ante advocationem Spiritus constet aliquem baptizatum'. . Orthod. . . . 'Si hoc loco quæris, quare in Ecclesia baptizatus nisi per manus episcopi non accipiat Sp. Sanctum, quem omnes asserimus in vero baptismate tribui: disce hanc observationem ex ea auctoritate descendere, qua post ascensum Domini Sp. Sanctus ad Apostolos descendit. Et multis in locis idem factum reperimus, ad honorem potius sacerdotii quam ad legis necessitatem . . . Ecclesiæ salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet: cui si non exsors quædam et ab omnibus eminens detur potestas, tot in ecclesiis efficientur schismata, quot sacerdotes.'"]

[6] Heb. vii. 7.

[7] Psalm li. 10—12.

[8] [Caudry in Strype, Aylm. 89. "The Bishops themselves, for the most part, these twenty-nine years, had not observed it," (the Book of Common Prayer) . . . "*in not confirming of children.*" Archbishop Whitgift writes, in a circular letter, Sept. 1591, "I am very sorry to hear that my brethren, the Bishops of the province of Canterbury, do so generally begin *to neglect to confirm* children: at least to call for and exact both the use of it, and of the catechising children in the Church by the minister." Strype, Whitg. iii. 289.]

[9] [Adm. ap. Whitg. Def. 725. "As for confirmation, as they use it by the Bishop alone to them that lack both discretion and faith, it is superstitious, and not agreeable to the word of God, but popish and peevish. We speak not of other toys used in it; and how far it differeth from the first institution, they themselves that are learned can witness."] T. C. lib. i. p. 199. [160.] "Tell me why there should be any such confirmation in the Church, being brought in by the feigned decretal epistles of the Popes," (this is retracted by the same T. C. lib. iii. p. 232. "That it is ancienter than the feigned decretal epistles I yield unto:") "and no one tittle there-

peradventure be sponged out, when the print of those evils which are grown through neglect will remain behind.

[9.] Thus much therefore generally spoken may serve for answer unto their demands that require us to tell them "why "there should be any such confirmation in "the Church," seeing we are not ignorant how earnestly they have protested against it; and how directly (although untruly, for so they are content to acknowledge) it hath "by some of them been said to be first "brought in by the feigned decretal epistles "of the Popes;" or why it should not be "utterly abolished, seeing that no one title "thereof can be once found in the whole "Scripture," except the epistle to the Hebrews be Scripture [10]; and again seeing that how free soever it be now from abuse, if we look back to the times past, which wise men do always more respect than the present, it *hath been* abused, and is found at the length *no* such *profitable ceremony* as the whole silly Church of Christ for the space of these sixteen hundred years hath through want of experience imagined; last of all "seeing" also besides the cruelty which is shewed towards poor country people, who are fain sometime to let their ploughs stand still, and with incredible wearisome toil of their feeble bodies to wander over mountains and through woods it may be now and then little less than a whole "half-score of miles" for a bishop's blessing, "which if it were needful might as well be "done at home in their own parishes," rather than they to purchase it with so great loss and so intolerable pain; there are they say in confirmation besides this, *three* terrible *points*.

The first is "laying on of hands with "pretence that the same is done to the ex-"ample of the Apostles," which is not only as they suppose "a manifest untruth [11]" (for all the world doth know that the Apostles did never after baptism lay hands on any, and therefore St. Luke which saith they did was much deceived [12]) but farther also we thereby teach men to think *imposition of hands a sacrament*, belike because it is a principle engrafted by common light of nature in the minds of men that all things done by apostolic example must needs be sacraments.

The second high point of danger is, that by "tying confirmation to the bishop alone "there is great cause of suspicion given to "think that baptism is not so precious a "thing as confirmation:" for will any man think that a velvet coat is of more price than a linen coif, knowing the one to be an ordinary garment, the other an ornament which only sergeants at law do wear?

Finally, to draw to an end of perils, the last and the weightiest hazard is where the book itself doth say that children by *imposition* of hands and prayer may receive *strength* against all temptation: which speech as a two-edged sword doth both ways dangerously wound; partly because it ascribeth grace to imposition of hands, whereby we are able no more to assure ourselves in the warrant of *any promise from God* that his heavenly grace shall be given, than the Apostle was that himself should obtain grace by the bowing of his knees to God [13], and partly because by using the very word *strength* in this matter, a word so apt to spread infection, we "main-"tain" with "popish" evangelists an old forlorn "distinction" of the Holy Ghost bestowed upon Christ's Apostles before his ascension into heaven [14], and "augmented" upon them afterwards [15], a distinction of *grace* infused into Christian men by degrees, planted in them *at the first* by baptism, *after* cherished, watered, and (be it spoken without offence) *strengthened* as by other virtuous offices which piety and true religion teacheth, even so by this very spe-

"of being once found in the Scripture, and seeing "that it hath been so horribly abused, and not "necessary, why ought it not to be utterly abol-"ished? And thirdly this confirmation hath "many dangerous points in it. The first step of "popery in this confirmation is the laying on of "hands upon the head of the child, whereby the "opinion that it is a sacrament is confirmed, es-"pecially when as the prayer doth say that it is "done according to the example of the Apostles, "which is a manifest untruth, and taken indeed "from the popish confirmation. The second is for "that the bishop as he is called must be the only "minister of it, whereby the popish opinion which "esteemeth it above baptism is confirmed. For "whilst baptism may be ministered of the minis-"ter, and not confirmation but only of the bishop, "there is great cause of suspicion given to think "that baptism is not so precious a thing as confir-"mation, seeing this was one of the principal rea-"sons whereby that wicked opinion was estab-"lished in popery. I do not here speak of the incon-"venience, that men are constrained with charges "to bring their children oftentimes half a score of "miles for that which if it were needful might be "as well done at home in their own parishes. The "third is for that the book saith a cause of using "confirmation is that by imposition of hands and "prayer the children may receive strength and "defence against all temptations, whereas there "is no promise that by the laying on of hands up-"on children any such gift shall be given: and it "maintaineth the popish distinction, that the Spir-"it of God is given at baptism unto remission of "sins, and in confirmation unto strength." [Comp. Whitg. Def. 785; T. C. iii. 232; Learned Disc. ap. Bridges, Def. of Gov. p. 806.]

[10] Heb. vi. 2.

[11] [So 2 Adm. 42. "It hath no ground out of "the Scriptures at all."]

[12] Acts viii. 15, 17.

[13] Ephes. iii. 14.

[14] John xx. 22.

[15] Acts i. 8.

cial benediction whereof we speak, the rite or ceremony of Confirmation.

Of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.

LXVII. The grace which we have by the holy Eucharist doth not begin but continue life. No man therefore receiveth this sacrament before Baptism, because no dead thing is capable of nourishment. That which groweth must of necessity first live. If our bodies did not daily waste, food to restore them were a thing superfluous. And it may be that the grace of baptism would serve to eternal life, were it not that the state of our spiritual being is daily so much hindered and impaired after baptism. In that life therefore where neither body nor soul can decay, our souls shall as little require this sacrament as our bodies corporal nourishment, but as long as the days of our warfare last, during the time that we are both subject to diminution and capable of augmentation in grace, the words of our Lord and Saviour Christ will remain forcible, "Except ye eat the "flesh of the Son of man and drink his "blood ye have no life in you[16]."

Life being therefore proposed unto all men as their end, they which by baptism have laid the foundation and attained the first beginning of a new life have here their nourishment and food prescribed for *continuance of life* in them. Such as will live the life of God must eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of man, because this is a part of that diet which if we want we cannot live. Whereas therefore in our infancy we are incorporated into Christ and by Baptism receive the grace of his Spirit without any sense or feeling of the gift which God bestoweth, in the Eucharist we so receive the gift of God, that we know by grace what the grace is which God giveth us, the degrees of our own increase in holiness and virtue we see and can judge of them, we understand that the strength of our life begun in Christ is Christ, that his flesh is meat and his blood drink, not by surmised imagination but truly, even so truly that through faith we perceive in the body and blood sacramentally presented the very taste of eternal life, the grace of the sacrament is here as the food which we eat and drink.

[2.] This was it that some did exceedingly fear, lest Zuinglius[17] and Œcolampadius would bring to pass, that men should account of this sacrament but only as of a shadow, destitute, empty and void of Christ. But seeing that by opening the several opinions which have been held, they are grown for aught I can see on all sides at the length to a general agreement[18] concerning that which alone is material, namely the *real participation* of Christ and of life in his body and blood *by means of this sacrament;* wherefore should the world continue still distracted and rent with so manifold contentions, when there remaineth now no controversy saving only about the subject *where* Christ is? Yea even in this point no side denieth but that *the soul of man* is the receptacle of Christ's presence. Whereby the question is yet driven to a narrower issue, nor doth any thing rest doubtful but this, whether when the sacrament is administered Christ be whole *within man only*, or else his body and blood be also externally seated in the very consecrated elements themselves; which opinion they that defend are driven either to *consubstantiate* and incorporate Christ with elements sacramental, or to *transubstantiate* and change their substance into his; and so the one to hold him really but invisibly moulded up with the substance of those elements, the other to hide him under the only visible show of bread and wine, the substance whereof as they imagine is abolished and his succeeded in the same room.

[3.] All things considered and compared with that success which truth hath hitherto had by so bitter conflicts with errors in this point, shall I wish that men would more give themselves to meditate with silence what we have by the sacrament, and less to dispute of the manner how? If any man suppose that this were too great stupidity and dullness, let us see whether the Apostles of our Lord themselves have not done the like. It appeareth by many examples that they of their own disposition were very scrupulous and inquisitive, yea in other

[16] John vi. 53.

[17] [E. g. Zuingl. De Vera et Falsa Relig. Opp. ii. f. 202. "Qui in hac publica gratiarum actione "interesset, toti se Ecclesiæ probaret ex eorum "esse numero, qui Christo pro nobis exposito fide- "rent. . . . *Unde* et Communio sive Communicatio "apud Paulum vocatur." fol. 204. "Christus est "animæ cibus, quod ea dum videt Deum Filio "unigenito non pepercisse, ... certa fit gratiæ "Dei salutisque." f. 207. (after exposing the doctrine of gross corporal manducation) he adds, "Liberum cuique de spirituali manducatione "utcunque velit sentire, modo Christi non suis "nitatur placitis." f. 212. "Est Eucharistia, sive "Synaxis, sive Cœna Dominica, *nihil aliud quam* "*Commemoratio*, qua ii qui se Christi morte et "sanguine firmiter credunt Patri reconciliatos esse, "hanc vitalem mortem annunciant." fol. 213. "Au- "gustinum, præ aliis acuto perspicacique ingenio "virum, sua tempestate non fuisse ausum diserte "veritatem proloqui, quæ jam casum magna parte "dederat. Vidit omnino pius homo quid hoc "sacramentum esset, et in quem usum esset "institutum; verum invaluerat opinio de corpo- "rea carne."]

[18] [Chiefly by the influence of Calvin on the one side and Melancthon on the other. See Mosheim, E. H. Cent. xvi. §. iii. p. ii. c. 1. nº. 27. and c. 2. nº. 12.]

cases of less importance and less difficulty always apt to move questions. How cometh it to pass that so few words of so high a mystery being uttered, they receive with gladness the gift of Christ and make no show of doubt or scruple? The reason hereof is not dark to them which have any thing at all observed how the powers of the mind are wont to stir when that which we infinitely long for presenteth itself above and besides expectation. Curious and intricate speculations do hinder, they abate, they quench such inflamed motions of delight and joy as divine graces use to raise when extraordinarily they are present. The mind therefore feeling present joy is always marvellous unwilling to admit any other cogitation, and in that case casteth off those disputes whereunto the intellectual part at other times easily draweth.

A manifest effect whereof may be noted if we compare with our Lord's disciples in the twentieth of John the people that are said in the sixth of John to have gone after him to Capernaum. These leaving him on the one side the sea of Tiberias, and finding him again as soon as themselves by ship were arrived on the contrary side, whither they knew that by ship he came not, and by land the journey was longer than according to the time he could have to travel, as they wondered so they asked also, "Rabbi, when camest thou hither [19]?" The disciples when Christ appeared to them in far more strange and miraculous manner moved no question, but rejoiced greatly in that they saw. For why? The one sort beheld only that in Christ which they knew was more than natural, but yet their affection was not rapt therewith through any great extraordinary gladness, the other when they looked on Christ were not ignorant that they saw the wellspring of their own everlasting felicity; the one because they enjoyed not disputed, the other disputed not because they enjoyed.

[4.] If then the presence of Christ with them did so much move, judge what their thoughts and affections were at the time of this new presentation of Christ not before their eyes but within their souls. They had learned before that his flesh and blood are the true cause of eternal life; that this they are not by the bare force of their own substance, but through the dignity and worth of his Person which offered them up by way of sacrifice for the life of the whole world, and doth make them still effectual thereunto; finally that to us they are life in particular, by being particularly received. Thus much they knew, although as yet they understood not perfectly to what effect or issue the same would come, till at the length being assembled for no other cause which they could imagine but to have eaten the Passover only that Moses appointeth, when they saw their Lord and Master with hands and eyes lifted up to heaven first bless and consecrate for the endless good of all generations till the world's end the chosen elements of bread and wine, which elements made for ever the instruments of life by virtue of his divine benediction they being the first that were commanded to receive from him, the first which were warranted by his promise that not only unto them at the present time but to whomsoever they and their successors after them did duly administer the same, those mysteries should serve as conducts of life and conveyances of his body and blood unto them, was it possible they should hear that voice, "Take, eat, this is my body; "drink ye all of this, this is my blood;" possible that doing what was required and believing what was promised, the same should have present effect in them, and not fill them with a kind of fearful admiration at the heaven which they saw in themselves? They had at that time a sea of comfort and joy to wade in, and we by that which they did are taught that this heavenly food is given for the satisfying of our empty souls, and not for the exercising of our curious and subtile wits.

[5.] If we doubt what those admirable words may import, let him be our teacher for the meaning of Christ to whom Christ was himself a schoolmaster, let our Lord's Apostle be his interpreter, content we ourselves with his explication My body, *the communion of my body*, My blood, *the communion of my blood*. Is there any thing more expedite, clear, and easy, than that as Christ is termed our life because through him we obtain life, so the parts of this sacrament are his body and blood for that they are so to us who receiving them receive that by them which they are termed? The bread and cup are his body and blood because they are causes instrumental upon the receipt whereof the *participation* of his body and blood ensueth. For that which produceth any certain effect is not vainly nor improperly said to be that very effect whereunto it tendeth. Every cause is in the effect which groweth from it. Our souls and bodies quickened to eternal life are effects the cause whereof is the Person of Christ, his body and blood are the true wellspring out of which this life floweth. So that his body and blood are in that very subject whereunto they minister life not only by effect or operation, even as the influence of the heavens is in plants, beasts, men, and in every thing which they quicken, but also by a far more divine and mystical kind of union, which maketh us one with him even as he and the Father are one.

[19] John vi. 25.

[6.] The real presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood is not therefore to be sought for in the sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the sacrament.

And with this the very order of our Saviour's words agreeth, first "take and eat;" then "this is my Body which was broken "for you:" first "drink ye all of this;" then followeth "this is my Blood of the "New Testament which is shed for many "for the remission of sins[20]." I see not which way it should be gathered by the words of Christ, when and where the bread is His body or the cup His blood, but only in the very heart and soul of him which receiveth them. As for the sacraments, they really exhibit, but for aught we can gather out of that which is written of them, they are not really nor do really contain in themselves that grace which with them or by them it pleaseth God to bestow.

If on all sides it be confessed that the grace of Baptism is poured into the soul of man, that by water we receive it although it be neither seated in the water nor the water changed into it, what should induce men to think that the grace of the Eucharist must needs be in the Eucharist before it can be in us that receive it?

The fruit of the Eucharist is the participation of the body and blood of Christ. There is no sentence of Holy Scripture which saith that we cannot by this sacrament be made partakers of his body and blood except they be first contained in the sacrament or the sacrament converted into them. "This is my body," and "this is my "blood," being words of promise, sith we all agree that by the sacrament Christ doth really and truly in us perform his promise, why do we vainly trouble ourselves with so fierce contentions whether by consubstantiation, or else by transubstantiation the sacrament itself be first possessed with Christ, or no? A thing which no way can either further or hinder us howsoever it stand, because our participation of Christ in this sacrament dependeth on the co-operation of his omnipotent power which maketh it his body and blood to us[21], whether with change or without alteration of the element such as they imagine we need not greatly to care nor inquire[22].

[7.] Take therefore that wherein all agree, and then consider by itself what cause why the rest in question should not rather be left as superfluous than urged as necessary. It is on all sides plainly confessed, first that this sacrament is a true and a real participation of Christ, who thereby imparteth himself even his whole

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[20] Mark xiv. 22; [Matt. xxvi. 26—28.]

[21] [Chr. Letter, 35. "Instruct us whether the "institution of the sacrament by Christ .... bee "not the true and right making of it Christe's "bodie and blood unto us, and upon what ground "of Scripture it may be proved that the co-opera-"tion of his omnipotent power doeth make it his "bodie and blood unto us, and in what sense."

Hooker, MS. note. "God by this ... doctrine "did but at the first institute, and doth now no "further meddle with the ministry thereof by as-"sisting it any way to take effect in men's soules "through the power of his holy Spirit."

[22] [Chr. Letter, 34. "In which words you "seeme to make light of the doctrine of Transub-"stantiation, as a matter not to be stoode upon "or to be contended for, cared for or enquired "into: which maketh us to marvell how our "Church and Reverend Fathers have all this "time past been deceaved. What should cause "them to affirme it to bee a thing contrarie to the "playne wordes of Scripture, overturning the na-"ture of the Sacrament; to call it monstrous "doctrine; why so manie reverend Fathers, as "Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper, Latimer, Rogers, "Bradford, &c. have given their lives in witnes "against it, if it bee a thinge that neither further-"eth nor hindreth, a thing not to bee cared for, "nor enquired after?"

Hooker, MS. note. "Not to be stood upon or "contended for by them, because it is not a thing "necessary, although because it is false, as long "as they doe persist to maintaine and urge it, "there is no man so grosse as to thinke in this "case wee may neglect it. Against them it is "therefore said, They ought not to stand in it as "in a matter of faith, nor to make so high ac-"compt of it, inasmuch as the Scripture doth only "teach the communion of Christ in the holy Sa-"crament, and neither the one nor the other way "of preparation thereunto. It sufficed to have "believed this, and not by determining the man-"ner how God bringeth it to passe, to have entan-"gled themselves with opinions so strange, so impos-"sible to be proved true. They should have con-"sidered in this particular Sacrament that which "Bellarmine acknowledgeth of sacraments in "generall, It is a matter of faith to believe that "sacraments are instruments whereby God work-"eth grace in the soules of men, but the manner "how he doth it is not a matter of faith."

Again, p. 33. "Whereas popish doctrine doth "hold that priests by wordes of consecration "make the reall, my whole discourse is to shew "that God by the Sacrament maketh the mys-"ticall bodie of Christ; and that seing in this "point as well Lutherans as Papists agree with "us, which only point conteineth the benefit wee "have of the Sacrament, it is but needles and un-"profitable for them to stand, the one upon con-"substantiation, and upon transubstantiation the "other, which doctrines they neither can prove "nor are forced by any necessity to maintein, but "might very well surcease to urge them, if they "did hartily affect peace, and seeke the quietnes "of the Church.

"See Bulinger De Eucharistia, p. 11. See Cal-"vin's Institutions. See an Epistle of Frithus in "the book of Martyrs touching this point." Foxe, Acts and Monuments, t. ii. 1034. "'Well,' said "they, 'dost thou not think that his very natural "body, flesh, blood and bone, is contained under "the Sacrament, and there present, without all "figure or similitude?' 'No,' said I, 'I do not so "think. *Notwithstanding I would not that any "should count, that I make my saying*, which is

entire Person *as a mystical Head* unto every soul that receiveth him, and that every such receiver doth thereby incorporate or unite himself unto Christ as *a mystical member of* him, yea of them also whom he acknowledgeth to be his own; secondly that to whom *the person of Christ* is thus communicated, to them he giveth by the same sacrament his Holy Spirit to sanctify them as it sanctifieth him which is their head; thirdly that what *merit, force or virtue soever there is in his sacrificed body and blood*, we freely, fully and wholly have it by this sacrament; fourthly that *the effect thereof in us is a real transmutation of our souls and bodies* from sin to righteousness, from death and corruption to immortality and life; fifthly that because the sacrament being of itself but a corruptible and earthly creature must needs be thought an unlikely instrument to work so admirable effects in man, we are therefore to rest ourselves altogether upon *the strength of his glorious power* who is able and will bring to pass that the bread and cup which he giveth us shall be truly the thing he promiseth.

[8.] It seemeth therefore much amiss that against them whom they term Sacramentaries so many invective discourses are made all running upon two points, that the Eucharist is not a bare sign or figure only, and that the efficacy of his body and blood is not all we receive in this sacrament. For no man having read their books and writings which are thus traduced can be ignorant that both these assertions they plainly confess to be most true. They do not so interpret the words of Christ as if the name of his body did import but the figure of his body, and to be were only to signify his blood. They grant that these holy mysteries received in due manner do instrumentally both make us partakers of the grace of that body and blood which were given for the life of the world, and besides also impart unto us even in true and real though mystical manner the very Person of our Lord himself, whole, perfect, and entire, as hath been shewed.

[9.] Now whereas all three opinions do thus far accord in one, that strong conceit which two of the three have embraced as touching a literal, corporal and oral manducation of the very substance of his flesh and blood is surely an opinion no where delivered in Holy Scripture, whereby they should think themselves bound to believe it, and (to speak with the softest terms we can use) greatly prejudiced in that when some others did so conceive of eating his flesh, our Saviour to abate that error in them gave them directly to understand how his flesh so eaten could profit them nothing, because the words which he spake were spirit, that is to say, they had a reference to a mystical participation, which mystical participation giveth life. Wherein there is small appearance of likelihood that his meaning should be only to make them Marcionites by inversion, and to teach them that as Marcion did think Christ seemed to be a man but was not, so they contrariwise should believe that Christ in truth would so give them as they thought his flesh to eat, but yet lest the horror thereof should offend them, he would not seem to do that he did.

[10.] When they which have this opinion of Christ in that blessed sacrament go about to explain themselves, and to open after what manner things are brought to pass, the one sort lay the union of Christ's deity with his manhood as their first foundation and ground; from thence they infer a power which the body of Christ hath *thereby* to present itself in all places; out of which ubiquity of his body they gather the presence thereof with that sanctified bread and wine of our Lord's table; the conjunction of his body and blood with those elements they use as an argument to shew how the bread may as well in that respect be termed his body because his body is therewith joined, as the Son of God may be named man by reason that God and man in the person of Christ are united; to this they add how the words of Christ commanding us to eat must needs import that as he hath coupled the substance of his flesh and the substance of bread together, so we together should receive both; which labyrinth as the other sort doth justly shun, so the way which they take to the same inn is somewhat more short but no whit more certain. For through God's omnipotent power they imagine that transubstantiation followeth upon the words of consecration, and upon transubstantiation the participation of Christ's both body and blood in the only shape of sacramental elements.

So that they all three do plead God's omnipotency: sacramentaries to that alteration which the rest confess he accomplisheth; the patrons of transubstantiation over and besides that to the change of one substance into another; the followers of consubstantiation to the kneading up of both substances as it were into one lump.

[11.] Touching the sentence of antiquity

" the negative, *any article of faith.* For even as " I say, that you ought not to make any necessary " article of the faith of your part, (which is the " affirmative,) so I say again, that we make no " necessary article of the faith of our part, but " leave it indifferent for all men to judge therein, " as God shall open his heart, and no side to con- " demn or despise the other, but to nourish in all " things brotherly love, and one to bear another's " infirmity." And p. 1035. " I will not hold it " as an article of faith, but that you may without " danger or damnation either believe it or think " the contrary."]

in this cause, first forasmuch as they knew that the force of this sacrament doth necessarily presuppose the verity of Christ's both body and blood, they used oftentimes the same as an argument to prove that Christ hath as truly the substance of man as of God, because here we receive Christ and those graces which flow from him in that he is man. So that if he have no such being, neither can the sacrament have any such meaning as we all confess it hath. Thus Tertullian [23], thus Ireney [24], thus Theodoret [25] disputeth.

Again as evident it is how they teach that Christ is *personally* there present, yea present whole, albeit a part of Christ be *corporally* absent from thence; that Christ[26] assisting this heavenly banquet with his personal and true presence [27] doth by his own divine power add to the natural substance thereof supernatural efficacy, which[28] addition to the nature of those consecrated elements changeth them and maketh them that unto us which otherwise they could not be; that to us they are thereby made such instruments as mystically [29] yet truly, invisibly yet really work our communion or fellowship with the person of Jesus Christ as well in that he is man as God, our participation also in the fruit, grace and efficacy of his body and blood, whereupon there ensueth a kind of transubstantiation in us, a true change [30] both of soul and body, an alteration from death to life. In a word it appeareth not that of all the ancient Fathers of the Church any one did ever conceive or imagine other than only a mystical participation of Christ's both body and blood in the sacrament, neither are their speeches concerning the change of the elements themselves into the body and blood of Christ such, that a man can thereby in conscience assure himself it was their meaning to per-

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[23] "Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis "corpus suum illum fecit, 'hoc est corpus meum' "dicendo, id est figura corporis mei. Figura au- "tem non fuisset nisi veritatis esset corpus, cum "vacua res quod est phantasma figuram capere "non posset." Tertull. contra Marc. lib. iv. cap. 40.

[24] "Secundem hæc" (that is to say if it should be true which heretics have taught denying that Christ took upon him the very nature of man) "nec Dominus sanguine suo redemit nos, neque "calix Eucharistiæ communicatio sanguinis ejus "erit, nec panis quem frangimus communicatio "corporis ejus est. Sanguis enim non est nisi a "venis et carnibus et a reliqua quæ est secundum "hominem substantia." Iren. lib. v. cap. 2 [p. 395.]

[25] Εἰ τοίνυν τοῦ ὄντος σώματος ἀντίτυπά ἐστι τὰ θεῖα μυστήρια, σῶμα ἄρα ἐστὶ καὶ νῦν τοῦ δεσπότου τὸ σῶμα, οὐκ εἰς θεότητος φύσιν μεταβληθὲν ἀλλὰ θείας δόξης ἀναπλησθέν. Theodor. Ἀσύγχυτος. [Dial. ii. t. iv. pars 1. p. 125.]

[26] "Sacramenta quidem quantum in se est sine "propria virtute esse non possunt, nec ullo modo "se absentat majestas mysteriis." Cypr. de Cœn. cap. 7. [p. 41. ad calc. Ed. Fell.]

[27] "Sacramento visibili ineffabiliter divina se in- "fudit essentia, ut esset religioni circa sacramenta "devotio." Idem, cap. 6. "Invisibilis sacerdos "visibiles creaturas in substantiam corporis et "sanguinis sui verbo suo secreta potestate conver- "tit. . . . In spiritualibus sacramentis verbi præci- "pit virtus et [rei] servit effectus." Euseb. Emisen. Hom. 5. de Pasch. [p. 560. par. i. t. v. Biblioth. Patr. Colon.]

[28] [Eran.] Τὰ σύμβολα τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ σώματός τε καὶ αἵματος ἄλλα μέν εἰσι πρὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπικλήσεως, μετὰ δέ γε τὴν ἐπίκλησιν μεταβάλλεται καὶ ἕτερα γίνεται. [Orth.] Ἀλλ' οὐκ οἰκείας ἐξίσταται φύσεως. Μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας καὶ τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τοῦ εἴδους, καὶ ὁρατά ἐστι καὶ ἁπτὰ οἷα καὶ πρότερον ἦν, νοεῖται δὲ ἅπερ ἐγένετο, καὶ πιστεύεται, καὶ προσκυνεῖται ὡς ἐκεῖνα ἅντα ὅπερ πιστεύεται. Theodor. [Dial. ii. p. 126.] "Ex quo a Domino "dictum est, Hoc facite in meam commemoratio- "nem, Hæc est caro mea, et Hic est sanguis "meus, quotiescunque his verbis et hac fide ac- "tum est, panis iste supersubstantialis et calix "benedictione solenni sacratus ad totius hominis "vitam salutemque proficit.' Cypr. de Cœn. cap. 3. "Immortalis alimonia datur, a communibus "cibis differens, corporalis substantiæ retinens "speciem sed virtutis divinæ invisibili efficientia "probans adesse præsentiam." Ibid. cap. 2.

[29] "Sensibilibus sacramentis inest vitæ æternæ "effectus, et non tam corporali quam spirituali "transitione Christo unimur. Ipse enim et panis et "caro et sanguis, idem cibus et substantia et vita "factus est Ecclesiæ suæ quam corpus suum ap- "pellat, dans ei participationem spiritus." Cyprian. de Cœn. cap. 5. "Nostra et ipsius conjunctio "nec miscet personas nec unit substantias, sed "effectus consociat et confœderat voluntates." Ibid. cap. 6. "Mansio nostra in ipso est manduca- "tio, et potus quasi quædam incorporatio." Ibid. cap. 9. "Ille est in Patre per naturam divinitatis, "nos in eo per corporalem ejus nativitatem, ille "rursus in nobis per Sacramentorum mysterium." Hilar. de Trin. lib. viii. [§. 15.]

[30] "Panis hic azymus cibus verus et sincerus "*per speciem et sacramentum* nos tactu sanctifi- "cat, fide illuminat, veritate Christo conformat." Cypr. de Cœn. c. 6. "Non aliud agit participatio "corporis et sanguinis Christi quam ut in id quod "sumimus transeamus, et in quo mortui et sepulti "et corresuscitati sumus ipsum per omnia et spir- "itu et carne gestemus." Leo de Pass. Serm. 14. [c. 5. fin.] "Quemadmodum qui est a terra panis "percipiens Dei vocationem" (id est facta invocatione divini numinis) "jam non communis panis est, "sed Eucharistia, ex duabus rebus constans ter- "rena et cœlesti: sic et corpora nostra percipientia "Eucharistiam jam non sunt corruptibilia, spem res- "urrectionis habentia." Iren. lib. iv. cap. 34. [al. 18. ὡς ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρτος προσλαμβανόμενος τὴν ἔκκλησιν τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκέτι κοινὸς ἄρτος ἐστὶν, ἀλλ' εὐχαριστία, ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων συνεστηκυῖα, ἐπιγείου τε καὶ οὐρανίου· οὕτως καὶ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν μεταλαμβάνοντα τῆς εὐχαριστίας μηκέτι εἶναι φθαρτὰ, τὴν ἐλπίδαρῆς εἰς αἰῶνας ἀναστάσεως ἔχοντα. t. i. p. 251. ed. Bened.] "Quoniam salutaris caro verbo Dei quod naturali- "ter vita est conjuncta vivifica effecta est, quando "eam comedimus, tunc vitam habemus in nobis, "illi carni conjuncti quæ vita effecta est." Cyril. in Johan. lib. iv. cap. 14. [t. iv. 361. C.]

suade the world either of a corporal consubstantiation of Christ with those sanctified and blessed elements before we receive them, or of the like transubstantiation of them into the body and blood of Christ. Which both to our mystical communion with Christ are so unnecessary, that the Fathers who plainly hold but this mystical communion cannot easily be thought to have meant any other change of sacramental elements than that which the same spiritual communion did require them to hold.

[12.] These things considered, how should that mind which loving truth and seeking comfort out of holy mysteries hath not perhaps the leisure, perhaps not the wit nor capacity to tread out so endless mazes, as the intricate disputes of this cause have led men into, how should a virtuously disposed mind better resolve with itself than thus? "Variety of judgments and opinions argueth obscurity in those things "whereabout they differ. But that which "all parts receive for truth, that which "every one having sifted is by no one denied or doubted of, must needs be matter "of infallible certainty. Whereas therefore "there are but three expositions made of "'this is my body,' the first 'this is in itself "before participation *really and truly the "natural substance of my body by reason "of the coexistence which my omnipotent "body hath with the sanctified element of "bread*,' which is the Lutherans' interpretation; the second, 'this is itself and before participation *the very true and natural substance of my body, by force of that "Deity which with the words of consecration abolisheth the substance of bread and "substituteth in the place thereof my Body*,' which is the popish construction; the last, "'*this hallowed food, through concurrence "of divine power, is in verity and truth, "unto faithful receivers, instrumentally a "cause of that mystical participation, "whereby as I make myself wholly theirs, "so I give them in hand an actual possession of all such saving grace as my sacrificed body can yield, and as their souls do "presently need, this is* to them and in "them *my body*:' of these three rehearsed "interpretations the last hath in it nothing "but what the rest do all approve and acknowledge to be most true, nothing but "that which the words of Christ are on all "sides confessed to enforce, nothing but "that which the Church of God hath always thought necessary, nothing but that "which alone is sufficient for every Christian man to believe concerning the use "and force of this sacrament, finally nothing "but that wherewith the writings of all antiquity are consonant and all Christian "confessions agreeable. And as truth in "what kind soever is by no kind of truth "gainsayed, so the mind which resteth "itself on this is never troubled with those "perplexities which the other do both find, "by means of so great contradiction between their opinions and true principles "of reason grounded upon experience, nature and sense. Which albeit with "boisterous courage and breath they seem "oftentimes to blow away, yet whoso observeth how again they labour and sweat "by subtilty of wit to make some show of "agreement between their peculiar conceits and the general edicts of nature, "must needs perceive they struggle with "that which they cannot fully master. Besides sith of that which is proper to themselves their discourses are hungry and "unpleasant, full of tedious and irksome "labour, heartless and hitherto without "fruit, on the other side read we them or "hear we others be they of our own or of "ancienter times, to what part soever they "be thought to incline touching that where-"of there is controversy, yet in this where "they all speak but one thing their discourses are heavenly, their words sweet "as the honeycomb, their tongues melodiously tuned instruments, their sentences "mere consolation and joy, are we not "hereby almost even with voice from "heaven, admonished which we may safeliest cleave unto?

"He which hath said of the one sacra-"ment, 'wash and be clean,' hath said concerning the other likewise, 'eat and live.' "If therefore without any such particular "and solemn warrant as this is that poor "distressed woman coming unto Christ for "health could so constantly resolve herself, "'may I but touch the skirt of his garment "I shall be whole [31],' what moveth us to "argue of the manner how life should come "by bread, our duty being here but to take "what is offered, and most assuredly to rest "persuaded of this, that can we but eat we "are safe? When I behold with mine eyes "some small and scarce discernible grain "or seed whereof nature maketh promise "that a tree shall come, and when afterwards of that tree any skilful artificer "undertaketh to frame some exquisite and "curious work, I look for the event, I move "no question about performance either of "the one or of the other. Shall I simply "credit nature in things natural, shall I in "things artificial rely myself on art, never "offering to make doubt, and in that which "is above both art and nature refuse to believe the author of both, except he acquaint me with his ways, and lay the secret of his skill before me? Where God "himself doth speak those things which "either for height and sublimity of matter, "or else for secresy of performance we are "not able to reach unto, as we may be *ig-*

[31] [S. Matt. ix. 21.]

"norant without danger, so it can be no "disgrace to confess we are ignorant. "Such as love piety will as much as in "them lieth know all things that God com- "mandeth, but especially the duties of ser- "vice which they owe to God. As for his "dark and hidden works, they prefer as "becometh them in such cases simplicity "of faith before that knowledge, which cu- "riously sifting what it should adore, and "disputing too boldly of that which the wit "of man cannot search, chilleth for the "most part all warmth of zeal, and bring- "eth soundness of belief many times into "great hazard. Let it therefore be suffi- "cient for me presenting myself at the "Lord's table to know what there I receive "from him, without searching or inquiring "of the manner how Christ performeth his "promise; let disputes and questions, ene- "mies to piety, abatements of true devo- "tion, and hitherto in this cause but over "patiently heard, let them take their rest; "let curious and sharpwitted men beat "their heads about what questions them- "selves will, the very letter of the word "of Christ giveth plain security that "these mysteries do as nails fasten us "to his very Cross, that by them we draw "out, as touching efficacy, force, and vir- "tue, even the blood of his gored side, "in the wounds of our Redeemer we there "dip our tongues, we are dyed red both "within and without, our hunger is satisfied "and our thirst for ever quenched [32]; they "are things wonderful which he feeleth, "great which he seeth and unheard of "which he uttereth, whose soul is possessed "of this Paschal Lamb and made joyful in "the strength of this new wine, this bread "hath in it more than the substance which "our eyes behold, this cup hallowed with "solemn benediction availeth to the endless "life and welfare both of soul and body, in "that it serveth as well for a medicine to "heal our infirmities and purge our sins as "for a sacrifice of thanksgiving [33], with "touching it sanctifieth, it enlighteneth "with belief, it truly conformeth us unto the "image of Jesus Christ [34]; what these ele- "ments are in themselves it skilleth not, it "is enough that to me which take them "they are the body and blood of Christ, his "promise in witness hereof sufficeth, his "word he knoweth which way to accom- "plish; why should any cogitation possess "the mind of a faithful communicant but "this, O my God thou art true, O my soul "thou art happy!"

[13.] Thus therefore we see that howso- ever men's opinions do otherwise vary, nevertheless touching Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, we may with consent of the whole Christian world conclude they are necessary, the one to initiate or begin, the other to consummate or make perfect our life in Christ.

LXVIII. In administering the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, the sup- posed faults of the Church of England are not greatly ma- terial, and therefore it shall suffice to touch them in few words. "The first is that we "do not use in a generality once for all to "say to communicants 'take eat and drink,' "but unto every particular person, 'eat "thou, drink thou,' which is according to "the popish manner and not the form that "our Saviour did use [35]. Our second over- "sight is by gesture. For in kneeling "there hath been superstition; sitting "agreeth better to the action of a supper [36]; "and our Saviour using that which was "most fit did himself not kneel [37]. A third "accusation is for not examining all com- "municants, whose knowledge in the mys- "tery of the Gospel should that way be "made manifest, a thing every where they "say used in the Apostles' times [38], because "all things necessary were used, and this "in their opinion is necessary, yea it is "commanded inasmuch as the Levites [39] "are commanded to prepare the people for "the Passover, and examination is a part "of their preparation, our Lord's Supper "in place of the Passover. The fourth "thing misliked is that against the Apos- "tle's prohibition [40] to have any familiarity "at all with notorious offenders, papists "being not of the Church are admitted to "our very communion before they have by "their religious and gospel-like behaviour "purged themselves of that suspicion of "popery which their former life hath "caused. They are dogs, swine, unclean "beasts, foreigners and strangers from the

Of faults noted in the Form of administering the Holy Com- munion.

[32] [Arnold. de Cœna Dom. p. 41, "Cruci hære- "mus, sanguinem sugimus, et inter ipsa Redemp- "toris nostri vulnera figimus linguam: quo inte- "rius exteriusque rubricati, a sapientibus hujus "sæculi judicamur amentes ... Qui manducat "ex hoc pane ultra non esurit; qui bibit, ultra "non sitit."]

[33] ["Panis iste supersubstantialis et calix bene- "dictione solenni sacratus ad totius hominis vitam "salutemque proficit, simul medicamentum et ho- "locaustum ad sanandas infirmitates et purgan- "das iniquitates existens." Arnold. p. 39.]

[34] [See above, p. 453, §. 11. note 30.]

[35] [Adm. ap. Whitg. Def. 600. "Then it was "delivered generally and indefinitely, 'Take ye "and eat ye:' we particularly and singularly, "'Take thou and eat thou.'"]

[36] [T. C. i. 165. al. 131.]

[37] [Adm. ap. Whitg. Def. 596. "They re- "ceived it sitting; we kneeling according to Ho- "norius' decree."]

[38] [Adm. ap. Wh. Def. 591. "There was then "accustomed to be an examination of the com- "municants, which now is neglected."]

[39] 2 Chron. xxxv. 6.

[40] 1 Cor. v. 11.

"Church of God, and therefore ought not "to be admitted though they offer themselves[41]. We are fifthly condemned, inasmuch as when there have been store "of people to hear sermon and service in "the church we suffer the communion to be "ministered to a few. It is not enough "that our book of common prayer hath "godly exhortations to move all thereunto "which are present. For it should not "suffer a few to communicate, it should by "ecclesiastical discipline and civil punishment provide that such as would withdraw themselves might be brought to "communicate, according both to the [42]law "of God and the ancient church canons. "In the sixth and last place cometh the "enormity of imparting this sacrament privately unto the sick[43]."

[2.] Thus far accused we answer briefly to the first [44] that seeing God by sacraments doth apply in particular unto every man's person the grace which himself hath provided for the benefit of all mankind, there is no cause why administering the sacraments we should forbear to express that in our forms of speech, which he by his word and gospel teacheth all to believe. In the one sacrament "I baptize thee" displeaseth them not. If "eat thou" in the other offend them, their fancies are no rules for churches to follow.

Whether Christ at his last supper did speak generally once to all, or to every one in particular, is a thing uncertain. His words are recorded in that form, which serveth best for the setting down with historical brevity what was spoken, they are no manifest proof that he spake but once unto all which did then communicate, much less that we in speaking unto every communicant severally do amiss, although it were clear that we herein do otherwise than Christ did. Our imitation of him consisteth not in tying scrupulously ourselves unto his syllables, but rather in speaking by the heavenly direction of that inspired divine wisdom which teacheth divers ways to one end, and doth therein control their boldness by whom any profitable way is censured as reprovable only under colour of some small difference from great examples going before. To do throughout every the like circumstance the same which Christ did in this action were by following his footsteps in that sort to err more from the purpose he aimed at than we now do by not following them with so nice and severe strictness.

They little weigh with themselves how dull, how heavy and almost how without sense the greatest part of the common multitude every where is, who think it either unmeet or unnecessary to put them even man by man especially at that time in mind whereabout they are. It is true that in sermons we do not use to repeat our sentences severally to every particular hearer, a strange madness it were if we should. The softness of wax may induce a wise man to set his stamp or image therein; it persuadeth no man that because wool hath the like quality it may therefore receive the like impression. So the reason taken from the use of sacraments in that they are instruments of grace unto every particular man may with good congruity lead the Church to frame accordingly her words in administration of sacraments, because they easily admit this form, which being in sermons a thing impossible without apparent ridiculous absurdity, agreement of sacraments with sermons in that which is alleged as a reasonable proof of conveniency for the one

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[41] [Adm. ap. Wh. 603. "They shut men by "reason of their sins from the Lord's Supper: we "thrust them in their sin to the Lord's Supper:" thus explained by T. C. i. 132. al. 167. "If the "place of the 5 to the Corinth. do forbid that we "should have any familiarity with notorious offenders, it doth much more forbid that they should "be received to the Communion. And therefore "Papists being such, as which are notoriously "known to hold heretical opinions, ought not to be "admitted, much less compelled to the Supper."

[42] Num. ix. 13.; Can. ix. Apost. [Coteler. PP. Apost. i. 443. Πάντας τοὺς εἰσιόντας πιστοὺς εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν ἀκούοντας, μὴ παραμένοντας δὲ τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ ἁγίᾳ μεταλήψει, ὡς ἂν ἀταξίαν ἐμποιοῦντας τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀφορίζεσθαι χρή.] Concil. 2. Brac. cap. 83. [vid. Capitula Martini Episc. Bracar. cap. 83. apud Concil. v. 914. "Si quis intrat ecclesiam Dei, et sacras scriptu"ras non audit, et pro luxuria sua avertit se a "communione sacramenti, et in observandis mys"teriis declinat constitutam regulam disciplinæ, "istum talem ejiciendum de Ecclesia Catholica "decernimus, donec pœnitentiam agat."]

[43] [Adm. ap. Whitg. Def. 525. "A great num"ber of things contrary to the law of God, as pri"vate Communion," &c. T. C. 115. al. 146. "The private communion is found fault with, "both for the place wherein it is ministered, and "for the small number of communicants which "are admitted by the book of service." And p. 116. al. 147. "There is fault in the appointing "of the service book, not only for that it admitteth "in the time of plague, that one with the minister may celebrate the Supper of the Lord in the "house, but for that it ordaineth a communion in "the church, when of a great number which assemble there it admitteth three or four."]

[44] T. C. lib. i. p. 166. [131.] "Besides that it "is good to leave the popish form in those things "which we may so conveniently do, it is best to "come as near the manner of celebration of the "supper which our Saviour Christ used as may "be. And if it be a good argument to prove that "therefore we must rather say *Take thou* than "*Take ye*, because the sacrament is an applica"tion of the benefits of Christ, it behoveth that "the preacher should direct his admonitions par"ticularly one after another unto all those which "hear his sermon, which is a thing absurd."

proveth not the same allegation impertinent because it doth not enforce the other to be administered in like sort. For equal principles do then avail unto equal conclusions when the matter whereunto we apply them is equal, and not else.

[3.] Our kneeling at Communions is the gesture of piety [45]. If we did there present ourselves but to make some show or dumb resemblance of a spiritual feast [46], it may be that sitting were the fitter ceremony; but coming as receivers of inestimable grace at the hands of God, what doth better beseem our bodies at that hour than to be sensible witnesses of minds unfeignedly humbled? Our Lord himself did that which custom and long usage had made fit; we that which fitness and great decency hath made usual.

[4.] The trial of ourselves before we eat of this bread and drink of this cup is by express commandment every man's precise duty. As for necessity of calling others unto account [47] besides ourselves, albeit we be not thereunto drawn by any great strength which is in their arguments, who first press us with it as a thing necessary by affirming that the Apostles did use it [48], and then prove the Apostles to have used it by affirming it to be necessary; again [49] albeit we greatly muse how they can avouch that God did command the Levites to prepare their brethren against the feast of the Passover, and that the examination of them was a part of their preparation, when the place alleged to this purpose doth but charge the Levites saying, "make ready *Laahhechem* for your brethren," to the end they may do according to the word of the Lord by Moses:—wherefore in the selfsame place it followeth how lambs and kids and sheep and bullocks were delivered unto the Levites, and that thus "the service was made "ready [50];" it followeth likewise how the Levites having in such sort provided for the people, they made provision for "themselves "and for the priests the sons of Aaron [51];"

[45] T. C. lib. i. p. 165. [131.] "Kneeling carrieth "a show of worship, sitting agreeth better with "the action of the Supper. Christ and his Apos- "tles kneeled not."

[46] [Adm. ap. Wh. Def. 599. "In this book we "are enjoined to receive the communion kneeling; "which beside that it hath in it a shew of papist- "ry, doth not so well express the mystery of this "holy supper. For as in the Old Testament eat- "ing the paschal lamb standing signified a readi- "ness to pass, even so in the receiving of it now "sitting according to the example of Christ, we "signify rest: i. e. a full finishing through Christ "of all the ceremonial law, and a perfect work of "redemption wrought, that giveth rest forever. "And so we avoid also the danger of idolatry, "which was in times past too common, and yet "is in the hearts of many." Wh. Def. "What? "are you now come to allegories and significa- "tions? Surely this is a very papistical reason: "nay then we can give you a great deal better "significations of the surplice, of crossing, of the "ring in marriage, and many other ceremonies, "than this is of sitting. I pray you in the whole "Scripture where doth sitting signify a full finish- "ing of the ceremonial law, and a perfect work of "redemption that giveth rest for ever?" T. C. 132. al. 166. "Let it be that this is not so sound "a reason, (as indeed for my part I will not defend "it, and the authors themselves have corrected it,) "yet M. Doctor might have dealt easilier withall "than to call it a papistical reason, which is far "from popery, and the reason of two notable learn- "ed and zealous men, Johannes Alasco" (marg. "in Liturgia Eccles. Peregr." 'Alienum id a no- "bis maxime esse oportet, ut observatum a "Christo Domino, ejusque demum etiam Aposto- "lis, Consessum in cœna Novi Testamenti ipsius, "vanum, otiosum, omnique mysterio vacuum esse "imaginemur. Sed est nobis summa religione "observandum, longe præstantissimum illud plen- "umque summæ consolationis mysterium, *nostræ* "*jam quietis* in Christo, ipsiusmet Christi Domi- "ni verbis nobis commendatum.'" &c. p. 147.) "and of M. Hooper in his Commentary upon the "Prophet Jonas."]

[47] [Whitg. Answer, 96. al. 140. "How prove you "that there was then any examination of commu- "nicants? . . . St. Paul saith, 'Let a man examine "himself.' But he speaketh of no other exami- "nation." T. C. i. 130. al. 164. "M. Doctor ask- "eth how it is proved that there was any exami- "nation of the communicants. After this sort: all "things necessary were used in the churches of "God in the Apostles' times; but examination "of those whose knowledge of the mystery of the "Gospel was not known, or doubted of, was a "necessary thing; therefore it was used in the "churches of God which were in the Apostles' "time."]

[48] T. C. lib. i. p. 164. [130. and iii. 149, 150.] All things necessary were used in the churches of God in the Apostles' times, but examination was a necessary thing, therefore used. "In "the Book of Chronicles (2 Chron. xxxv. 6) the "Levites were commanded to prepare the people "to the receiving of the passover, in place whereof "we have the Lord's Supper. Now examination "being a part of the preparation it followeth that "here is commandment of the examination."

[49] [Whitg. ubi sup. "If there had been either "commandment or example for it in Scriptures, I "am sure you would not have left it unquoted in "the margent." T. C. ubi sup. "In the second "book of the Chronicles he might have read, that "the Levites were commanded &c." Wh. Def. 592. "You betray the weakness of your cause "too much, when you are constrained to run so "far for a precept . . . especially when you are "compelled for want of other to bring out cere- "monial precepts long ago abrogated . . . Why "may not the Papists as well use the same for "their auricular confession? . . . . These words, "'Prepare your brethren,' &c. are thus expounded "by learned interpreters: Exhort your brethren "to examine themselves, that they may be ready "to eat the passover. Look the marginal note in "the Geneva Bible."]

[50] [2 Chr. xxxv. 10.]

[51] [Ibid. 14. The same phrase occurs Gen. xliii. 16. where Joseph bids his servant "slay and make

so that confidently from hence to conclude the necessity of examination argueth their wonderful great forwardness in framing all things to serve their turn:—nevertheless the examination of communicants when need requireth, for the profitable use it may have in such cases, we reject not.

[5.] Our fault in admitting popish communicants, is it in that we are forbidden [52] to eat and therefore much more to communicate with notorious malefactors [53]? The name of a papist is not given unto any man for being a notorious malefactor. And the crime wherewith we are charged is suffering of papists to communicate, so that be their life and conversation whatsoever in the sight of men, their popish opinions are in this case laid as bars and exceptions against them, yea those opinions which they have held in former times although they now both profess by word and offer to shew by fact the contrary [54]. All this doth not justify us, which ought not (they say) to admit them in any wise, till their gospel-like behaviour have removed all suspicion of popery from them, because papists are "dogs, swine, beasts, foreigners and stran-"gers" from the house of God; in a word, they are "not of the Church."

[6.] What the terms of "gospel-like be-"haviour" may include is obscure and doubtful. But of the Visible Church of Christ in this present world, from which they separate all papists, we are thus persuaded: *Church* is a word which art hath devised thereby to sever and distinguish that society of men which professeth the true religion from the rest which profess it not. There have been in the world from the very first foundation thereof but three religions, Paganism which lived in the blindness of corrupt and depraved nature; Judaism embracing the Law which reformed heathenish impiety, and taught salvation to be looked for through one whom God in the last days would send and exalt to be Lord of all; finally Christian Belief which yieldeth obedience to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and acknowledgeth him the Saviour whom God did promise. Seeing then that *the Church* is a name which art hath given to *professors of true religion*, as they which will define a man are to pass by those qualities wherein one man doth excel another, and to take only those essential properties whereby a man doth differ from creatures of other kinds, so he that will teach what *the Church* is shall never rightly perform the work whereabout he goeth, till *in matter of religion* he touch that difference which severeth the Church's Religion from theirs who are not the Church. Religion being therefore a matter partly of *contemplation* partly of *action*, we must define the Church which is a religious society by such differences as do properly explain the essence of such things, that is to say, by the object or matter whereabout the contemplations and actions of the Church are properly conversant. For so all knowledges and all virtues are defined. Whereupon because the *only object* which separateth ours from other religions is Jesus Christ, in whom none but the Church doth believe and whom none but the Church doth worship, we find that accordingly the Apostles do every where distinguish hereby the Church from infidels and from Jews, accounting "them which "call upon the name of our Lord Jesus "Christ to be his Church."

If we go lower, we shall but add unto this certain casual and variable accidents, which are not properly of the being, but make only for the happier and better being of the Church of God, either in deed, or in men's opinions and conceits. This is the error of all popish definitions that hitherto have been brought. They define not the Church by that which the Church essentially is, but by that wherein they imagine their own more perfect than the rest are. Touching parts of eminency and perfection, parts likewise of imperfection and defect in the Church of God, they are infinite, their degrees and differences no way possible to be drawn unto any certain account. There is not the least contention and variance, but it blemisheth somewhat the unity that ought to be in the Church of Christ [55], which notwithstanding may have not only without offence or breach of concord her manifold varieties in rites and ceremonies of religion, but also her strifes and contentions many times and that about matters of no small importance, yea her schisms, factions and such other evils whereunto the body of the Church is subject, sound and sick remaining both of the same body, as long as both parts retain by outward profession that vital substance of truth which maketh Chris-

"ready." Comp. Josh. i. 11. Cartwright was probably misled by the Vulgate, which reads, "Et fratres vestros . . . præparate."]

[52] 1 Cor. v. 11; T. C. lib. i. p. 167. [132.]

[53] [The phrase in T. C. is "notorious offend-"ers."]

[54] T. C. lib. i. p. 167. [133.] "Although they "would receive the communion, yet they ought to "be kept back until such time as by their religious "and Gospel-like behaviour they have purged "themselves of that suspicion of popery which "their former life and conversation hath caused to "be conceived." [Eccles. Disc. fol. 129. "Cur "sacra Dei mysteria Papistis communicamus, nec "ante, apertam, publicam, sinceram veræ reli-"gionis professionem exigimus? Sacra Dei mys-"teria profanantur, gentes in templa Dei in-"grediuntur, sacra cum incircumcisis et immun-"dis communicantur, nec custodes ad portas ad-"hibemus, neque immundos claustris circumscri-"bimus."]

[55] Rom. xv. 5; 1 Cor. i. 10.

tian religion to differ from theirs which acknowledge not our Lord Jesus Christ the blessed Saviour of mankind, give no credit to his glorious gospel, and have his sacraments the seals of eternal life in derision [56].

Now the privilege of the visible Church of God (for of that we speak) is to be herein like the ark of Noah, that, for any thing we know to the contrary, all without it are lost sheep; yet in this was the ark of Noah privileged above the Church, that whereas none of them which were in the one could perish, numbers in the other are cast away, because to eternal life our profession is not enough. Many things exclude from the kingdom of God although from the Church they separate not.

In the Church there arise sundry grievous storms, by means whereof whole kingdoms and nations professing Christ both have been heretofore and are at this present day divided about Christ. During which divisions and contentions amongst men albeit each part do justify itself, yet the one of necessity must needs err if there be any contradiction between them be it great or little, and what side soever it be that hath the truth, the same we must also acknowledge alone to hold *with the true Church in that point*, and consequently reject the other as an enemy *in that case fallen away from the true Church.*

Wherefore of hypocrites and dissemblers [57] whose profession at the first was but only from the teeth outward, when they afterwards took occasion to oppugn certain principal articles of faith, the Apostles which defended the truth against them pronounce them "gone out" from the fellowship of sound and sincere believers, when as yet the Christian religion they had not utterly cast off.

In like sense and meaning throughout all ages heretics have justly been hated as branches cut off from the body of the true Vine, yet only so far forth cut off as their heresies have extended. Both heresy and *many other crimes* which *wholly sever from God* do sever from the Church of God *in part only.* "The mystery of piety" saith the Apostle "is without peradventure great, "God hath been manifested in the flesh, "hath been justified in the Spirit, hath been "seen of Angels, hath been preached to "nations, hath been believed on in the "world, hath been taken up into glory [58]." The Church a pillar and foundation of this truth, which no where is known or professed but only within the Church, and they all of the Church that profess it. In the meanwhile it cannot be denied that many profess this who are not therefore cleared simply from all either faults or errors which make separation between us and the wellspring of our happiness. Idolatry severed of old the Israelites, iniquity those scribes and Pharisees from God, who notwithstanding were a part of the seed of Abraham, a part of that very seed which God did himself acknowledge to be his Church. The Church of God may therefore contain both them which indeed are not his yet must be reputed his by us that know not their inward thoughts, and them whose apparent wickedness testifieth even in the sight of the whole world that God abhorreth them. For to this and no other purpose are meant those parables which our Saviour in the Gospel [59] hath concerning mixture of vice with virtue, light with darkness, truth with error, as well an openly known and seen as a cunningly cloaked mixture.

That which separateth therefore *utterly*, that which cutteth off *clean* from the visible Church of Christ is plain Apostasy, *direct* denial, utter rejection of the whole Christian faith as far as the same is professedly different from infidelity. Heretics as touching those points of doctrine wherein they fail; schismatics as touching the quarrels for which or the duties wherein they divide themselves from their brethren; loose, licentious and wicked persons as touching their several offences or crimes, have all forsaken the true Church of God, the Church which is sound and sincere in the doctrine that they corrupt, the Church that keepeth the bond of unity which they violate, the Church that walketh in the laws of righteousness which they transgress, this very true Church of Christ they have left, howbeit not altogether left nor forsaken simply the Church upon the main foundations whereof they continue built, notwithstanding these breaches whereby they are *rent at the top* asunder.

[7.] Now because for redress of professed errors and open schisms it is and must be the Church's care that all may in outward conformity be one, as the laudable polity of former ages even so our own to that end and purpose hath established divers laws, the moderate severity whereof is a mean both to stay the rest and to reclaim such as heretofore have been led awry [60].

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[56] [Comp. b. iii. c. 1.] [57] 1 John ii. 19.
[58] 1 Tim. iii. 16.

[59] [Matt. xiii. 24, 47.]

[60] [Namely, the Act of Uniformity: that under which the High Commission acted and the Queen's Injunctions were issued from time to time: other acts in 1562, 1581, 1593. Of interference with regard to the Communion in particular two instances occur in Strype: one in Park. i. 568: where a person of the Temple is interrogated, "Whether he had received the Communion in the "Temple church, accustomably, as others of the "house had done:" the other, Ann. I. ii. 347; a circular signed by the magistrates, pledging themselves to "receive the holy Sacrament from time "to time, according to the tenor of the Act of

But seeing that the offices which laws require are always definite, and when that they require is done they go no farther, whereupon sundry ill-affected persons to save themselves from danger of laws pretend obedience, albeit inwardly they carry still the same hearts which they did before, by means whereof it falleth out that receiving unworthily the blessed sacrament at our hands, they eat and drink their own damnation; it is for remedy of this mischief here determined[60], that whom the law of the realm doth punish unless they communicate, such if they offer to obey law, the Church notwithstanding should not admit without probation before had of their gospel-like behaviour.

[8.] Wherein they first set no time how long this supposed probation must continue; again they nominate no certain judgment the verdict whereof shall approve men's behaviour to be gospel-like; and that which is most material, whereas they seek to make it more hard for dissemblers to be received into the Church than law and polity as yet hath done, they make it in truth more easy for such kind of persons to wind themselves out of the law and to continue the same they were. The law requireth at their hands that duty which in conscience doth touch them nearest, because the greatest difference between us and them is the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, whose name in the service of our communion we celebrate with due honour, which they in the error of their mass profane. As therefore on our part to hear mass were an open departure from that sincere profession wherein we stand, so if they on the other side receive our communion, they give us the strongest pledge of fidelity that man can demand. What their hearts are God doth know. But if they which mind treachery to God and man[61] shall once appre-

" Uniformity :" both dated 1569, when the rebellion in the north was yet rife. The act of 1581 appears to have been thought necessary on account of certain doubts which existed as to the construction of the previous general enactments, and consequent lawfulness of the pecuniary penalties which the court of High Commission had been in the habit of occasionally enforcing. Strype, Grind. 345. A. D. 1577.]

[60] T. C. lib. i. p. 167. [132, 133.] " If the place " of the fifth to the Corinthians do forbid that we " should have any familiarity with notorious of- " fenders, it doth much more forbid that they " should be received to the Communion. And " therefore papists being such as which are noto- " riously known to hold heretical opinions ought " not to be admitted much less compelled to the " Supper. For seeing that our Saviour Christ did " institute his supper amongst his disciples and " those only which were as St. Paul speaketh " within, it is evident that the papists being with- " out, and foreigners and strangers from the " Church of God ought not to be received if they " would offer themselves: and that minister that " shall give the Supper of the Lord to him which " is known to be a papist and which hath never " made any clear renouncing of popery with " which he hath been defiled doth profane the ta- " ble of the Lord, and doth give the meat that is " prepared for the children unto dogs, and he " bringeth into the pasture which is provided for " the sheep, swine and unclean beasts, contrary " to the faith and trust that ought to be in a " steward of the Lord's house as he is. For albe- " it that I doubt not but many of those which are " now papists pertain to the election of God, which " God also in his good time will call to the know- " ledge of his truth: yet notwithstanding they " ought to be unto the minister and unto the " Church touching the ministering of Sacra- " ments as strangers and as unclean beasts. . . . . " The ministering of the holy sacraments unto " them is a declaration and seal of God's favor " and reconciliation with them, and a plain preach- " ing partly that they be washed already from " their sins, partly that they are of the household " of God and such as the Lord will feed to eternal " life, which is not lawful to be done unto those " which are not of the household of faith. And " therefore I conclude that the compelling of pa- " pists unto the communion, and the dismissing " and letting of them go when as they be to be " punished for their stubbornness in popery (with " this condition, if they will receive the Commu- " nion) is very unlawful, when as although they " would receive it yet they ought to be kept back " till such time as by their religious and gospel " like behaviour," &c. [Comp. T. C. i. 34. ap. Whitg. Def. 178. Whitgift in his answer had pleaded against popular election of bishops, that " the Church is now full of papists, atheists and " such like." T. C. replies, " Now you bring in " papists, idolaters, and atheists, which are not on- " ly filthy but also poisoned and venomed beasts. " I am not ignorant of that distinction which saith " that there be in the Church which are not of the " Church; and those are hypocrites as is before " said: but I would gladly learn of you, what " scripture there is to prove that idolaters and pa- " pists and atheists are in the Church, when St. " Paul calleth all such without the Church, and " with whom the Church hath nothing to do, nor " they with the Church. You might as well have " placed in the Church, wolves, tigers, lions and " bears, i. e. tyrants and persecutors...But now I " hear you ask me what then shall become of the " papists and atheists, if you will not have them " to be of the Church? I answer that they may " be of and in the Commonwealth, which neither " may, nor can be, of or in the Church. And " therefore the Church having nothing to do with " such, the magistrate ought to see that they join " to hear the sermons in the place where they are " made . . . and cause them to be examined, how " they profit; and if they profit not to punish " them; and as their contempt groweth, so to in- " crease the punishment, until such time as they " declare manifest tokens of unrepentantness, and " then as rotten members . . . cut them off."]

[61] [This expression refers perhaps to the Jesuits and seminary priests especially: who were very busy in England about 1596. See Strype, Ann. iv. 422. Compare in the same vol. p. 53, Topclyff's statement in a letter to Burghley: " There

hend this advantage given them, whereby they may satisfy law in pretending themselves conformable (for what can law with reason or justice require more?) and yet be sure the Church will accept no such offer, till their gospel-like behaviour be allowed; after that our own simplicity hath once thus fairly eased them from sting of law, it is to be thought they will learn the mystery of gospel-like behaviour when leisure serveth them. And so while without any cause we fear to profane sacraments, we shall not only defeat the purpose of most wholesome laws, but lose or wilfully hazard those souls from which the likeliest means of full and perfect recovery are by our indiscretion withheld.

For neither doth God thus bind us to dive into men's consciences, nor can their fraud and deceit hurt any man but themselves. To him they seem such as they are, but to us they must be taken for such as they seem. In the eye of God they are against Christ that are not truly and sincerely with him, in our eyes they must be received as with Christ that are not to outward show against him.

The case of impenitent and notorious sinners is not like unto theirs whose only imperfection is error severed from pertinacy, error in appearance content to submit itself to better instruction, error so far already cured as to crave at our hands that sacrament the hatred and utter refusal whereof was the weightiest point wherein heretofore they swerved and went astray.

[9.] In this case therefore they cannot reasonably charge us with remiss dealing, or with carelessness to whom we impart the mysteries of Christ, but they have given us manifest occasion to think it requisite that we earnestly advise rather and exhort them to consider as they ought their sundry oversights, first in equalling undistinctly crimes with errors as touching force to make uncapable of this sacrament; secondly in suffering indignation at the faults of the church of Rome to blind and withhold their judgments from seeing that which withal they should acknowledge, concerning so much nevertheless still due to the same church, as to be held and reputed a part of the house of God, a limb of the visible Church of Christ; thirdly in imposing upon the Church a burden to enter farther into men's hearts and to make a deeper search of their consciences than any law of God or reason of man enforceth; fourthly and lastly in repelling under colour of longer trial such from the mysteries of heavenly grace, as are both capable thereof by the laws of God for any thing we hear to the contrary, and should in divers considerations be cherished according to the merciful examples and precepts whereby the gospel of Christ hath taught us towards such to shew compassion, to receive them with lenity and all meekness, if any thing be shaken in them to strengthen it, not to quench with delays and jealousies that feeble smoke of conformity which seemeth to breathe from them, but to build wheresoever there is any foundation, to add perfection unto slender beginnings, and that as by other offices of piety even so by this very food of life which Christ hath left in his Church not only for preservation of strength but also for relief of weakness.

[10.] But to return to our ownselves in whom the next thing severely reproved is the paucity [62] of communicants, if they require at communions frequency we wish the same, knowing how acceptable unto God such service is when multitudes cheerfully concur unto it [63]; if they encourage men thereunto, we also (themselves acknowledge it [64]) are not utterly forgetful to do the like; if they require some public coaction [65] for remedy of that wherein by milder and softer means little good is done, they know our laws and statutes provided in that behalf, whereunto whatsoever convenient help may be added more by the wisdom of man, what cause have we given the world to think that we are not ready to hearken to it, and to use any good mean of

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" is a great danger in many others, who some-
" times do come to the church, and yet be papists,
" both in their inward hearts, and in their outward
" actions and conversations, *refusing to receive*
" *the communion;* and in every thing else as ill
" as the worst. Of which there be also two sorts.
" The one goeth to the church for saving of the
" penalties of thirteen score pounds a year: yet his
" wife and whole family or most of them, continue
" resolute recusants and harbour traitors. The
" other sort go to the church because they may
" avoid suspicion of the magistrates the better, and
" is dispensed withal by some secret dispensation
" of a delegate, or such a great priest as hath
" episcopal authority, to the end they may the bet-
" ter, and with the less suspicion, serve the turn
" of their cause catholic."]

[62] T. C. lib. 1. p. 147. [116.]

[63] 2 Chron. xxx. 13; Psalm cxxii. 1.

[64] [T. C. i. 117. al. 148. " It may be objected,
" that in this point the Book of Common Prayer
" is not in fault, which doth not only not forbid
" that all the Church should receive together, but
" also by a good and godly exhortation moveth
" those that be present that they should not de-
" part. . . . It is true that it doth not forbid, and
" that there is godly exhortation for that pur-
" pose."]

[65] [T. C. i. 117. al. 149. " It" (the Prayer Book)
" ought to provide that those which would with-
" draw themselves should be by ecclesiastical dis-
" cipline at all times, and now also under a godly
" prince by civil punishment brought to communi-
" cate. . . This is the law of God (Numbers ix.
" 13.) and this is now and hath been heretofore the
" practice of the churches reformed."]

sweet compulsion[66] to have this high and heavenly banquet largely furnished? Only we cannot so far yield as to judge it convenient that the holy desire of a competent number should be unsatisfied, because the greater part is careless and undisposed to join with them.

Men should not (they say) be permitted a few by themselves to communicate when so many are gone away, because this sacrament is a token of our conjunction with our brethren[67], and therefore by communicating apart from them we make an apparent show of distraction. I ask them on which side unity is broken, whether on theirs that depart or on theirs who being left behind do communicate? First in the one it is not denied but that they may have reasonable causes of departure, and that then even they are delivered from just blame. Of such kind of causes two are allowed[68], namely danger of impairing health and necessary business requiring our presence otherwhere. And may not a third cause, which is *unfitness* at the present time, detain us as lawfully back as either of these two? True it is that we cannot hereby altogether excuse ourselves, for that we ought to prevent this and do not[69]. But if we have committed a fault in not preparing our minds before, shall we therefore aggravate the same with a worse, the crime of unworthy participation? He that abstaineth doth want for the time that grace and comfort which religious communicants have, but he that eateth and drinketh unworthily receiveth death, that which is life to others turneth in him to poison.

Notwithstanding whatsoever be the cause for which men abstain, were it reason that the fault of one part should any way abridge their benefit that are not faulty? There is in all the Scripture of God no one syllable which doth condemn communicating amongst a few when the rest are departed from them.

[11.] As for the last thing which is our imparting this sacrament privately unto the sick[70], whereas there have been of old (they grant[71]) two kinds of necessity wherein this sacrament might be privately ad-

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[66] Luke xiv. 23.

[67] [T. C. i. 116. al. 147. "The holy Sacrament "of the Supper of the Lord is not only a seal and "confirmation of the promises of God unto us, but "also a profession of our conjunction as well with "Christ our Saviour and with God, as also (as "St. Paul teacheth) a declaration and profession "that we are at one with our brethren... The de- "parting therefore of the rest of the Church from "those three or four is an open profession that they "have no communion, fellowship, nor unity, with "them that do communicate; and likewise of "those three or four, that they have none with the "rest.... Therefore St. Paul driving thereunto "wisheth that one should tarry for another." Whitg. Def. 528. "If the book should appoint "that three or four should communicate together, "and no more; or if it did not allow that com- "munion best wherein most of the Church do "participate; then were your reasoning to some "end. But seeing that it is appointed that there "should not be fewer than three or four, to the "end that it might be a communion, and have no "similitude with the papistical mass, there is no "cause why you should take this pains.... Shall "none communicate because all will not? Or "shall not three or four because the rest refuse? "or is it lack of love towards our neighbour, or "any token thereof, if we resort to the Lord's table "when other will not? Where learn you that?"]

[68] [By T. C. i. 117.]

[69] [Id. i. 118. al. 149. "Here may rise another "doubt of the words of Moses in the Book of "Numbers. For seeing he maketh this excep- "tion, 'if they be clean,' it may be said that those "that depart do not feel themselves meet to re- "ceive... for answer whereunto .... the uncleanness which Moses speaketh of was such as men "could not easily avoid: and whereunto they "might fall sometimes by necessary duty .. which "thing cannot be alleged in those that are now of "the Church. For if they will say, they be not "meet, it may be answered unto them that it is "their own fault; and further, if they be not "meet to receive the holy Sacrament of the Sup- "per, they are not meet to hear the word of God, "they are not meet to be partakers of the prayers "of the Church.... To whomsoever of them the "Lord will communicate himself by preaching "the word, to the same he will not refuse to com- "municate himself by receiving of the sacra- "ments."]

[70] [Adm. ap. Whitg. Def. 529. "In this book "three or four are allowed for a fit number to re- "ceive the Communion, and the priest alone to- "gether with one more, or with the sick man "alone, may in time of necessity, that is when "there is any common plague, or in time of other "visitation minister it to the sick man, and if he "require it it may not be denied. This is not I "am sure like in effect to a private mass: that "Scripture, 'Drink ye all of this,' maketh not "against this, and private Communion is not "against the Scriptures." Whitg. Answer, 185. "'Drink ye all of this' may as well be applied to "prove that ten, twenty, forty, is no sufficient "number.... I know there be some of the old "Fathers, as Basilius Magnus, which would not "have fewer communicants than twelve." (t. ii. 320. D.) "But of the number of communicants "there is nothing determined in Scripture."]

[71] T. C. quotes Justin Martyr, Apol. c. 85. Οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν διάκονοι, διδόασιν ἑκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσιν ἀποφέρουσι. Tertull. de Orat. c. xix. (speaking of the scruple which some persons felt of breaking their fast on a day of humiliation, by participation of the Eucharist:) "Accepto corpore Domini, et reservato, "utrumque salvum est: et participatio sacrificii, "et executio officii." And Cyprian, de Lapsis, p. 132. "Cum quædem arcam suam, in qua Domini "Sanctum fuit, manibus indignis tentasset ape- "rire, igne inde surgente deterrita est, ne auderet "attingere."]

ministered[72], of which two the one being erroneously imagined, and the other (they say) continuing no longer in use, there remaineth unto us no necessity at all, for which that custom should be retained. The falsely surmised necessity is that whereby some have thought all such excluded from possibility of salvation as did depart this life and never were made partakers of the holy Eucharist[73]. The other cause of necessity was, when men, which had fallen in time of persecution, and had afterwards repented them, but were not as yet received again unto the fellowship of this communion, did at the hour of their death request it, that so they might rest with greater quietness and comfort of mind, being thereby assured of departure in unity of Christ's Church, which virtuous desire the Fathers did think it great impiety not to satisfy. This was Serapion's case of necessity. Serapion a faithful aged person and always of very upright life till fear of persecution in the end caused him to shrink back, after long sorrow for his scandalous offence and suit oftentimes made to be pardoned of the Church, fell at length into grievous sickness, and being ready to yield up the ghost was then more instant than ever before to receive the sacrament. Which sacrament was necessary in his case, not that Serapion had been deprived of everlasting life without it, but that this end was thereby to him made the more comfortable[74]. And do we think, that all cases of *such necessity* are clean vanished? Suppose that some have by mispersuasion lived in schism, withdrawn themselves from holy and public assemblies, hated the prayers, and loathed the sacraments of the Church, falsely presuming them to be fraught with impious and Antichristian corruptions, which error the God of mercy and truth opening at the length their eyes to see, they do not only repent them of the evil which they have done but also in token thereof desire to receive comfort by that whereunto they have offered disgrace (which may be the case of many poor seduced souls even at this day) God forbid we should think that the Church doth sin in permitting the wounds of such to be supplied with that oil which this gracious Sacrament doth yield, and their bruised minds not only need but beg.

[12.] There is nothing which the soul of man doth desire in that last hour so much as comfort against the natural terrors of death and other scruples of conscience which commonly do then most trouble and perplex the weak, towards whom the very law of God doth exact at our hands all the helps that Christian lenity and indulgence can afford. Our general consolation departing this life is the hope of that glorious[75] and blessed resurrection which the Apostle St. Paul[76] nameth ἐξανάστασιν[77], to note that as all men shall have their ἀνάστασιν and be raised again from the dead, so the just shall be taken up and exalted above the rest, whom the power of God doth but raise and not exalt. This life and this resurrection our Lord Jesus Christ is for all men as touching the sufficiency of that he hath done; but that which maketh us partakers

[72] T. C. i. 146. [al. 115. "It is not to be denied "that this abuse is very ancient, and was in Jus- "tin Martyr's time, in Tertullian and Cyprian's "time, even as also there were other abuses. . . . . "First of all in the primitive Church the discipline "of the Church was so severe, and so extreme, "that if any one who professed the truth and were "of the body of the Church did through in- "firmity deny the truth, and joined himself unto "the idolatrous service, although he repenting "came again unto the Church, yet was he not re- "ceived to the communion of the Lord's Supper "any more. And yet lying in extremity of sick- "ness, and ready to depart this life, if they did "require the Communion in token that the Church "had forgiven the fault, . . they granted that he "might be partaker of it: as may appear by the "story of Serapion. Another cause was that "which was before alleged: which is the false "opinion they had conceived that all those were "condemned that received not the Supper of the "Lord. And therefore when catechumens or "young children fell sick dangerously they minis- "tered the Supper of the Lord unto them, lest "they should want their voyage victual (as they "termed it)."]

[73] [On this point so far as regards Infant Communion see especially Waterland's Inquiry concerning that practice. Works, ix. 473, &c.]

[74] [S. Dionys. Alex. ap. Euseb. H. E. vi. 44. *Σαραπίων τις ἦν παρ' ἡμῖν πιστὸς γέρων, ἀμέμπτως μὲν τὸν πολὺν διαβιώσας χρόνον, ἐν δὲ τῷ πειρασμῷ πέσων· οὗτος πολλάκις ἐδεῖτο, καὶ οὐδεὶς προσεῖχεν αὐτῷ, καὶ γὰρ ἐτεθύκει, ἐν νόσῳ δὲ γενόμενος, τριῶν ἐξῆς ἡμερῶν ἄφωνος καὶ ἀναίσθητος διετέλεσε· βραχὺ δὲ ἀνασφήλας τῇ τετάρτῃ, προσεκαλέσατο τὸν θυγατριδοῦν· καὶ μέχρι τίνος, φήσιν, ὦ τέκνον, με κατέχετε; δέομαι σπεῦσατε, καὶ με θᾶττον ἀπολύσατε· τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μοί τινα κάλεσον· καὶ ταῦτα εἰπων, πάλιν ἦν ἄφωνος. ἔδραμεν ὁ παῖς ἐπὶ τὸν πρεσβύτερον· νὺξ δὲ ἦν· κακεῖνος ἠσθένει· ἀφικέσθαι μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐδύνηθη, ἐντολῆς δὲ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ διδομένης, τοὺς ἀπαλλαττομένους τοῦ βίου, εἴ δεοίντο. καὶ μάλιστα εἴ πρότερον ἱκετεύσαντες τύχοιεν, ἐφίεσθαι. ἵν' εὐέλπιδες ἀπαλλάττωνται, βραχὺ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ἐπεδωκε τῳ παιδαρίῳ, ἀποβρέξαι κελεύσας, καὶ τῷ πρεσβύτῃ κατὰ τοῦ στόματος ἐπιστάξαι· ἐπανῆκεν ὁ παῖς φέρων, ἐγγύς τε γενομένου, πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν ἀνενέγκας πάλιν ὁ Σαραπίων, ἦκες, ἔφη, τέκνον· καὶ ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος ἐλθεῖν οὐκ ἠδύνηθη· σὺ δὲ ποίησον τάχεως τὸ προσταχθέν, καὶ ἀπάλλατέ με· ἀπέβρεξέν τε ὁ παῖς, καὶ ἅμα τε ἐνέχετε τῳ στόματι, καὶ μικρὸν ἐκεῖνος καταβροχθίσας, εὐθεως ἀπέδωκε τὸ πνεῦμα. Ἆρ' οὐκ ἐναργῶς διετηρήθη καὶ παρέμεινεν ἕως λυθῃ, καὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἐξαλειφθείσης, ἐπὶ πολλοῖς οἷς ἔπραξε καλοῖς ὁμολογηθῆναι ἐδυνηθη;*]

[75] 1 Cor. xv. 21.

[76] Phil. iii. 11.

[77] *Διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἔπαρσιν.* Theophyl. [in Phil. iii. 11, *ἐξανάστασιν ἐνταῦθα νοεῖ τὴν ἐνδοξον τὴν ἐν νεφέλαις ἔπαρσιν.*] *Πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀνίστανται, μόνοι δὲ πιστοὶ ἀξιοῦνται τῶν ἀγαθῶν.* Ammon. Vide 1 Thess. iv. 17.

thereof is our particular communion with Christ, and this sacrament a principal mean as well to strengthen the bond as to multiply in us the fruits of the same communion; for which cause St. Cyprian [78] termeth it a joyful solemnity of expedite and speedy resurrection; Ignatius [79] a medicine which procureth immortality and preventeth death; Irenæus [80] the nourishment of our bodies to eternal life and their preservative from corruption. Now because that Sacrament which at all times we may receive unto this effect is then most acceptable and most fruitful, when any special extraordinary occasion nearly and presently urging kindleth our desires towards it, their severity, who cleave unto that alone which is generally fit to be done and so make all men's condition alike, may add much affliction to divers troubled and grieved minds [81], of whose particular estate particular respect being had, according to the charitable order of the church wherein we live, there ensueth unto God that glory which his righteous saints comforted in their greatest distresses do yield, and unto them which have their reasonable petitions satisfied the same contentment, tranquillity, and joy, that others before them by means of like satisfaction have reaped, and wherein we all are or should be desirous finally to take our leave of the world whensoever our own uncertain time of most assured departure shall come.

Concerning therefore both prayers and sacraments together with our usual and received form of administering the same in the church of England, let thus much suffice.

Of festival days and the natural causes of their convenient institution.

LXIX. As the substance of God alone is infinite and hath *no kind* of limitation, so likewise his continuance is from everlasting to everlasting and knoweth neither beginning nor end. Which demonstrable conclusion being presupposed, it followeth necessarily that besides him all things are finite both in substance and in continuance. If in substance all things be finite, it cannot be but that there are bounds without the compass whereof their substance doth not extend; if in continuance also limited, they all have, it cannot be denied, their set and their certain terms before which they had no being at all. This is the reason why first we do most admire those things which are greatest, and secondly those things which are ancientest, because the one are least distant from the infinite substance, the other from the infinite continuance of God. Out of this we gather that only God hath true immortality or eternity, that is to say continuance wherein there groweth no difference by addition of hereafter unto now, whereas the noblest and perfectest of all things besides have continually through continuance the time of former continuance lengthened, so that they could not heretofore be said to have continued so long as now, neither now so long as hereafter.

[2.] God's own eternity is the hand which leadeth Angels in the course of their perpetuity; their perpetuity the hand that draweth out celestial motion [82], the line of which motion and the thread of time are spun together. Now as nature bringeth forth time with motion, so we by motion have learned how to divide time, and by the smaller parts of time both to measure the greater and to know how long all things else endure. For time considered in itself is but the flux of that very instant wherein the motion of the heaven began, being coupled with other things it is the quantity of their continuance measured by the distance of two instants. As the time of a man is a man's continuance from the instant of his first breath till the instant of his last gasp.

Hereupon some have defined time to be the measure of the motion of heaven [81], because the first thing which time doth measure is that motion wherewith it began and by the help whereof it measureth other things, as when the Prophet David saith, that a man's continuance doth not commonly exceed threescore and ten years, he useth the help both of motion and number

[78] "Maturatæ resurrectionis lætabunda solem-"nia." Cypr. de Cœn. Dom. cap. 10.

[79] Φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτον μὴ θανεῖν. [ἀντίδοτος τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλλὰ ζην ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῳ διὰ παντός.] Ignat. Epist. ad Ephes. [c. 20.]

[80] Iren. lib. iv. cap. 34. [al. c. 18. in substance.]

[81] "Etsi nihil facile mutandum est ex solemni-"bus, tamen ubi æquitas evidens poscit subveni-"endum est." Lib. clxxxiii. ff. de Reg. Jur. [lib. l. tit. 17. p. 795.]

[82] [This favors an opinion not uncommon among the Fathers and schoolmen, of a correspondence between the intellectual and material heavens in such sort, that the nine spheres of which the latter, according to the Ptolemaic system, was composed, answered to, and were influenced respectively by, the nine orders of the celestial hierarchy, as expounded in the books ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite. This double scheme (or συστοιχία) stands as follows:

In the invisible Heavens.		*In the material Heavens.*
The Seraphim	actuated	the Primum Mobile.
The Cherubim	"	the Sphere of fixed Stars.
The Thrones	"	that of Saturn.
The Dominations	"	" of Jupiter.
The Virtues	"	" of Mars.
The Powers	"	" of the Sun.
The Principalities	"	" of Venus.
The Archangels	"	" of Mercury.
The Angels	"	" of the Moon.

Dante has several allusions to this opinion: see Parad. canto viii. terz. 12, 13; and xxix. 15; but especially xxviii. throughout.]

[81] [Arist. de Cœlo, i. 9. tom. i. 446. B. ed. Duval. χρόνος ἐστὶν ἀριθμος κινήσεως.]

to measure time. They which make time an effect of motion, and motion to be in nature before time, ought to have considered with themselves that albeit we should deny as Melissus did all motion [82], we might notwithstanding acknowledge time, because time doth but signify the quantity of continuance, which continuance may be in things that rest and are never moved. Besides we may also consider in rest both that which is past, and that which is present, and that which is future, yea farther even length and shortness in every of these, although we never had conceit of motion. But to *define* without motion *how* long or *how* short such continuance is were impossible. So that herein we must of necessity use the benefit of years, days, hours, minutes, which all grow from celestial motion.

Again forasmuch as that motion is circular whereby we make our divisions of time, and the compass of that circuit such, that the heavens which are therein continually moved and keep in their motions uniform celerity must needs touch often the same points, they cannot choose but bring unto us by equal distances frequent returns of the same times.

Furthermore whereas time is nothing but a mere quantity of that continuance which all things have that are not as God is without beginning, that which is proper unto all quantities agreeth also to this kind, so that time doth but measure other things, and neither worketh in them any real effect nor is itself ever capable of any. And therefore when commonly we use to say that time doth eat or fret out all things, that time is the wisest thing in the world because it bringeth forth all knowledge, and that nothing is more foolish than time which never holdeth any thing long, but whatsoever one day learneth the same another day forgetteth again, that some men see prosperous and happy days, and that some men's days are miserable, in all these and the like speeches that which is uttered of the time is not verified of time itself, but agreeth unto those things which are in time, and do by means of so near conjunction either lay their burden upon the back, or set their crown upon the head of time. Yea the very opportunities which we ascribe to time [83] do in truth cleave to the things themselves wherewith time is joined; as for time it neither causeth things nor opportunities of things, although it comprise and contain both.

[3.] All things whatsoever having their time, the works of God have always that time which is seasonablest and fittest for them. His works are some ordinary, some more rare, all worthy of observation, but not all of like necessity to be often remembered, they all have their times, but they all do not add the same estimation and glory to the times wherein they are. For as God by being every where yet doth not give unto all places one and the same degree of holiness, so neither one and the same dignity to all times by working in all. For if all either places or times were in respect of God alike, wherefore was it said unto Moses by particular designation, "This "very place wherein thou standest is holy "ground [84]?" Why doth the Prophet David choose out of all the days of the year but one whereof he speaketh by way of principal admiration, "This is the day, "which the Lord hath made [85]?" No doubt as God's extraordinary presence hath hallowed and sanctified certain places, so they are his extraordinary works that have truly and worthily advanced certain times, for which cause they ought to be with all men that honour God more holy than other days.

The wise man therefore compareth herein not unfitly the times of God with the persons of men. If any should ask how it cometh to pass that one day doth excel another seeing the light of all the days in the year proceedeth from one sun, to this he answereth [86], that "the knowledge of the "Lord hath parted them asunder, he hath "by them disposed the times and solemn "feasts; some he hath chosen out and sanc-"tified, some he hath put among the days "to number:" even as Adam and all other men are of one substance, all created of the earth, "but the Lord hath divided them "by great knowledge and made their ways "divers, some he hath blessed and exalted, "some he hath sanctified and appropriated "unto himself, some he hath cursed, hum-"bled and put them out of their dignity."

So that the cause being natural and necessary for which there should be a difference in days, the solemn observation whereof declareth religious [87] thankfulness towards him whose works of principal reckoning we thereby admire and honour, it cometh next to be considered what kinds of duties and services they are wherewith such times should be kept holy.

The manner of celebrating festival days.

LXX. The sanctification of days and times is a token of that thankfulness and a part of that public honour which we owe to God for admirable benefits, whereof it doth not suffice that we keep a secret calendar, taking thereby our pri-

[82] [Diog. Laert. lib. ix. p. 243.]

[83] Χρόνος ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ καιρὸς, καὶ καιρὸς, ἐν ᾧ χρόνος οὐ πολύς. Hippoc. lib. qui *Præceptiones* inscribitur. [in init. Op. p. 25. ed. 1624.]

[84] Exod. iii. 5.

[85] Psalm cxviii. 24.

[86] Ecclus. xxxiii. 7—12.

[87] [The first edition has "religion's."]

vate occasions as we list ourselves to think how much God hath done for all men, but the days which are chosen out to serve as public memorials of such his mercies ought to be clothed with those outward robes of holiness whereby their difference from other days may be made sensible. But because time in itself as hath been already proved can receive no alteration, the hallowing of festival days must consist in the shape or countenance which we put upon the affairs that are incident into those days.

[2.] "This is the day which the Lord "hath made," saith the prophet David; "*let us rejoice and be glad* in it[88]." So that generally offices and duties of religious *joy* are that wherein the hallowing of festival times consisteth[88]. The most natural testimonies of our rejoicing in God are first His praises set forth with cheerful alacrity of mind, secondly our comfort and delight expressed by a[89] charitable largeness of somewhat more than common bounty, thirdly sequestration from ordinary labours, the toils and cares whereof are not meet to be companions of such gladness. Festival solemnity therefore is nothing but the due mixture as it were of these three elements, Praise, and Bounty, and Rest.

Touching praise, forasmuch as the Jews, who alone knew the way how to magnify God aright, did commonly, as appeared by their wicked lives, more of custom and for fashion's sake execute the services of their religion, than with hearty and true devotion (which God especially requireth) he therefore protesteth against their Sabbaths and solemn days as being therewith much offended[90].

[3.] Plentiful and liberal expense is required in them that abound, partly as a sign of their own joy in the goodness of God towards them, and partly as a mean whereby to refresh those poor and needy, who being especially at these times made partakers of relaxation and joy with others do the more religiously bless God[91], whose great mercies were a cause thereof, and the more contentedly endure the burden of that hard estate wherein they continue.

[4.] Rest is the end of all motion, and the last perfection of all things that labour. Labours in us are journeys, and even in them which feel no weariness by any work yet they are but ways whereby to come unto that which bringeth not happiness till it do bring rest. For as long as any thing which we desire is unattained, we rest not.

Let us not here take rest for idleness. They are idle whom the painfulness of action causeth to avoid those labours, whereunto both God and nature bindeth them: they rest which either cease from their work when they have brought it unto perfection, or else give over a meaner labour because a worthier and better is to be undertaken. God hath created nothing to be idle or ill employed.

As therefore man doth consist of different and distinct parts, every part endued with manifold abilities which all have their several ends and actions thereunto referred: so there is in this great variety of duties which belong to men that dependency and order, by means whereof the lower sustaining always the more excellent, and the higher perfecting the more base, they are in their times and seasons continued with most exquisite correspondence; labours of bodily and daily toil purchase freedom for actions of religious joy, which benefit these actions requite with the gift of desired rest: a thing most natural and fit to accompany the solemn festival duties of honour which are done to God.

For if those principal works of God, the memory whereof we use to celebrate at such times, be but certain tastes and says as it were of that final benefit, wherein our perfect felicity and bliss lieth folded up, seeing that the presence of the one doth direct our cogitations, thoughts, and desires towards the other, it giveth surely a kind of life and addeth inwardly no small delight to those so comfortable expectations, when the very outward countenance of that we presently do representeth after a sort that also whereunto we tend, as festival rest doth that celestial estate whereof the very heathens themselves[91] which had not the means whereby to apprehend much did notwithstanding imagine that it needs must consist in rest, and have therefore taught that above the highest moveable sphere there is nothing which feeleth alteration motion or change, but all things immutable, unsubject to passion, blest with eternal con-

[88] Psalm cxviii. 24.

[88] "Grande videlicet officium focos et choros in "publicum educere, vicatim epulari, civitatem ta-"bernæ halitu obolefacere, vino lutum cogere, ca-"tervatim cursitare ad injurias, ad impudicitias, "ad libidinis illecebras. Siccine exprimitur pub-"licum gaudium per publicum dedecus?" Tertull. Apol. c. 35. "Dies festos Majestati altissimæ ded-"icatos nullis volumus voluptatibus occupari." C. l. xii. tit. 12. l. 1. [Cod. Justin. lib. iii. tit. xii. lex. 11ma. p. 195.] Ἀντὶ τῆς πάλαι πομπείας καὶ αἰσχρουργίας καὶ αἰσχροῤῥημοσύνης σώφρονες ἑορτάζονται πανηγύρεις, οὐ μέθην ἔχουσαι καὶ κῶμον καὶ γέλωτα, ἀλλ' ὕμνους θείους καὶ ἱερῶν λογίων ἀκρόασιν, καὶ προσευχὴν ἀξιεπαίνοις κοσμουμένην ἀκρῦσι. Theod. ad Græc. Infidel. ser. [8. de Martyr. ad fin. tom. iv. p. 607. ed. Sirmond.]

[89] Τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς φύσεώς ἐστιν εὐσεβῆτε εἶναι καὶ φιλάνθρωπον. Philo de Abraha. [vol. ii. p. 30. ed. Mang.]

[90] Isai. i. 13. [91] Deut. xvi. 14; Nehem. viii. 9.

[91] Οὐδ' ἔστιν οὐδενὸς οὐδεμία μεταβολὴ τῶν ὑπὲρ ἐξωτάτω [ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξωτάτω] φερομένην [τεταγμένων] φοράν· ἀλλ' ἀναλλοίωτα καὶ ἀπαθῆ, τὴν ἀρίστην ἔχοντα ζώην καὶ τὴν αὐταρκεστάτην διατελεῖ τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα. Arist. [de Cœlo, lib. i. c. 9. t. 100.]

tinuance in a life of the highest perfection and of that complete abundant sufficiency within itself, which no possibility of want, maim, or defect can touch. Besides whereas ordinary labours are both in themselves painful, and base in comparison of festival services done to God, doth not the natural difference between them shew that the one as it were by way of submission and homage should surrender themselves to the other, wherewith they can neither easily concur, because painfulness and joy are opposite, nor decently, because while the mind hath just occasion to make her abode in the house of gladness, the weed of ordinary toil and travel becometh her not?

[5.] Wherefore even nature hath taught the heathens, and God the Jews, and Christ us, first that festival solemnities are a part of the public exercise of religion; secondly that praise, liberality and rest are as natural elements whereof solemnities consist. But these things the heathens converted to the honour of their false gods, and as they failed in the end itself, so neither could they discern rightly what form and measure religion therein should observe. Whereupon when the Israelites impiously followed so corrupt example, they are in every degree noted to have done amiss, their hymns or songs of praise were idolatry, their bounty excess, and their rest wantonness. Therefore the law of God which appointed them days of solemnity taught them likewise in what manner the same should be celebrated. According to the pattern of which institution, David [92] establishing the state of religion ordained praise to be given unto God in the Sabbaths, months, and appointed times, as their custom had been always before the Lord.

[6.] Now besides the times which God himself in the Law of Moses particularly specifieth, there were through the wisdom of the Church certain other devised by occasion of like occurrents to those whereupon the former had risen, as namely that which Mardocheus and Esther [93] did first celebrate in memory of the Lord's most wonderful protection, when Haman had laid his inevitable plot to man's thinking for the utter extirpation of the Jews even in one day. This they call the feast of Lots, because Haman had cast their life and their death as it were upon the hazard of a Lot. To this may be added that other also of Dedication mentioned in the tenth of St. John's Gospel [94], the institution whereof is declared in the history of the Maccabees [95].

[7.] But forasmuch as their law by the coming of Christ is changed, and we thereunto no way bound, St. Paul although it were not his purpose to favour invectives against the special sanctification of days and times to the service of God and to the honour of Jesus Christ, doth notwithstanding bend his forces against that opinion which imposed on the Gentiles the yoke of Jewish legal observations, as if the whole world ought for ever and that upon pain of condemnation to keep and observe the same. Such as in this persuasion hallowed those Jewish Sabbaths, the Apostle sharply reproveth saying [96], "Ye observe days and "months and times and years, I am in fear "of you lest I have bestowed upon you la- "bour in vain." Howbeit so far off was Tertullian from imagining how any man could possibly hereupon call in question such days as the Church of Christ doth observe [97], that the observation of these days he useth for an argument whereby to prove it could not be the Apostle's intent and meaning to condemn simply all observing of such times.

[8.] Generally therefore touching feasts in the Church of Christ, they have that profitable use whereof St. Augustine speaketh [98], "By festival solemnities and set days "we dedicate and sanctify to God the mem- "ory of his benefits, lest unthankful forget- "fulness thereof should creep upon us in "course of time."

And concerning particulars, their Sabbath the Church hath changed into our Lord's day, that as the one did continually bring to mind the former world finished by creation, so the other might keep us in perpetual remembrance of a far better world begun by him which came to restore all things, to make both heaven and earth new. For which cause they honoured the last day, we the first, in every seven throughout the year.

The rest of the days and times which we celebrate have relation all unto one head. We begin therefore our ecclesiastical year with the glorious annunciation of his birth by angelical embassage [99]. There being hereunto added his blessed nativity itself [1], the mystery of his legal circumcision, the testification of his true incarnation by the purification of her which brought him into the world, his resurrection, his ascension into heaven, the admirable sending down of his Spirit upon his chosen, and (which con-

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92 1 Chron. xxiii. 31.
93 Esther ix. 27.
94 John x. 22.
95 1 Mac. iv. 54.
96 Gal. iv. 10.
97 "Si omnem in totum devotionem temporum "et dierum et mensium et annorum erasit Aposto- "lus, cur Pascha celebramus annuo circulo in "mense primo? Cur quinquaginta exinde diebus "in omni exultatione decurrimus?" Lib. [de Jejun.] advers. Psych. [c. 14.]
98 Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. x. cap. 3. [t. vii. 240. "Ei beneficiorum ejus solennitatibus festis et die- "bus statutis dicamus sacramusque memoriam, "ne volumine temporum ingrata subrepat obliv- "io."]
99 Luke i. 26.
1 Luke ii. 21.

sequently ensued) the notice of that incomprehensible Trinity thereby given to the Church of God; again forasmuch as we know that Christ hath not only been manifested great in himself, but great in other his Saints also, the days of whose departure out of the world are to the Church of Christ as the birth and coronation days of kings or emperors, therefore especial choice being made of the very flower of all occasions in this kind, there are annual selected times to meditate of Christ glorified in them which had the honour to suffer for his sake, before they had age and ability to know him; glorified in them which knowing him as Stephen had the sight of that before death whereinto so acceptable death did lead; glorified in those sages of the East that came from far to adore him and were conducted by strange light; glorified in the second Elias of the world sent before him to prepare his way; glorified in every of those Apostles whom it pleased him to use as founders of his kingdom here; glorified in the Angels as in Michael; glorified in all those happy souls that are already possessed of heaven. Over and besides which number not great, the rest be but four other days heretofore annexed to the feast of Easter and Pentecost by reason of general Baptism usual at those two feasts, which also is the cause why they had not as other days any proper name given them. Their first institution was therefore through necessity, and their present continuance is now for the greater honour of the principals whereupon they still attend.

[9.] If it be then demanded whether we observe these times as being thereunto bound by force of divine law, or else by the only positive ordinances of the Church, I answer to this, that the very law of nature itself which all men confess to be God's law requireth in general no less the sanctification of times, than of places, persons, and things unto God's honour. For which cause it hath pleased him heretofore as of the rest so of time likewise to exact some parts by way of perpetual homage, never to be dispensed withal nor remitted; again to require some other parts of time with as strict exaction but for less continuance; and of the rest which were left arbitrary to accept what the Church shall in due consideration consecrate voluntarily unto like religious uses. Of the first kind amongst the Jews was the Sabbath day; of the second those feasts which are appointed by the law of Moses; the feast of dedication invented by the Church standeth in the number of the last kind.

The moral law requiring therefore a seventh part throughout the age of the whole world to be that way employed, although with us the day be changed in regard of a new revolution begun by our Saviour Christ, yet the same proportion of time continueth which was before, because in reference to the benefit of creation and now much more of renovation thereunto added by him which was Prince of the world to come, we are bound to account the sanctification of one day in seven a duty which God's immutable law doth exact for ever. The rest they say we ought to abolish, because the continuance of them doth nourish wicked superstition in the minds of men [2], besides they are all abused by Papists the enemies of God, yea certain of them as Easter and Pentecost even by the Jews.

Exceptions against our keeping of other festival days besides the Sabbath.

LXXI. Touching Jews, their Easter and Pentecost have with ours as much affinity, as Philip the Apostle with Philip the Macedonian king. As for "imitation of Papists" and the "breeding of superstition," they are now become such common guests that no man can think it discourteous to let them go as they came. The next is a rare observation and strange [3]. You shall find if you mark

[2] [Adm. ap. Whitg. Def. 538. "Holydays, &c. "patched, if not altogether, yet the greatest piece, "out of the Pope's Portuise." T. C. i. 119. al. 151. "M. Doctor saith, that so they be not used "superstitiously, they may be commanded. I "have shewed before that they were. If they "were so indifferent as they are made, yet being "kept of the Papists, which are the enemies of "God, they ought to be abolished. And if it "were as easy a matter to pull out the superstition of the observing of those holidays out of "men's hearts, as it is to protest and to teach that "they are not commanded for any religion to be "put in them, or for any to make conscience of "the observing of them, as though there were "some necessary worship of God in the keeping "of them, then they were much more tolerable; "but when as the continuance of them doth nourish wicked superstition in the minds of men, "and that the doctrine which should remedy the "superstition, through the fewness and scarcity "of able ministers, cannot come to the most part "of them which are infected with this disease, "and that also where it is preached the fruit there-"of is in part hindered, whilst the common people "attend oftentimes rather to that which is done "than to that which is taught; being a thing in-"different as it is said, it ought to be abolished, "as that which is not only not fittest to hold the "people in the sincere worshipping of God, but "also as that which keepeth them in their former "blindness and corrupt opinions which they have "conceived of such holidays."]

[3] T. C. lib. i. p. 151. [120.] "If they had been "never abused neither by the papists nor by the "Jews, as they have been and are daily, yet such "making of holidays is never without some great "danger of bringing in some evil and corrupt "opinions into the minds of men. I will use an "example in one and that the chief of holidays "and most generally and of longest time observed "in the Church, which is the feast of Easter, "which was kept of some more days of some few-

it (as it doth deserve to be noted well) that many thousands there are who if they have virtuously during those times behaved themselves, if their devotion and zeal in prayer have been fervent, their attention to the word of God such as all Christian men should yield, imagine that herein they have performed a good duty; which notwithstanding to think is a very dangerous error, inasmuch as the Apostle St. Paul hath taught that we ought not to keep our Easter as the Jews did for certain days, but in the unleavened bread of sincerity and of truth to feast continually, whereas this restraint of Easter to a certain number of days causeth us to rest for a short space in that near consideration of our duties which should be extended throughout the course of our whole lives, and so pulleth out of our minds the doctrine of Christ's gospel ere we be aware [4].

[2.] The doctrine of the gospel which here they mean or should mean is, that Christ having finished the law there is no Jewish paschal solemnity nor abstinence from sour bread now required at our hands, there is no leaven which we are bound to cast out but malice, sin, and wickedness, no bread but the food of sincere truth wherewith we are tied to celebrate our passover. And seeing no time of sin is granted us neither any intermission of sound belief, it followeth that this kind of feasting ought to endure always. But how are standing festival solemnities against this?

That which the gospel of Christ requireth is the perpetuity of virtuous duties; not perpetuity of exercise or action, but disposition perpetual, and practice as oft as times and opportunities require. Just, valiant, liberal, temperate and holy men are they which can whensoever they will, and will whensoever they ought execute what their several perfections import. If virtues did always cease to be when they cease to work, there should be nothing more pernicious to virtue than sleep; neither were it possible that men as Zachary and Elizabeth should in all the commandments of God walk unreprovable, or that the chain of our conversation should contain so many links of divine virtues as the Apostles in divers places have reckoned up, if in the exercise of each virtue perpetual continuance were exacted at our hands. Seeing therefore all things are done in time, and many offices are not possible at one and the same time to be discharged, duties of all sorts must have necessarily their several successions and seasons, in which respect the schoolmen [5] have well and soundly determined that God's affirmative laws and precepts, the laws that enjoin any actual duty, as prayer, alms, and the like, do bind us *ad semper velle*, but not *ad semper agere;* we are tied to iterate and resume them when need is, howbeit not to continue them without any intermission. Feasts whether God himself hath ordained them, or the Church by that authority which God hath given, they are of religion such public services as neither can nor ought to be continued otherwise than only by iteration.

Which iteration is a most effectual mean

" er. How many thousands are there I will not " say of the ignorant papists, but of those also " which profess the gospel, which when they have " celebrated those days with diligent heed taken " unto their life, and with some earnest devotion " in praying and hearing the word of God, do not " by and by think that they have well celebrated " the feast of Easter, and yet have they thus nota- " bly deceived themselves. For St. Paul teacheth " (1 Cor. v. 8.) that the celebrating of the feast of " the Christians' Easter is not as the Jews' was " for certain days, but sheweth that we must keep " this feast all the days of our life in the unleavened " bread of sincerity and of truth. By which we " see that the observing of the feast of Easter for " certain days in the year doth pull out of our " minds ere ever we be aware the doctrine of the " gospel, and causeth us to rest in that near con- " sideration of our duties, for the space of a few " days, which should be extended to all our life."

[4] [Whitg. Def. 539. " What? do you condemn " the feast of Easter also? would you have it ab- " rogated because it hath been abused? do you " not know that the Apostles themselves observed " it, and the Church ever sithence their time? " read Euseb. v. 23. and you shall find it to be a " tradition of the Apostles: peruse the 24th and " 25th ch. of the same book, and you shall under- " stand by the testimony of Polycrates and all the " other bishops in Asia, that Philip the Apostle, " John the Evangelist, Polycarpus his scholar, " and other bishops likewise of greatest antiquity " kept solemnly the feast of Easter. But why " should I labor to prove that that all histories, all " ancient Fathers, all late writers, all learned men " confess? . . . Surely you may as well reason that " the Scriptures are not to be read, because that " heretics have so greatly abused them." T. C. iii. 189. " If it were a tradition of the Apostles, " yet it was used of them as a thing indifferent; " considering that the same story witnesseth that " S. John the Apostle, together with the churches " of Asia, did celebrate the Easter as the Jews " were wont, upon the xivth day of the month. " Now, if S. John himself, which departed not " from the authority of the Scripture, did keep the " Jews' day, he gave sufficiently to understand " that our Easter hath no authority from the " Scriptures; for then he would have kept it also." He seems to assume what cannot be so readily granted: viz. that the feast which St. John and the Asiatic churches observed was the Jewish passover, and not the Christian Easter on the same day as the passover.]

[5] [E. g. Aquinas in Summa Theol. pars ii. 1. qu. 71. art. 5. p. 431. Ven. 1596. " Peccatum omis- " sionis contrariatur præcepto affirmativo, quod " obligat *semper*, sed non *ad semper:* et ideo so- " lum pro tempore illo aliquis cessando ab actu " peccat, pro quo præceptum affirmativum obli- " gat."]

to bring unto full maturity and growth those seeds of godliness that these very men themselves do grant to be sown in the hearts of many thousands, during the while that such feasts are present. The constant habit of well doing is not gotten without the custom of doing well, neither can virtue be made perfect but by the manifold works of virtue often practised. Before the powers of our minds be brought unto some perfection our first essays and offers towards virtue must needs be raw, yet commendable because they tend unto ripeness. For which cause the wisdom of God hath commended especially this circumstance amongst others in solemn feasts, that to children and novices in religion they minister the first occasions to ask and inquire of God. Whereupon if there follow but so much piety as hath been mentioned, let the Church learn to further imbecility with prayer, "Preserve Lord these good and "gracious beginnings that they suddenly "dry not up like the morning dew, but may "prosper and grow as the trees which riv-"ers of waters keep always flourishing;" let all men's acclamations be "Grace, "grace unto it," as to that first-laid corner-stone in Zerubbabel's buildings[6]. For who hath despised the day of those things which are small[7]? Or how dare we take upon us to condemn that very thing which voluntarily we grant maketh us of nothing somewhat, seeing all we pretend against it is only that as yet this somewhat is not much? The days of solemnity which are but few cannot choose but soon finish that outward exercise of godliness which properly appertaineth to such times, howbeit men's inward disposition to virtue they both augment for the present, and by their often returns bring also the same at the length unto that perfection which we most desire. So that although by their necessary short continuance they abridge the present exercise of piety in some kind, yet because by repetition they enlarge, strengthen and confirm the habits of all virtue, it remaineth that we honour, observe and keep them as ordinances many ways singularly profitable in God's Church.

[3.] This exception being taken against holidays, for that they restrain the praises of God unto certain times, another followeth condemning restraint of men from their ordinary trades and labours at those times. It is not they say in the power of the Church to command rest[8], because God hath left it to all men at liberty that if they think good to bestow six whole days in labour they may, neither is it more lawful for the Church to abridge any man of that liberty which God hath granted, than to take away the yoke which God hath laid upon them and to countermand what he doth expressly enjoin. They deny not but in times of public calamity, that men may the better assemble themselves to fast and pray, the Church "because it hath received "commandment" from God to proclaim a prohibition from ordinary works, standeth bound to do it, as the Jews afflicted did in

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[6] [Zech. iv. 7.] [7] [Ver. 10.]

[8] [Adm. ap. Whitg. 538, objecting to holidays, refers in the margin to Exod. xx. 9. And in the View of Popish Abuses subjoined to the first Adm. p. 11, occurs, "Days .... ascribed unto saints ... "and kept holy, are contrary to the commandment "of God, 'Six days shalt thou labour.'" Whitg. Answer, ap. Def. 538. "I think the meaning of "this commandment is not so to tie men to bodily "labour, that they may not intermit the same to "labour spiritually."] T. C. lib. i. p. 152. [120.] "I confess that it is in the power of the Church "to appoint so many days in the week or in the "year (in the which the congregation shall as-"semble to hear the word of God and receive the "sacraments and offer up prayers unto God) as it "shall think good according to those rules which "are before alleged. But that it hath power to "make so many holidays as we have, wherein "men are commanded to cease from their daily "vocations of ploughing and exercising their handi-"crafts, that I deny to be in the power of the "Church. For proof whereof I will take the fourth "commandment, and no other interpretation of it "than Mr. Doctor alloweth of, which is that God "licenseth and leaveth it at the liberty of every "man to work six days in the week, so that he "rest the seventh day. Seeing therefore that the "Lord hath left it to all men at liberty that they "might labour if they think good six days, I say "the Church nor no man can take this liberty "away from them and drive them to a necessary "rest of the body. And if it be lawful to abridge "the liberty of the Church in this point, and in-"stead that the Lord saith, 'Six days thou mayest "labour if thou wilt,' to say 'Thou shalt not la-"bour six days:' I do not see why the Church "may not as well, whereas the Lord saith 'Thou "shalt rest the seventh day,' command that thou "shalt not rest the seventh day. For if the Church "may restrain the liberty which God hath given "them it may take away the yoke also which God "hath put upon them. And whereas you say that "notwithstanding this fourth commandment the "Jews had certain other feasts which they ob-"served, indeed the Lord which gave this general "law might make as many exceptions as he "thought good, and so long as he thought good. "But it followeth not because the Lord did "it that therefore the Church may do it, un-"less it hath commandment and authority from "God so to do. As when there is any general "plague or judgment of God either upon the "Church or coming towards it, the Lord com-"mandeth in such a case (Joel ii. 15.) that they "should sanctify a general fast and proclaim "*Ghnatsarah*, which signifieth a prohibition or "forbidding of ordinary works, and is the same "Hebrew word wherewith those feast days are "noted in the Law wherein they should rest. The "reason of which commandment of the Lord was, "that as they abstained that day as much as

Babylon. But without some express commandment from God there is no power they say under heaven which may presume by any decree to restrain the liberty that God had given.

[4.] Which opinion, albeit applied here no further than to this present cause, shaketh universally the fabric of government, tendeth to anarchy and mere confusion, dissolveth families, dissipateth colleges, corporations, armies, overthroweth kingdoms, churches, and whatsoever is now through the providence of God by authority and power upheld. For whereas God hath foreprized things of the greatest weight, and hath therein precisely defined as well that which every man must perform, as that which no man may attempt, leaving all sorts of men in the rest either to be guided by their own good discretion if they be free from subjection to others, or else to be ordered by such commandments and laws as proceed from those superiors under whom they live; the patrons of liberty have here made solemn proclamation that all such laws and commandments are void, inasmuch as every man is left to the freedom of his own mind in such things as are not either exacted or prohibited by the Law of God; and because only in these things the positive precepts of men have place, which precepts cannot possibly be given without some abridgment of their liberty to whom they are given, therefore if the father command the son, or the husband the wife, or the lord the servant, or the leader the soldier, or the prince the subject to go or stand, sleep or wake at such times as God himself in particular commandeth neither, they are to stand in defence of the freedom which God hath granted and to do as themselves list, knowing that men may as lawfully command them things utterly forbidden by the law of God, as tie them to any thing which the law of God leaveth free. The plain contradictory whereunto is unfallibly certain. Those things which the law of God leaveth arbitrary and at liberty are all subject unto positive laws of men, which laws for the common benefit abridge particular men's liberty in such things as far as the rules of equity will suffer. This we must either maintain, or else overturn the world and make every man his own commander. Seeing then that labour and rest upon any one day of the six throughout the year are granted free by the Law of God, how exempt we them from the force and power of ecclesiastical law, except we deprive the world of power to make any ordinance or law at all?

[5.] Besides is it probable that God should not only allow but command concurrency of rest with extraordinary occasions of doleful events befalling peradventure some one certain church, or not extending unto many, and not as much as permit or license the like, when piety triumphant with joy and gladness maketh solemn commemoration of God's most rare and unwonted mercies, *such especially as the whole race of mankind* doth or might participate? Of vacation from labour in times of sorrow the only cause is for that the general public prayers of the whole Church and our own private business cannot both be followed at once: whereas of rest in the famous solemnities of public joy there is both this consideration the same, and also farther a kind of natural repugnancy, which maketh labours (as hath been proved) much more unfit to accompany festival praises of God than offices of humiliation and grief.

Again if we sift what they bring for proof and approbation of rest with fasting, doth it not in all respects as fully warrant and as strictly command rest whensoever the Church hath equal reason by feasts and gladsome solemnities to testify public thankfulness towards God? I would know some cause, why those words of the Prophet Joel [9], "Sanctify a fast, call a solemn assembly," which words were uttered to the Jews in misery and great distress, should more bind the Church to do at all times after the like in their like perplexities, than the words of Moses to the same people in a time of joyful deliverance from misery [10], "Remember this day," may warrant any annual celebration of benefits no less importing the good of men; and also justify

"might be conveniently from meats, so they might "abstain from their daily works, to the end they "might bestow the whole day in hearing the word "of God and humbling themselves in the congre- "gation, confessing their faults and desiring the "Lord to turn away from his fierce wrath. In "this case the Church having commandment to "make a holiday may and ought to do it, as the "Church which was in Babylon did during the "time of their captivity; but where it is destitute "of a commandment, it may not presume by any "degree to restrain that liberty which the Lord "hath given." [Whitgift's Def. 541. "This "doctrine of yours is very licentious, and tendeth "too much to carnal and corporal liberty, and in- "deed is a very perilous doctrine for all states. "Not one tittle in God's word doth restrain either "the magistrate or the Church from turning car- "nal liberty to the spiritual service of God, or "bodily labour to divine worship." Ibid. 542. "To rest the seventh day is commanded; to la- "bour six days is but permitted; he that forbiddeth "rest on the seventh day doth directly against the "commandment; so doth not he that restraineth "men from bodily labour in any of the six days; "and therefore the reason is not like." T. C. iii. 193. "The reason is like. For the authority is "all one, to make it unlawful to work, when God "hath made it lawful; and to make it lawful to "labour, when God hath made it unlawful."]

[9] Joel ii. 15.

[10] Exod. xiii. 3.

as touching the manner and form thereof what circumstance soever we imitate only in respect of natural fitness or decency, without any Jewish regard to ceremonies such as were properly theirs and are not by us expedient to be continued.

According to the rule of which general directions taken from the law of God no less in the one than the other, the practice of the Church commended unto us in holy Scripture doth not only make for the justification of black and dismal days (as one of the Fathers termeth them) but plainly offereth itself to be followed by such ordinances (if occasion require) as that which Mardocheus did sometime devise, Esther [11] what lay in her power help forward, and the rest of the Jews establish for perpetuity, namely that the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the month Adar should be every year kept throughout all generations as days of feasting and joy, wherein they would rest from bodily labour, and what by gifts of charity bestowed upon the poor, what by other liberal signs of amity and love, all testify their thankful minds towards God, which almost beyond possibility had delivered them all when they all were as men dead.

[6.] But this decree they say was divine not ecclesiastical [12], as may appear in that there is another decree in another book of Scripture which decree is plain not to have proceeded from the Church's authority but from the mouth of the prophet only; and as a poor simple man sometime was fully persuaded that if Pontius Pilate had not been a saint the Apostles would never have suffered his name to stand in the Creed, so these men have a strong opinion that because the book of Esther is canonical the decree of Esther cannot be possibly ecclesiastical. If it were, they ask how the Jews could bind themselves always to keep it, seeing ecclesiastical laws are mutable? As though the purposes of men might never intend constancy in that the nature whereof is subject to alteration. Doth the Scripture itself make mention of any divine commandment? Is the Scripture witness of more than only that Mardocheus was the author of this custom, that by letters written to his brethren the Jews throughout all provinces under Darius the king of Persia he gave them charge to celebrate yearly those two days for perpetual remembrance of God's miraculous deliverance and mercy, that the Jews hereupon undertook to do it, and made it with general consent an order for perpetuity, that Esther secondly by her letters confirmed the same which Mardocheus had before decreed, and that finally the ordinance was written to remain for ever upon record? Did not the Jews in provinces abroad observe at the first the fourteenth day, the Jews in Susis the fifteenth? Were they not all reduced to a uniform order by means of those two decrees, and so every where three days kept, the first with fasting in memory of danger, the rest in token of deliverance as festival and joyful days? Was not the first of these three afterwards, the day of sorrow and heaviness, abrogated, when the same Church saw it meet that a better day, a day in memory of like deliverance out of the bloody hands of Nicanor should succeed in the room thereof [13]?

[7.] But forasmuch as there is no end of answering fruitless oppositions, let it suffice men of sober minds to know that the law both of God and nature alloweth generally days of rest and festival solemnity to be observed by way of thankful and joyful remembrance, if such miraculous favours be shewed towards mankind as require the same; that such graces God hath bestowed upon his Church as well in later as in former times; that in some particulars when they have fallen out himself hath demanded his own honour, and in the rest hath left it to the wisdom of the Church directed by those precedents and enlightened by other

[11] Esther ix.

[12] T. C. lib. iii. p. 193. "The example out of "Esther" [which had been alleged by Whitg. Def. 543.] "is no sufficient warrant for these feasts in "question. For first as in other cases so in this "case of days, the estate of Christians under the "Gospel ought not to be so ceremonious as was "theirs under the Law. Secondly that which was "done there was done by a special direction of "the Spirit of God, either through the ministry of "the prophets which they had or by some other "extraordinary means, which is not to be followed "by us. This may appear by another place, "(Zech. viii.) where the Jews changed their fasts "into feasts only by the mouth of the Lord through "the ministry of the prophet. For further proof "whereof first I take the twenty-eighth verse," [Esth. ix. 28.] "where it appeareth that this was "an order to endure always, even as long as the "other feast days which were instituted by the "Lord himself. So that what abuses soever were "of that feast, yet as a perpetual decree of God it "ought to have remained; whereas our Churches "can make no such decree, which may not upon "change of times and other circumstances be al-"tered. For the other proof hereof I take the last "verse, for the Prophet contenteth not himself with "that, that he had rehearsed the decree, as he "doth sometimes the decree of profane kings, but "addeth precisely that as soon as ever the decree "was made it was registered in this book of Est-"her which is one of the books of the Canonical "Scripture, declaring thereby in what esteem they "had it. If it had been of no further authority "than our decrees or than a canon of one of the "councils, it had been presumption to have brought "it into the library of the Holy Ghost. The sum "of my answer is that this decree was divine and "not ecclesiastical only."

[13] 2 Mac. xv. 36.

means always to judge when the like is requisite [14]. About questions therefore concerning days and times our manner is not to stand at bay with the Church of God demanding wherefore the memory of Paul [15] should be rather kept than the memory of Daniel [16], we are content to imagine it may be perhaps true that the least in the kingdom of Christ is greater than the greatest of all the prophets of God that have gone before; we never yet saw cause to despair but that the simplest [17] of the people might be taught the right construction of as great mysteries as the [18] name of a saint's day doth comprehend, although the times of the year go on in their wonted course; we had rather glorify and bless God for the fruit we daily behold reaped by such ordinances as his gracious Spirit maketh the ripe wisdom of this national church to bring forth, than vainly boast of our own peculiar and private inventions, as if the skill of profitable [19] regiment had left her public habitation to dwell in retired manner with some few men of one livery; we make not our childish [20] appeals some-

[14] 1 Mac. iv. 55. [59.]

[15] "Commemoratio Apostolicæ Passionis totius "Christianitatis magistræ a cunctis jure celebra-"tur." Cod. lib. iii. tit. 12. l. 7. [p. 89.]

[16] T. C. lib. i. p. 153. [121. "As we reason "against the popish purgatory, that it is therefore "naught, forasmuch as neither in the Old Testa-"ment nor in the New there is any mention of "prayer at any time for the dead; so may it be "reasoned against these holidays ordained for the "remembrance of the saints, that for so much as "the old people did never keep any feast or holiday "for the remembrance either of Moses or Daniel, "or Job or Abraham or David, or any other, how "holy and excellent soever they were; nor the "Apostles nor the Churches in their time never in-"stituted any, either to keep the remembrance of "St. Stephen, or of the Virgin Mary, or of John "Baptist, or of any other notable and rare person-"age; that the instituting and erecting of them "now, and this attempt by the churches which "followed.....is not without some note of pre-"sumption." Whitg. Def. 543. "Purgatory is "made a matter of salvation or damnation, as all "other doctrines of the popes be; and therefore a "negative reason, such as you use, is sufficient "enough to improve it. But holidays in our Church "have no such necessity ascribed unto them."

The earliest clear instance of a saint's day being kept is perhaps that of St. Polycarp, A. D. 169. See the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna, containing the account of his martyrdom, c. 18. Ἡμεῖς ὕστερον ἀνελόμενοι τὰ τιμιώτερα λίθων πολυτελῶν καὶ δοκιμώτερα ὑπὲρ χρυσίον ὀστᾶ αὐτοῦ, ἀπεθέμεθα ὅπου καὶ ἀκόλουθον ἦν· ἔνθα ὡς δυνατὸν ἡμῖν συναγομένοις, ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει καὶ χαρᾷ, παρέξει ὁ Κύριος ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν γενέθλιον, εἴς τε τὴν τῶν ἠθληκότων μνήμην, καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἄσκησίν τε καὶ ἑτοιμασίαν. ap. Coteler. PP. Apost. t. ii. 202.]

[17] T. C. lib. i. p. 153. [121.] "The people, when "it is called St. Paul's day or the blessed Virgin "Mary's day, can understand nothing thereby but "that they are instituted to the honour of St. Paul "or the Virgin Mary, unless they be otherwise "taught. And if you say let them so be taught, "I have answered that the teaching in this land "cannot by any order which is yet taken come to "the most part of those which have drunk this poi-"son," &c.

[18] "Scilicet ignorant nos nec Christum unquam "relinquere qui pro totius servandorum mundi "salute passus est, nec alium quempiam colere "posse. Nam hunc quidem tanquam Filium Dei "adoramus, martyres vero tanquam discipulos et "imitatores Domini digne propter insuperabilem in "Regem ipsorum ac Præceptorem benevolentiam "diligimus, quorum et nos consortes et discipulos "fieri optamus." Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. cap. 15. [from the Church of Smyrna's letter on the Martyrdom of S. Polycarp.]

[19] T. C. lib. i. p. 153. [al. 121.] "As for all the "commodities [we receive by them, whereby M. "Doctor goeth about to prove the goodness and "lawfulness of their institution; as that the Scrip-"tures are there read and expounded, the patience "of those saints in their persecution and martyr-"dom is to the edifying of the Church remembered "and yearly renewed; I say that we might have "all these commodities without all those dangers "which I have spoken of, and without any keep-"ing of yearly memory of those saints; and (as it "falleth out) in better and more profitable sort. "For as I said before of the keeping of Easter,... "so these celebrations of the memories of saints "and martyrs straighten our consideration of them "unto those days, which should continually be "thought of, and daily, as long as we live." Whitg. Def. 546. "You might as well say, there "ought to be no certain times appointed for the re-"ceiving of the holy communion, because the "meditation of the death and passion of Christ, "and the application of the same, is fettered to "these certain days.....The same might you say "likewise of the Sabbath day."]

[20] T. C. lib. i. p. 154. [122. "As for M. Calvin, "as the practice of him and the Church where he "lived was and is, to admit no one holyday be-"sides the Lord's day, so can it not be shewed "out of any part of his works, (as I think) that "he approved those holydays which are now in "question."

"As touching M. Bucer's, M. Bullinger's, and "Illyricus' allowance of them" (which had been alleged by Whitg. Answ. ap. Def. 548.) "...that "good leave they give the Churches to dissent "from them in that point, I do take it granted unto "me, being by the grace of God one of the Church."

"It is not to be denied but this keeping of holy-"days (especially of the Easter and Pentecost) are "very ancient, and that these holydays for the "remembrance of martyrs were used of long time: "but these abuses were no ancienter than other "were, grosser also than this was:.....and there-"fore I appeal from these examples to the Scrip-"tures, and to the examples of the perfectest "Church that ever was: which was that in the "Apostle's times." Bullinger's statement is, "Adhuc in Ecclesia nostra Tigurina, Nativitatis, "Circumcisionis, Resurrectionis et Ascensionis "Domini, Missionisque sancti Spiritus, Deiparæ "Virginis, Joannis Baptistæ, Magdalenæ, Stephani, "et Apostolorum Domini festa celebramus; nem-

times from our own to foreign churches, sometimes from both unto churches ancienter than both are, in effect always from all others to our own selves, but as becometh them that follow with all humility the ways of peace, we honour, reverence, and obey in the very next degree unto God the voice of the church of God wherein we live. They whose wits are too glorious to fall to so low an ebb, they which have risen and swollen so high that the walls of ordinary rivers are unable to keep them in, they whose wanton contentions in the cause whereof we have spoken do make all where they go a sea, even they at their highest float are constrained both to see and [21] grant, that what their fancy will not yield to like their judgment cannot with reason condemn. Such is evermore the final victory of all truth, that they which have not the hearts to love her acknowledge that to hate her they have no cause.

[8.] Touching those festival days therefore which we now observe, their number being no way felt [22] discommodious to the commonwealth, and their grounds such as hitherto hath been shewed; what remaineth but to keep them throughout all generations holy, severed by manifest notes of difference from other times, adorned with that which most may betoken true virtuous and celestial joy? To which intent because surcease from labour is necessary, yet not so necessary no not on the Sabbath or seventh day itself, but that rarer occasions in men's particular affairs subject to manifest detriment unless they be presently followed may with very good conscience draw them sometimes aside from the ordinary rule, considering the favourable dispensation which our Lord and Saviour groundeth on this axiom, "Man was not "made for the Sabbath but the Sabbath "ordained for man [23]," so far forth as concerneth ceremonies annexed to the principal sanctification thereof, howsoever the rigour of the law of Moses may be thought to import the contrary, if we regard with what severity the violation of Sabbaths hath been sometime punished [24], a thing perhaps the more requisite at that instant, both because the Jews by reason of their long abode in a place of continual servile toil could not suddenly be weaned and drawn unto contrary offices without some strong impression of terror, and also for that there is nothing more needful than to punish with extremity the first transgressions of those laws that require a more exact observation for many ages to come; therefore as the Jews superstitiously addicted to their Sabbath's rest for a long time [25], not without danger to themselves and obloquy to their very law, did afterwards perceive and amend wisely their former error, not doubting that bodily labours are made by [26] necessity venial, though otherwise, especially on that day, rest be more convenient; so at all times the voluntary scandalous contempt of that rest from labour wherewith publicly God is served we cannot too [27] severely correct and bridle.

[9.] The emperor [28] Constantine having with overgreat facility licensed Sundays' labours in country villages, under that pretence whereof there may justly no doubt sometime consideration be had, namely lest any thing which God by his providence hath bestowed should miscarry not being taken in due time; Leo which afterwards saw that this ground would not bear so general and large indulgence as had been granted, doth by a contrary edict both reverse and severely censure his predecessor's remissness, saying [29] "We ordain ac-

"inem interim eorum damnantes, qui post Domini-"cam aliam nesciunt festivitatem." On Rom. xiv. p. 82.]

[21] T. C. lib. i. p. 154. [122.] "We condemn not "the church of England neither in this nor in other "things which are meet to be reformed. For it is "one thing to mislike, another thing to condemn; "and it is one thing to condemn something in "the Church and another thing to condemn the "Church for it."

[22] Πολλὰς μὲν θυσίας πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἱερομηνίας ἔπαυσε. τό τε γὰρ πλεῖστον τοῦ ἔτους εἰς αὐτὰς ἀνηλίσκετο, καὶ τῳ δημοσίῳ ζημία οὐκ ἐλαχίστη ἐγίγνετο. De Claudio dictum apud Dion. lib. lx. [c. 15. p. 676. ed. Han. 1606.]

[23] Mark. ii. 27. [24] Numb. xv. 32.

[25] "Hi vacare consueti sunt septima die, et ne-"que arma portare in prædictis diebus, neque ter-"ræ culturam contingere, neque alterius cujuspi-"am curam habere patiuntur, sed in templis ex-"tendentes manus adorare usque ad vesperam "soliti sunt. Ingrediente vero in civitatem Ptole-"mæo Lago cum exercitu et multis hominibus, "cum custodire debuerint civitatem, ipsis stultiti-"am observantibus provincia quidem dominum "suscepit amarissimum, lex vero manifestata est "malam habere solennitatem." Agatharchid. apud Joseph. lib. i. contra Apion. [c. 22. ad fin.] Vide et Dion. lib. xxxvii. [p. 36. E.]

[26] 1 Mac. ii. 40.

[27] Neh. xiii. 15.

[28] Cod. [Just.] lib. iii tit. 12. l. 3. [p. 193. ed. Gothof. ed. 1688. "Omnes judices, urbanæque "plebes, et cunctarum artium officia venerabili "die solis quiescant. Ruri tamen positi, agrorum "culturæ libere licenterque inserviant: quoniam "frequenter evenit, ut non aptius alio die frumenta "sulcis aut vineæ scrobibus mandentur, ne occa-"sione momenti pereat commoditas cælesti pro-"visione concessa."]

[29] Leo. Constit. liv. [Ὁρίζομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἃ τῳ ἁγίῳ ἔδοξε Πνεύματι καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μεμνημένοις ἀποστόλοις, ὥστε πάντας ἐν τῃ θείᾳ καὶ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν ἡμῖν ἐγκαινισμένῃ [ἐγκαινισαμένῃ] ἡμέρᾳ σχολάζειν ἀργήσεως, [ἐργασίας?] καὶ μήτε γεωργὸν μήτε τινὰ ἅπτεσθαι ἔργων ἐν ταύτῃ τῶν μὴ νενομισμένων. εἰ γὰρ οἱ πάλαι τιὰς σκιὰς καὶ τοὺς τύπους τιμῶντες, διὰ τοσαύτης ἦγον τιμῆς τὴν τοῦ σαββάτου ἡμέραν ὡς παντελῆ αὐτῃ

"cording to the true meaning of the Holy "Ghost and of the Apostles thereby direct- "ed, that on the sacred day wherein our "own integrity was restored all do rest and "surcease labour, that neither husbandman "nor other on that day put their hands to "forbidden works. For if the Jews did so "much reverence their Sabbath which was "but a shadow of ours, are not we which "inhabit the light and truth of grace bound "to honour that day which the Lord him- "self hath honoured and hath therein de- "livered us both from dishonour and from "death? are we not bound to keep it sin- "gular and inviolable, well contenting our- "selves with so liberal a grant of the rest, "and not encroaching upon that one which "God hath chosen to his own honour? "Were it not reckless neglect of religion "to make that very day common and to "think we may do with it as with the rest?"

Imperial laws which had such care of hallowing especially our Lord's day did not omit to provide that other[30] festival times might be kept with vacation from labour, whether they were days appointed on the sudden as extraordinary occasions fell out, or days which were celebrated yearly for politic and civil considerations, or finally such days as Christian religion hath ordained in God's Church.

[10.] The joy that setteth aside labour disperseth those things which labour gathereth. For gladness doth always rise from a kind of fruition and happiness, which happiness banisheth the cogitation of all want, it needeth nothing but only the bestowing of that it hath, inasmuch as the greatest felicity that felicity hath is to spread and enlarge itself. It cometh hereby to pass that the first effect of joyfulness is to rest, because it seeketh no more; the next, because it aboundeth, to give. The root of both is the glorious presence of that joy of mind which riseth from the manifold considerations of God's unspeakable mercy, into which considerations we are led by occasion of sacred times.

[11.] For how could the Jewish congregations of old be put in mind by their weekly Sabbaths what the world reaped through his goodness which did of nothing create the world; by their yearly Passover what farewell they took of the land of Egypt; by their Pentecost what ordinances, laws, and statutes their fathers received at the hands of God; by their feast of Tabernacles with what protection they journeyed from place to place through so many fears and hazards during the tedious time of forty years' travel in the wilderness; by their annual solemnity of Lots, how near the whole seed of Israel was unto utter extirpation, when it pleased that great God which guideth all things in heaven and earth so to change the counsels and purposes of men, that the same hand which had signed a decree in the opinion both of them that granted and of them that procured it irrevocable, for the general massacre of man, woman, and child, became the buckler of their preservation that no one hair of their heads might be touched, the same days which had been set for the pouring out of so much innocent blood were made the days of their execution whose malice had contrived the plot thereof, and the selfsame persons that should have endured whatsoever violence and rage could offer were employed in the just revenge of cruelty to give unto blood-thirsty men the taste of their own cup; or how can the Church of Christ now endure to be so much called on, and preached unto by that which every[31] dominical day throughout the year, that which year by year so many festival times, if not commanded by the Apostles themselves[32] whose care at that time was of greater things, yet instituted either by such universal authority as no man[33], or

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ἀπραξίαν διδόναι, πῶς εἰκὸς οὗς ἡ χάρις θεραπευτὰς ἔχει καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια, τούτους μὴ τιμᾶν τὴν ἡμέραν ἡ τὸ τίμιον παρὰ τοῦ Δεσπότου ἐπλούτησε, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἠλευθέρωσε τῆς ἐκ φθορᾶς ἀτιμίας; ἢ πῶς οὐ παντελῶς ἀσυνείδητον, ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν οὐσῶν, ὧν εἰς δεσποτικὴν τιμὴν ἀνεῖται μία, [μὴ?] ἀρκεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς ταῖς ἔξω ἀποκεχρημένους εἰς ἔργα, ἀναφαίρετον τῷ Δεσπότῃ ἐκείνην τηρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην κοινὴν ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἔργων νομίζειν καιρόν; p. 47. ed. Plantin. 1575. The text is translated from the Latin version of this.]

[30] T. C. lib. iii. tit. 12. [l. 11.] "Dies festos [ma- "jestati altissimæ dedicatos nullis volumus volup- "tatibus occupari, nec ullis exactionum vexatio- "nibus profanari. Dominicum itaque diem ita "semper honorabilem decernimus et venerandum, "ut a cunctis executionibus excusetur; nulla "quenquam urgeat admonitio, nulla fidejussionis "flagitetur exactio, taceat apparitio, advocatio de- "litescat, sit ille dies a cognitionibus alienus, præ- "conis horrida vox silescat, respirent a controver- "siis litigantes, et habeant fœderis intervallum, "ad sese simul veniant adversarii non timentes, "subeat animos vicaria pœnitudo, pacta confe- "rant, transactiones loquantur. Nec hujus ta- "men religiosi dici otia relaxantes obscœnis quen- "quam patimur voluptatibus detineri. Nihil "eodem die sibi vindicet scena theatralis, aut "Circense certamen, aut ferarum lachrymosa "spectacula; et si in nostrum ortum aut natalem "celebranda solemnitas inciderit, differatur. Amis- "sionem militiæ, proscriptionemque patrimonii "sustinebit, si quis unquam hoc die festo spectacu- "lis interresset, vel cujuscunque judicis apparitor, "prætexta negotii publici seu privati, hæc, quæ "hac lege statuta sunt, crediderit temeranda." Const. Impp. Leon. et Anthem. A. D. 469.]

[31] Matt. xxviii. 1; Mark. xvi. 1; Luke xxiv. 1; John xx. 1; 1 Cor. xvi. 2; Apoc. i. 10.

[32] "Apostolis propositum fuit non ut leges de "festis diebus celebrandis sanciremt, sed ut recte "vivendi rationis et pietatis nobis auctores essent." Socrat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 21.

[33] "Quæ toto terrarum orbe servantur vel ab "ipsis Apostolis vel conciliis generalibus quorum

at the least such as we with no reason may despise, do as sometime the holy angels did from heaven sing, "[34] Glory be unto God "on high, peace on earth, towards men "good-will," (for this in effect is the very song that all Christian feasts do apply as their several occasions require,) how should the days and times continually thus inculcate what God hath done, and we refuse to agnize the benefit of such remembrances, that very benefit which caused Moses to acknowledge those guides of day and night, the sun and moon which enlighten the world, not more profitable to nature by giving all things life, than they are to the Church of God by occasion of the use they have in regard of the appointed festival times? That which the head of all philosophers hath said of women [35], "If they be good "the half of the commonwealth is happy "wherein they are," the same we may fitly apply to times, well to celebrate these religious and sacred days is to spend the flower of our time happily. They are the splendour and outward dignity of our religion, forcible witnesses of ancient truth [36], provocations to the exercise of all piety, shadows of our endless felicity in heaven, on earth everlasting records and memorials, wherein they which cannot be drawn to hearken unto that we teach, may only by looking upon that we do, in a manner read whatsoever we believe.

LXXII. The matching of contrary things together is a kind of illustration to both. Having therefore spoken thus much of festival days, the next that offer themselves to hand are days of pensive humiliation and sorrow. Fastings are either of men's own free and voluntary accord as their particular devotion doth move them thereunto; or else they are publicly enjoined in the Church and required at the hands of all men. There are [37] which altogether disallow not the former kind, and the latter they greatly commend, so that it be upon extraordinary occasions only, and after one certain manner exercised. But yearly or

Of days appointed as well for ordinary, as for extraordinary Fasts in the Church of God.

"est saluberrima in Ecclesia auctoritas statuta "esse intelligere licet; sicuti quod Domini passio "et resurrectio et in cœlum ascensus et adventus "Spiritus Sancti anniversaria solennitate cele- "brantur." August. Epist. cxviii. [al. liv. c. 1. t. ii. 124.]

[34] Luke ii. 14.

[35] [Arist. Rhet. i. 5, 20. *Ὅσοις τὰ κατὰ γυναῖκας φαῦλα, ὥσπερ Δακεδαιμονίοις, σχέδον κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ οὐκ εὐδαιμονοῦσιν.* Cf. Polit. ii. 9.]

[36] [Smith's Account of the Greek Church, 1680, p. 18. "Next to the miraculous and gra- "cious providence of God, I ascribe the preserva- "tion of Christianity among them to the strict "and religious observation of the festivals and "fasts of the Church: this being the happy and "blessed effect of those ancient and pious institu- "tions, the total neglect of which would soon in- "troduce ignorance and a sensible decay of piety "and religion in other countries besides the Levant. "This certainly is the chiefest preservative of re- "ligion in those eastern countries, against the "poison of the Mahometan superstition. For chil- "dren, and those of the most ordinary capacities, "know the meaning of these holy solemnities, at "which times they flock to church in great "companies, and thereby retain the memory of "our blessed Saviour's birth, dying upon the cross, "resurrection and ascension, and keep up the "constant profession of their acknowledgment of "the necessary and fundamental points of faith: "as of the doctrine of the blessed Trinity, and the "like. And while they celebrate the sufferings "and martyrdoms of the Apostles of our Lord and "Saviour Jesus Christ, and other great saints, "who laid down their lives most joyfully for his "name, and underwent with unwearied and invin- "cible patience all the torments and cruelties of "their heathen persecutors, they take courage "from such glorious examples, and are the better "enabled to endure with less trouble and regret "the miseries and hardships they daily struggle "with."]

[37] T. C. lib. i. p. 30. [17.] "I will not enter now "to discuss whether it were well done to fast in "all places according to the custom of the place. "You oppose Ambrose and Augustine, I could "oppose Ignatius and Tertullian, whereof the one "saith, It is *nefas*, 'a detestable thing,' to fast "upon the Lord's day, the other that it is to kill "the Lord. Tertull. de Coron. Mil." [c. 3.] "Ig- "natius, Epist. ad Philippen." [c. 13.] "And al- "though Ambrose and Augustine being private "men at Rome would have so done, yet it follow- "eth not that if they had been citizens and min- "isters there they would have done it. And if "they had done so yet it followeth not but that "they would have spoken against that appoint- "ment of days and *νομοθεσίαν* of fasting, whereof "Eusebius saith that Montanus was the first au- "thor. I speak of that which they ought to have "done. For otherwise I know they both thought "corruptly of fasting; when as the one saith it "was remedy or reward to fast other days, but in "Lent not to fast was sin; and the other asketh, "what salvation we can obtain if we blot not out "our sins by fasting, seeing that the Scripture "saith that fasting and alms doth deliver from "sin, and therefore calleth them new teachers "that shut out the merit of fasting. August. de "Temp. lxii. Serm." [al. serm. 142. §. 1. t. v. Ap- pend. 252.] "Ambr. lib. x. Epist." [al. Ep. 63. §. 16, 17. Whitgift, Def. 99. had quoted from St. Augustine, Ep. 86. al. 36. the Answer made by St. Ambrose to him, when perplexed about the propri- ety of fasting on the *Saturday:* "Quando hic "sum, non jejuno Sabbato; quando Romæ sum, "jejuno Sabbato: et ad quamcunque ecclesiam "veneritis, ejus morem servate, si pati scandalum "non vultis aut facere:" which rule St. Augus- tine adopted as his own. T. C. opposing the ex- pressions of Tertullian and St. Ignatius against fasting on *Sundays*, would appear to have forgot- ten the ancient distinction between the Sabbath and the Lord's day, and so to lay himself open to the charge brought against him by Whitgift in his margin, p. 102: "The replier setteth the Fathers "together by the ears without cause."]

weekly fasts such as ours in the church of England they allow no further than as the temporal state of the land doth require the same for the maintenance of seafaring men and preservation of cattle, because the decay of the one and the waste of the other could not well be prevented but by a politic order appointing some such usual change of diet as ours is.

We are therefore the rather to make it manifest in all men's eyes, that set times of fasting appointed in spiritual considerations to be kept by all sorts of men took not their beginning either from Montanus or any other whose heresies may prejudice the credit and due estimation thereof, but have their ground in the law of nature, are allowable in God's sight, were in all ages heretofore, and may till the world's end be observed not without singular use and benefit.

[2.] Much hurt hath grown to the Church of God through a false imagination that fasting standeth men in no stead for any spiritual respect, but only to take down the frankness of nature and to tame the wildness of flesh. Whereupon the world being bold to surfeit doth now blush to fast, supposing that men when they fast, do rather bewray a disease, than exercise a virtue. I much wonder what they who are thus persuaded do think, what conceit they have concerning the fasts of the Patriarchs, the Prophets, the Apostles, our Lord Jesus Christ himself.

The affections of Joy and Grief are so knit unto all the actions of man's life, that whatsoever we can do or may be done unto us, the sequel thereof is continually the one or the other affection. Wherefore considering that they which grieve and joy as they ought cannot possibly otherwise live than as they should, the Church of Christ, the most absolute and perfect school of all virtue, hath by the special direction of God's good Spirit hitherto always inured men from their infancy partly with days of festival exercise for the framing of the one affection, and partly with times of a contrary sort for the perfecting of the other. Howbeit over and besides this, we must note that as resting so fasting likewise attendeth sometimes no less upon the actions of the higher, than upon the affections of the lower part of the mind. Fasting (saith Tertullian [38]) is a work of reverence towards God. The end thereof sometimes elevation of mind; sometime the purpose thereof clean contrary. The cause why Moses in the Mount did so long fast was mere divine speculation, the cause why David, humiliation [39]. Our life is a mixture of good with evil [40]. When we are partakers of good things we joy, neither can we but grieve at the contrary. If that befall us which maketh glad, our festival solemnities declare our rejoicing to be in him whose mere undeserved mercy is the author of all happiness; if any thing be either imminent or present which we shun, our watchings, fastings, cries and tears are unfeigned testimonies, that ourselves we condemn as the only causes of our own misery, and do all acknowledge him no less inclinable than able to save. And because as the memory of the one though past reneweth gladness; so the other called again to mind doth make the wound of our just remorse to bleed anew, which wound needeth often touching the more, for that we are generally more apt to calendar saints' than sinners' days, therefore there is in the Church a care not to iterate the one alone but to have frequent repetition of the other.

Never to seek after God saving only when either the crib or the whip doth constrain were brutish servility: and a great derogation to the worth of that which is most predominant in man, if sometime it had not a kind of voluntary access to God and of conference as it were with God, all these inferior considerations laid aside. In which sequestration forasmuch as [41] higher cogitations do naturally drown and bury all inferior cares, the mind may as well forget natural both food and sleep by being carried above itself with serious and heavenly meditation, as by being cast down with heaviness, drowned and swallowed up of sorrow.

[3.] Albeit therefore concerning Jewish abstinence from certain kinds of meats as

[38] [De Jejun. adv. Psych. c. iii. "Etiamsi Deus "nulla jejunia præcepissit, ostendens tamen unde "sit occisus Adam, mihi reliquerat intelligenda "remedia offensæ, qui offensam demonstrarat: "ultro cibum quibus modis quibusque temporibus "potuissem, pro veneno deputarem, et antidotum "famem sumerem, per quam pergarem mortis a "primordio causam in me quoque cum ipso genere "transductam; certus hoc Deum velle cujus con"trarium noluit." Ibid. c vi. "Cui cor evectum "potius inveniebatur quam impinguatum, quadra"ginta diebus totidemque noctibus supra humanæ "naturæ facultatem jejunium perennavit, spiritali "fide virtutem subministrante: et vidit oculis Dei "gloriam, et audivit auribus Dei vocem, et corde "conjecit Dei legem." Ibid. c. ix. "Tali victu "David exomologesin suam expressit, cinerem "quidem edens velut panem, i. e. panem velut ci"nerem aridum et sordidum; potum vero fletu "miscens, utique pro vino."]

[39] "Neque enim cibi tempus in periculo: ... "semper inedia mœroris sequela est." Tertull. de Jejun. [c. 7.]

[40] Μηδεὶς δ' ὑπολαβέτω τὴν ἄκρατον καὶ ἀμιγῆ λύπης χαρὰν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ἀλλ' ἐγκέκραται ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ... οὐ γὰρ εἴασεν ὁ πατὴρ τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος λύπαις καὶ ὀδύναις καὶ ἄχθεσιν ἀνιάτοις ἐμφερεσθαι, παρέμιξε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀμείνονος φύσεως, εὐδιάσαι ποτὲ καὶ γαληνιάσαι τὴν ψυχὴν δικαιώσας. Philo de Abraham. [t. ii. p. 29. ed. Mang.]

[41] John iv. 34.

being unclean the Apostle doth teach that "the kingdom of heaven is not meat nor "drink," that "food commendeth us not "unto God [42]" whether we take it or abstain from it, that if we eat we are not thereby the more acceptable in his sight, nor the less if we eat not: his purpose notwithstanding was far from any intent to derogate from that fasting, which is no such scrupulous abstinence as only refuseth some kinds of meats and drinks lest they make him unclean that tasteth them, but an abstinence whereby we either interrupt or otherwise abridge the care of our bodily sustenance, to shew by this kind of outward exercise the serious intention of our minds fixed on heavenlier and better desires, the earnest hunger and thirst whereof depriveth the body of those usual contentments, which otherwise are not denied unto it.

[4.] These being in nature the first causes that induce fasting, the next thing which followeth to be considered is the ancient practice thereof amongst the Jews. Touching whose private voluntary fasts the precept which our Saviour gave them was [43], "When ye fast look not sour as hypocrites. "For they disfigure their faces that they "might seem to men to fast. Verily I say "unto you they have their reward. When "thou fastest, anoint thy head, and wash "thy face, that thou seem not unto men to "fast, but unto the Father which is in secret, "and thy Father which seeth in secret will "reward thee openly." Our Lord and Saviour would not teach the manner of doing, much less propose a reward for doing that which were not both holy and acceptable in God's sight. The Pharisees weekly bound themselves unto double fasts [44], neither are they for this reproved. Often fasting which was a virtue in John's disciples [45] could not in them of itself be a vice, and therefore not the oftenness of their fasting but their hypocrisy therein was blamed.

[5.] Of public [46] enjoined fasts upon causes extraordinary the examples in Scripture are so frequent that they need no particular rehearsal. Public extraordinary fastings were sometimes for one [47] only day, sometimes for three [48], sometimes for seven [49]. Touching fasts not appointed for any such extraordinary causes, but either yearly or monthly or weekly observed and kept, first upon the ninth [50] day of that month the tenth whereof was the feast of expiation, they were commanded of God that every soul year by year should afflict itself. Their yearly fasts every fourth month in regard of the city of Jerusalem entered by the enemy, every fifth in memory of the overthrow of their temple, every seventh for the treacherous destruction and death of Godolias the very last stay which they had to lean unto in their greatest misery, every tenth in remembrance of the time when siege began first to be laid against them; all these not commanded of God himself but ordained by a public constitution of their own, the Prophet [51] Zachary expressly toucheth. That St. Jerome [52] following the tradition of the Hebrews doth make the first a memorial of the breaking of those twelve tables when Moses descended from Mount Sina [53]; the second a memorial as well of God's indignation condemning them to forty years travail in the desert [54], as of his wrath in permitting Chaldeans to waste, burn and destroy their city; the last a memorial of heavy tidings brought out of Jewry to Ezekiel [55] and the

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42 Rom. xiv. 17; [1 Cor. viii. 8.]

43 Matt. vi. 16.

44 [S. Luke xviii. 12.]

45 [S. Matth. ix. 14.]

46 2 Chron. xx; Jer. xxxvi; Ezra viii; 1 Sam. vii.

47 Judges xx. 26.

48 2 Mac. xiii. 12.

49 1 Sam. xxxi. 13; 1 Chron. x. 12.

50 Levit. xxiii. xvi. Philo. [in vit. Mosis,] de hujus festi jejunio ita loquitur: Οὐ σιτίον, οὐ ποτὸν ἔξεστι προσενέγκασθαι, καθαραῖς ὅπως διανοίαις, μηδενὸς ἐνοχλοῦντος μηδὲ ἐμποδίζοντος σωματικοῦ πάθους. ὁποῖα φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν ἐκ πλησμονῆς. ἑορτάζωσιν, ἱλασκόμενοι τὸν πατέρα τοῦ παντὸς δσίαις εὐχαῖς. δι' ὧν ἀμνηστίαν μὲν παλαιῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, κτῆσιν δὲ καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν νέων ἀγαθῶν εἰώθασιν αἰτεῖσθαι. p. 447. [Paris, 1552.]

51 Zach. viii. 19.

52 [In loc. Zach. "Cogimur ad Hebræos recurrere, et scientiæ veritatem de fonte magis quam de rivulis quærere: præsertim cum non prophetia aliqua de Christo, ubi tergiversari solent, et veritatem celare mendacio, sed historiæ ex præcedentibus et consequentibus ordo texatur. Je junium quarti mensis, qui apud Latinos vocatur Julius, die septima et decima ejusdem mensis, illud arbitrantur, quando descendens Moyses de monte Sina tabulas legis abjecerit atque confregerit; et juxta Hieremiam muri primum rupti sunt civitatis. In quinto mense qui apud Latinos appellatur Augustus, cum propter exploratores terræ sanctæ seditio orta esset in populo, jussi sunt montem non ascendere, sed per quadriginta annos longis ad terram sanctam circuire dispendiis; ut exceptis duobus Chaleb et Josue, omnes in solitudine caderent. In hoc mense et a Nabuchodonosor, et multa post sæcula a Tito et Vespasiano, templum Hierosolymis incensum est atque destructum: capta urbs Bethel ad quam multa millia confugerant Judæorum; aratum templum in ignominiam gentis oppressæa T. Annio Rufo. In septimo vero, qui apud nos appellatur October, sicut supra diximus, occisus est Godolias, et Judæ tribus ac Hierusalem reliquiæ dissipatæ. Legamus Hieremiam. Mense decimo, qui apud nos Januarius dicitur, eo quod anni janua sit atque principium, Ezechiel in captivitate positus audivit, et cunctus populus captivorum, quinto mense templum esse subversum, quod planissime in eodem propheta cognoscimus." vi. 516.]

53 Exod. xxxii.

54 Numb. xiv.

55 [Ezek. xxiv. 1, 2.]

rest which lived as captives in foreign parts, the difference is not of any moment, considering that each time of sorrow is naturally evermore a register of all such grievous events as have happened either in or near about the same time. To these I might add[56] sundry other fasts above twenty in number ordained amongst them by like occasions and observed in like manner, besides their weekly abstinence Mondays and Thursdays throughout the whole year[57].

[6.] When men fasted it was not always after one and the same sort, but either by depriving themselves wholly of all food during the time that their fasts continued, or by abating both the quantity and kind of diet. We have of the one a plain example in the Ninevites' fasting[58], and as plain a precedent for the other in the Prophet Daniel[57], "I was," saith he, "in heaviness "for three weeks of days; I ate no pleas- "ant bread, neither tasted flesh nor wine." Their tables when they gave themselves to fasting had not that usual furniture of such dishes as do cherish blood with blood, but for food[58] they had bread, for suppage salt, and for sauce herbs. Whereunto the Apostle may be thought to allude saying[59], "One believeth he may eat all things, "another which is weak" (and maketh a conscience of keeping those customs which the Jews observe) "eateth herbs." This austere repast they took in the evening after abstinence the whole day. For to forfeit a noon's meal and then to recompense themselves at night was not their use. Nor did they ever accustom themselves on sabbaths or festival days to fast[60].

[7.] And yet it may be a question whether in some sort they did not always fast the Sabbath. Their fastings were partly in token of penitency, humiliation, grief and sorrow, partly in sign of devotion and reverence towards God. Which second consideration (I dare not peremptorily and boldly affirm any thing) might induce to abstain till noon, as their manner was on fasting days to do till night. May it not very well be thought that hereunto the sacred[61] Scripture doth give some secret kind of testimony? Josephus is plain, that the sixth hour[62] (the day they divided into twelve) was wont on the sabbath always to call them home unto meat. Neither is it improbable but that the heathens did therefore so often upbraid them with fasting on that day[63]. Besides they which found so great fault with our Lord's disciples, for rubbing a few ears of corn in their hands on the Sabbath day, are not unlikely to have aimed also at the same mark. For neither was the bodily pain so great that it should offend them in that respect, and the very manner of defence which our Saviour there useth is more direct and literal to justify the breach of the Jewish custom in fasting than in working at that time. Finally the Apostles afterwards themselves when God first gave them the gift of tongues, whereas some in disdain and spite termed grace drunkenness, it being then the day of Pentecost and but only a fourth part of the day spent, they use this as an argument against the other cavil, "These "men," saith Peter, "are not drunk as you "suppose[64], since as yet the third hour of "the day is not overpast."

[8.] Howbeit leaving this in suspense as a thing not altogether certainly known, and to come from Jews to Christians, we find that of private voluntary fastings the Apostle St. Paul speaketh more than once[65]. And (saith Tertullian) they are sometime commanded throughout the Church "ex "aliqua sollicitudinis ecclesiasticæ causa," the care and fear of the Church so requiring. It doth not appear that the Apostles ordained any set and certain days to be gen-

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[56] Vide Riber. lib. v. cap. 21 [De templo, et de iis quæ ad Templum pertinent, p. 214. Salamanc. 1591.]

[57] ["His diebus addiderunt magistri Judæorum "singulis anni hebdomadis jejunium secundi et "quinti dici, i. e. secundæ et quintæ feriæ, tribus "de causis: propter excidium templi, propter "combustam legem, et propter blasphemiam Rab- "sacæ." Rib. ubi supr. Comp. Maimonid. Taanith, §. 1. ap. Lightf. ii. 463.]

[58] [Jonah iii. 7.] [57] Dan. x. 2, 3.

[58] "Puram et sine animalibus cœnam." Apul. in Asclep. in fin. [Oper. p. 380. ed Vulcan. 1594.] "Pastum et potum pura nosse non ventris scilicet "sed animæ causa." Tertull. de Pœnit. [c. 9.] Vide Phil. lib. de Vita contempl. [613. σιτοῦνται δὲ πολυτελὲς οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ ἄρτον εὐτελῆ· καὶ ὕψον ἅλες, οὗς οἱ ἀβροδιαίτατοι παραρτύουσιν ὑσσώπῳ. Ibid. σιτίον ἢ πότον οὐδεὶς ἂν αὐτῶν πορσενέγκαιτο πρὸ ἡλίου δύσεως.]

[59] Rom. xiv. 2; Hieron. lib. ii. contr. Jovinian. [§. 17. t. ii. p. 81. B. "Non inter jejunia et satieta- "tem æqualia merita dispensat, sed contra eos lo- "quitur, qui in Christum credentes adhuc Judai- "zabant." And below; "Ne quis putaret hoc de "jejuniis dici, et non de superstitione Judaica, "statim edisserit, 'alius credit manducare omnia; "qui autem infirmus est olera manducat.'" &c.]

[60] Judith. viii. 6; R. Mos. in Misneh Tora, lib. iii. (qui est de tempor.) cap. de Sab. et cap. de Jejun. [cap. i. p. 3. of Carpzovius' Version. "Non "definiunt jejunia populo universo, neque diebus "Sabbati, neque diebus festis." Vid. Buxtorf. Synag. Jud. c. 11. p. 276.]

[61] Nehem. viii. 3. 12.

[62] "Hora sexta, quæ Sabbatis nostris ad prandi- "um vocare solet, supervenit." Joseph. lib. de Vita sua. [§. 54.]

[63] "Sabbata Judæorum a Mose in omne ævum "jejunio dicata." Justin. lib. xxxvi. [c. 2.] "Ne "Judæus quidem, mi Tiberi, tam libenter Sabba- "ti jejunium servat quam ego hodie servavi." Sueton. in Octav. cap. 76.

[64] Acts ii. 15.

[65] 1 Cor. vii. 5; 2 Cor. vi. 5; xi. 27; Col. iv. 3.

erally kept of all. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as Christ had fore-signified that when himself should be taken from them his absence would soon make them apt to fast [66], it seemeth that even as the first festival day appointed to be kept of the Church was the day of our Lord's return from the dead, so the first sorrowful and mourning day was that which we now observe in memory of his departure out of this world. And because there could be no abatement of grief, till they saw him raised whose death was the occasion of their heaviness, therefore the day he lay in the sepulchre hath been also kept and observed as a weeping day. The custom of fasting these two days before Easter is undoubtedly most ancient, insomuch that Ignatius not thinking him a Catholic Christian man which did not abhor and (as the state of the Church was then) avoid fasting on the Jews' sabbath, doth notwithstanding except for ever that one Sabbath or Saturday which falleth out to be the Easter-eve [67], as with us it always doth and did sometimes also with them which kept at that time their Easter the fourteenth day of March as the custom of the Jews was. It came afterwards to be an order that even as the day of Christ's resurrection, so the other two [68] in memory of his death and burial were weekly. But this when St. Ambrose lived had not as yet taken place throughout all churches, no not in Milan where himself was bishop. And for that cause he saith that although at Rome he observed the Saturday's fast, because such was then the custom in Rome, nevertheless in his own church at home he did otherwise [69]. The churches which did not observe that day had another instead thereof, which was the Wednesday [70], for that when they judged it meet to have weekly a day of humiliation besides that whereon our Saviour suffered death, it seemed best to make their choice of that day especially whereon the Jews are thought to have first contrived their treason together with Judas against Christ [71]. So that the instituting and ordaining both of these and of all other times of like exercise is as the Church shall judge expedient for men's good.

[9.] And concerning every Christian man's duty herein, surely that which Augustine and Ambrose are before alleged to have done, is such as all men favouring equity must needs allow, and follow if they affect peace. As for their specified errors, I will not in this place dispute whether voluntary fasting with a virtuous purpose of mind be any medicinable remedy of evil, or a duty acceptable unto God and in the world to come even rewardable as other offices are which proceed from Christian piety; whether wilfully to break and despise the whole-

[66] [S. Luke v. 35.]

[67] Ignat. [i. e. a writer in his name.] Ep. ad Philip. [c. 13.]

[68] [The latter, or Saturday's fast, is supposed by Bingham (Antiq. xxi. 3. §. 6.) to have grown out of the Friday's by superposition, i. e. by adding so many hours to the fast, as prolonged it into the following day. See Dr. Routh's note on a fragment of St. Victorinus, Reliq. Sacr. iii. 245. Bingham, ubi supr. says it was confined to the Western Church, and quotes no earlier authority than the 36th canon of the council of Eliberis, A. D. 305. "Placuit . . . ut omni Sabbati die jeju-"niorum superpositionem celebremus."]

[69] [S. Aug. Ep. 36. olim 86. c. 32. t. ii. p. 81. "Quoniam non invenimus, ut supra commemora-"vi, in evangelicis et apostolicis literis, quæ ad "Novi Testamenti revelationem proprie pertinent, "certis diebus aliquibus evidentur præceptum ob-"servanda esse jejunia, et ideo res quoque ista si-"cut aliæ plurimæ, quas enumerare difficile est, in-"venit in veste illius filiæ regis, hoc est Ecclesiæ, "varietatis locum; indicabo tibi quid mihi respon-"derit venerandus Ambrosius, a quo baptizatus "sum, Mediolanensis episcopus. Nam cum in "eadam civitate mater mea mecum esset, et nobis adhuc catechumenis parum ista curantibus, illa "solicitudinem gereret utrum secundum morem "nostræ civitatis sibi esset sabbato jejunandum, "an ecclesiæ Mediolanensis more prandendum; "ut hac eam cunctatione liberarem, interrogavi "hoc supradictum hominem Dei. At ille, 'Quid "possum,' inquit, 'hic docere, amplius quam ipse "facio?' Ubi ego putaveram nihil eum ista re-"sponsione præcepisse, nisi ut Sabbato prandere-"mus; hoc quippe ipsum facere sciebam: sed il-"le secutus adjecit, 'Quando hic sum, non jejuno "Sabbato; quando Romæ sum, jejuno Sabbato: "et ad quamcunque ecclesiam veneritis,' inquit, "'ejus morem servate, si pati scandalum nonvultis "aut facere.' Hoc responsum retuli ad matrem, "cique suffecit, nec dubitavit esse obediendum: "hoc etiam nos secuti sumus. Sed quoniam con-"tingit maxime in Africa, ut una ecclesiæ vel "unius regionis ecclesiæ alios habeant Sabbato "prandentes, alios jejunantes; nos eorum mihi se-"quendus videtur, quibus eorum populorum con-"gregatio regenda commissa est."]

[70] [For "in all churches which embraced the "Saturday fast, Wednesday was wholly laid "aside." Bingham, ubi supra.]

[71] [See Bingham, Antiq. b. xxi. c. 3. The earliest authorities produced for the Stationes on Wednesdays and Fridays are Clement of Alex. Strom. vii. p. 877: Οἱόδεν αὐτὸς (ὁ γνωστικὸς ἐργάτης) καὶ τῆς νηστείας τὰ αἰνίγματα τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων, τῆς τετράδος καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς λέγω. and Tertull. de Jejun. c. 13. "Convenio vos et præter Pascha je-"junantes, citra illos dies, quibus ablatus est "sponsus, et stationum semijejunia interponentes." et. c. 14. "Si omnem in totum devotionem tem-"porum et dierum . . . erasit Apostolus . . . cur "stationibus quartam et sextam Sabbati dicamus?" The reason is assigned (among others) by St. Peter of Alexandria, Canon xv. Οὐκ ἐγκαλέσει τις ἡμῖν παρατηρουμένοις τετράδα καὶ παρασκευὴν, ἐν αἷς καὶ νηστεύειν ἡμῖν κατὰ παράδοσιν εὐλόγως προστέτακται· τὴν μὲν τετράδα, διὰ τὸ γενόμενον συμβούλιον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπὶ τῇ προδοσίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου, τὴν δὲ παρασκευὴν, διὰ τὸ πεπονθέναι αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. ap. Routh. Reliq. Sacr. iii. 343.]

some laws of the Church herein be a thing which offendeth God; whether truly it may not be said that penitent both weeping and fasting are means to blot out sin [71], means whereby through God's unspeakable and undeserved mercy we obtain or procure to ourselves pardon, which attainment unto any gracious benefit by him bestowed the phrase of antiquity useth to express by the name of merit [72]; but if either St. Augustine or St. Ambrose have taught any wrong opinion, seeing they which reprove them are not altogether free from error, I hope they will think it no error in us so to censure men's smaller faults that their virtues be not thereby generally prejudiced. And if in churches abroad, where we are not subject to power or jurisdiction, discretion should teach us for peace and quietness' sake to frame ourselves to other men's example, is it meet that at home where our freedom is less our boldness should be more? Is it our duty to oppugn, in the churches whereof we are ministers, the rites and customs which in foreign churches piety and modesty did teach us as strangers not to oppugn, but to keep without show of contradiction or dislike? Why oppose they the name of a minister in this case unto the state of a private man? Doth their order exempt them from obedience to laws? That which their office and place requireth is to shew themselves patterns of reverend subjection, not authors and masters of contempt towards ordinances, the strength whereof when they seek to weaken they do but in truth discover to the world their own imbecilities, which a great deal wiselier they might conceal.

[10.] But the practice of the Church of Christ we shall by so much the better both understand and love, if to that which hitherto hath been spoken there be somewhat added for more particular declaration how heretics have partly abused fasts and partly bent themselves against the lawful use thereof in the Church of God. Whereas therefore Ignatius hath said, "if any keep "Sundays' or Saturdays' fast [73] (one only "Saturday in the year excepted) that man "is no better than a murderer of Christ," the cause of such his earnestness at that time was the impiety of certain heretics, which thought [74] that this world being corruptible could not be made but by a very evil author. And therefore as the Jews did by the festival solemnity of their Sabbath rejoice in the God that created the world as in the author of all goodness, so those heretics in hatred of the Maker of the world sorrowed, wept, and fasted [75] on that day as being the birthday of all evil.

And as Christian men of sound belief did solemnize the Sunday, in joyful memory of Christ's resurrection, so likewise at the selfsame time such heretics as denied his resurrection did the contrary to them which held it, when the one sort rejoiced the other fasted.

Against those heretics which have urged perpetual abstinence from certain meats as being in their very nature unclean, the Church hath still bent herself as an enemy; St. Paul giving charge to take heed of them which under any such opinion should utterly forbid the use of meats or drinks. The Apostles themselves forbade some, as the order taken at Jerusalem declareth. But the cause of their so doing we all know.

[11.] Again when Tertullian together with such as were his followers began to Montanize, and pretending to perfect the severity of Christian discipline brought in sundry unaccustomed days of fasting, continued their fasts a great deal longer and made them more rigorous than the use of the Church had been, the minds of men being somewhat moved at so great and so sudden novelty, the cause was presently inquired into. After notice taken how the Montanists held these additions to be supplements of the gospel whereunto the Spirit of Prophecy did now mean to put as it were the last hand, and was therefore newly descended upon Montanus, whose

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[72] [S. Amb. Ep. 63. 16. "Quæ nobis salus es-"se potest, nisi jejunio eluerimus peccata nos-"tra?"]

[72] [S. Amb. Ep. 63. 17. "Qui sunt hi præcep-"tores novi, qui meritum excludant jejunii?"]

[73] Εἴ τις κυριακὴν ἢ σάββατον νηστεύει πλὴν ἑνὸς σαββάτου, οὗτος χριστοκτόνος ἐστί. Epist. ad Philip. [c. 13.]

[74] [Simon Magus, Menander, Saturninus, Basilides, Carpocrates, Cerinthus, and the whole body of Gnostics: afterwards Marcion, the Valentinians, and Manes.] Vide Iren. lib. i. cap. 20—25. Epiph. Hæres. 21. §. 4; 22. §. 1; 23. §. 1; 24. §. 2; 27. §. 2; 28. §. 1; 41. §. 1; 42. §. 2. Vide Canon. Apost. 55. [The following canons relate to this subject; they are numbered as in Beveridge's edition. Can. 43. εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, ἢ ὅλως τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ, γάμου καὶ κρεῶν καὶ οἴνου οὐ διὰ ἄσκησιν ἀλλὰ διὰ βδελυρίαν ἀπέχεται, ἐπιλανθανόμενος ὅτι πάντα καλὰ λίαν, καὶ ὅτι ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ βλασφημῶν διαβάλλει τὴν δημιουργίαν· ἢ διορθούσθω, καθαιρείσθω καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποβαλλέσθω· ὡσαύτως καὶ λαϊκός.

Can. 45. Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν ἑορτῶν οὐ μεταλαμβάνει κρεῶν ἢ οἴνου, καθαιρείσθω, ὡς κεκαυτηριασμένος τὴν ἰδίαν συνείδησιν, καὶ αἴτιος σκανδάλου πολλοῖς γενόμενος.

Can. 56. Εἴ τις κληρικὸς εὑρεθῇ τὴν κυριακὴν ἡμέραν ἢ τὸ σάββατον, πλὴν τοῦ ἑνὸς μόνου, νηστεύων, καθαιρείσθω· ἐὰν δὲ λαϊκὸς ᾖ, ἀφοριζέσθω. ap. Coteler. PP. Apost. i. 449, 450.]

[75] [Of Marcion in particular Epiphanius says, Hær. xlii. c. 2; τὸ σάββατον νηστεύει, διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν· ἐπειδή, φησί, τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνάπαυσις τοῦ πεποιηκότος τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναπαυσαμένου, ἡμεῖς νηστεύσωμεν ταύτην, ἵνα μὴ τὸ καθῆκον τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐργαζώμεθα. t. i. 304, B. ed. Petav. Paris, 1622.]

orders all Christian men were no less to obey than the laws of the Apostles themselves, this abstinence the Church abhorred likewise and that justly. Whereupon Tertullian proclaiming even open war to the Church, maintained Montanism, wrote a book in defence of the new fast, and entitled the same, A Treatise of Fasting against the Opinion of the Carnal Sort. In which treatise nevertheless because so much is sound and good, as doth either generally concern the use, or in particular declare the custom of the Church's fasting in those times, men are not to reject whatsoever is alleged out of that book for confirmation of the truth. His error discloseth itself in those places where he defendeth his fasts to be duties necessary for the whole Church of Christ to observe as commanded by the Holy Ghost, and that with the same authority from whence all other apostolical ordinances came, both being the laws of God himself, without any other distinction or difference, saving only that he which before had declared his will by Paul and Peter, did now farther reveal the same by Montanus also. "Against us ye pretend," saith Tertullian [76], "that the public orders which "Christianity is bound to keep were deliv-"ered at the first, and that no new thing is "to be added thereunto. Stand if you can "upon this point. For behold I challenge "you for fasting more than at Easter your-"selves. But in fine ye answer, that these "things are to be done as established by "the voluntary appointment of men, and "not by virtue or force of any divine com-"mandment. Well then," he addeth, "ye "have removed your first footing, and gone "beyond that which was delivered by do-"ing more than was at the first imposed upon "you. You say you must do that which "your own judgments have allowed, we "require your obedience to that which God "himself doth institute. Is it not strange "that men to their own will should yield "that which to God's commandment they "will not grant? Shall the pleasure of "men prevail more with you than the pow-"er of God himself?"

[12.] These places of Tertullian for fasting have worthily been put to silence. And as worthily Aerius condemned for opposition against fasting. The one endeavoured to bring in such fasts as the Church ought not to receive, the other to overthrow such as already it had received and did observe: the one was plausible unto many by seeming to hate carnal looseness and riotous excess much more than the rest of the world did, the other drew hearers by pretending the maintenance of Christian liberty; the one thought his cause very strongly upheld by making invective declamations with a pale and a withered countenance against the Church, by filling the ears of his starved hearers with speech suitable to such men's humours, and by telling them no doubt to their marvellous contentment and liking [77], "Our new prophecies are refused, they are "despised. Is it because Montanus doth "preach some other God, or dissolve the "gospel of Jesus Christ, or overthrow any "canon of faith and hope? No, our crime "is, we teach that men ought to fast more "often than marry, the best feast-maker is "with them the perfectest saint, they are as-"suredly mere spirit, and therefore these "our corporal devotions please them not:" thus the one for Montanus and his superstition. The other in a clean contrary tune against the religion of the Church [78], "These set fasts away with them, for they "are Jewish and bring men under the yoke "of servitude; if I will fast let me choose "my time, that Christian liberty be not "abridged." Hereupon their glory was to fast especially upon the Sunday, because the order of the Church was on that day not to fast [79]. "On Church fasting days "and specially the week before Easter, "when with us," saith Epiphanius, "custom "admitteth nothing but lying down upon "the earth, abstinence from fleshly delights "and pleasures, sorrowfulness, dry and un-

[76] [De Jejun. c. 13. "Præscribitis constituta "esse solennia huic fidei scripturis vel traditione "majoram; nihilque observationis amplius adjici-"endum ob illicitum innovationis. State in isto "grada si potestis. Ecce enim convenio vos et "præter Pascha jejunantes... Denique respondе-"tis hæc ex arbitrio agenda, non ex imperio. Mo-"vistis igitur gradum, excedendo traditionem, "cum quæ non sunt constituta obitis. Quale est "autem, ut tuo arbitrio permittas quod imperio "Dei non das? plus humanæ licebit voluntati "quam divinæ potestati? Ego me sæculo non "Deo liberum memini."]

[77] [Tertull. de Jejun. c. 1. "Hi Paracleto con-"troversiam faciunt, propter hoc novæ prophetiæ "recusantur, non quod alium Deum prædicent "Montanus et Priscilla et Maximilla, nec quod "Jesum Christum solvant, nec quod aliquam fidei "aut spei regulam evertant, sed quod plane doce-"ant sæpius jejunare quam nubere." et c. 17. "Qui sanctior inter vos, nisi convivandi frequen-"tior, nisi obsonandi pollucibilior, nisi calicibus "instructior? Merito homines solius animæ et car-"nis spiritalia recusatis." Hooker seems to have read the last sentence without the "et."]

[78] [Οὔτε νηστεία, φησὶν, ἔσται τεταγμένη ταῦτα γὰρ Ἰουδαικά ἐστι, καὶ ὑπὸ ζυγὸν δουλείας.... εἰ γὰρ ὅλως βούλομαι νηστεύειν, οἷαν ὁ' ἂν αἱρήσομαι ἡμέραν ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ, νηστεύω διὰ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. Ὅθεν παρ' αὐτοῖς περιλοτίμηται μᾶλλον ἐν κυριακῇ νηστεύειν... ἔν τε ταῖς ἡμεραῖς τοῦ Πάσχα, ὅτε παρ' ἡμῖν χαμευνίαι, ἀγνεῖαι, κακοπαθεῖαι, ξηροφαγίαι, εὐχαὶ, ἀγρυπνίαι, τε καὶ νηστεῖαι, καὶ πᾶσαι τῶν ψυχῶν αἱ σωτηρίαι τῶν ἁγίων παθῶν, αὐτοὶ ἀπεωθεν ὑψωνοῦσι κρέα τε καὶ οἶνον, ἑαυτῶν τὰς φλέβας γεμίζοντες, ἀνακαγχάζουσι, γελῶντες, χλευάζοντες τὴν ἁγίαν ταύτην λατρείαν τῆς ἑβδομαδὸς τοῦ Πάσχα ἐπιτελοῦντας.] Epiph. Hæres. [75. c. 3.]

[79] [Ibid.]

"savoury diet, prayer, watching, fasting, all "the medicines which holy affections can "minister, they are up betimes to take in of "the strongest for the belly, and when their "veins are well swollen they make themselves mirth with laughter at this our service wherein we are persuaded we please "God."

[13.] By this of Epiphanius it doth appear not only what fastings the Church of Christ in those times used, but also what other parts of discipline were together therewith in force, according to the ancient use and custom of bringing all men at certain times to a due consideration and an open humiliation of themselves. Two kinds there were of public penitency, the one belonging to notorious offenders whose open wickedness had been scandalous; the other appertaining to the whole Church and unto every several person whom the same containeth. It will be answered that touching this latter kind it may be exercised well enough by men in private. No doubt but penitency is as prayer a thing acceptable unto God, be it in public or in secret. Howbeit as in the one if men were wholly left to their own voluntary meditations in their closets, and not drawn by laws and orders unto the open assemblies of the Church that there they may join with others in prayer, it may be soon conjectured what Christian devotion that way would come unto in a short time: even so in the other we are by sufficient experience taught how little it booteth to tell men of washing away their sins with tears of repentance, and so to leave them altogether unto themselves. O Lord, what heaps of grievous transgressions have we committed, the best, the perfectest, the most righteous amongst us all, and yet clean pass them over unsorrowed for and unrepented of, only because the Church hath forgotten utterly how to bestow her wonted times of discipline, wherein the public example of all was unto every particular person a most effectual mean to put them often in mind, and even in a manner to draw them to that which now we all quite and clean forget, as if penitency were no part of a Christian man's duty!

[14.] Again besides our private offences which ought not thus loosely to be overslipped, suppose we the body and corporation of the Church so just, that at no time it needeth to shew itself openly cast down in regard of those faults and transgressions, which though they do not properly belong unto any one, had notwithstanding a special sacrifice appointed for them in the law of Moses, and being common to the whole society which containeth all, must needs so far concern every man in particular, as at some time in solemn manner to require acknowledgment with more than daily and ordinary testifications of grief. There could not hereunto a fitter preamble be devised than that memorable commination set down in the book of Common Prayer, if our practice in the rest were suitable. The head already so well drawn doth but wish a proportionable body. And by the preface to that very part of the English liturgy it may appear how at the first setting down thereof no less was intended. For so we are to interpret the meaning of those words wherein restitution of the primitive church discipline is greatly wished for, touching the manner of public penance in time of Lent. Wherewith some being not much acquainted, but having framed in their minds the conceit of a new discipline far unlike unto that of old, they make themselves believe it is undoubtedly this their discipline which at the first was so much desired. They have long pretended that the whole Scripture is plain for them. If now the communion book make for them too (I well think the one doth as much as the other) it may be hoped that being found such a well wisher unto their cause, they will more favour it than they have done.

[15.] Having therefore hitherto spoken both of festival days, and so much of solemn fasts as may reasonably serve to shew the ground thereof in the law of nature, the practice partly appointed and partly allowed of God in the Jewish Church, the like continued in the Church of Christ, together with the sinister oppositions either of heretics erroneously abusing the same, or of others thereat quarrelling without cause, we will only collect the chiefest points as well of resemblance as of difference between them, and so end. First in this they agree, that because nature is the general root of both, therefore both have been always common to the Church with infidels and heathen men. Secondly they also herein accord, that as oft as joy is the cause of the one and grief the well-spring of the other, they are incompatible [80]. A third degree of affinity between them is that neither being acceptable to God of itself, but both tokens of that which is acceptable, their approbation with him must necessarily depend on that which they ought to import and signify; so that if herein the mind dispose not itself aright, whether we rest [81] or fast [82] we offend. A fourth thing common unto them is, that the greatest part of the world hath always grossly and palpably offended in both; infidels because

[80] Conc. Laod. c. 51, 52. vetat Natalitia Martyrum in Quadragesima celebrari. [t. i. 1505. *οὐ δεῖ ἐν τεσσαρακοστῇ μαρτύρων γενέθλιον ἐπιτελεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων μνείαν ποιεῖν ἐν τοῖς σαββάτοις καὶ κυριακαῖς.* And can. 52. *οὐ δεῖ ἐν τεσσαρακοστῇ γάμους ἢ γενέθλια ἐπιτελεῖν.*]

[81] Isai. i. 13. [82] Isai. lviii. 3.

they did all in relation to false gods; godless, sensual, and careless minds, for that there is in them no constant, true and sincere affection towards those things which are pretended by such exercise; yea certain flattering oversights there are, wherewith sundry, and they not of the worst sort, may be easily in these cases led awry, even through abundance of love and liking to that which must be embraced by all means, but with caution, inasmuch as the very admiration of saints, whether we celebrate their glory or follow them in humility, whether we laugh or weep, mourn or rejoice with them, is (as in all things the affection of love) apt to deceive, and doth therefore need the more to be directed by a watchful guide, seeing there is manifestly both ways even in them whom we honour that which we are to observe and shun. The best have not still been sufficiently mindful that God's very angels in heaven are but angels, and that bodily exercise considered in itself is no great matter [82]. Finally seeing that both are ordinances well devised for the good of man, and yet not man created purposely for them as for other offices of virtue [83] whereunto God's immutable law for ever tieth; it is but equity to wish or admonish that where by uniform order they are not as yet received, the example of [84] Victor's extremity in the one, and of [85] John's disciples' curiosity in the other be not followed; yea where they are appointed by law that notwithstanding [86] we avoid Judaism, and as in festival days men's necessities for matter of labour, so in times of fasting regard be had to their imbecilities, lest they should suffer harm doing good.

[16.] Thus therefore we see how these two customs are in divers respects equal. But of fasting the use and exercise though less pleasant is by so much more requisite than the other, as grief of necessity is a more familiar guest than the contrary passion of mind, albeit gladness to all men be naturally more welcome. For first we ourselves do many more things amiss than well, and the fruit of our own ill-doing is remorse, because nature is conscious to itself that it should do the contrary. Again forasmuch as the world over-aboundeth with malice, and few are delighted in doing good unto other men, there is no man so seldom crossed as pleasured at the hands of others, whereupon it cannot be chosen but every man's woes must double in that respect the number and measure of his delights. Besides concerning the very choice which oftentimes we are to make, our corrupt inclination well considered, there is cause why our Saviour should account them happiest that do most mourn [87], and why Solomon might judge it better to frequent mourning than feasting houses [88], not better simply and in itself (for then would nature that way incline) but in regard of us and our common weakness better. Job was not ignorant that his children's banquets though tending to amity needed sacrifice [89]. Neither doth any of us all need to be taught that in things which delight we easily swerve from mediocrity, and are not easily led by a right direct line [90]. On the other side the sores and diseases of mind which inordinate pleasure breedeth are by dolour and grief cured. For which cause as all offences use to seduce by pleasing, so all punishments endeavour by vexing to reform transgressions. We are of our own accord apt enough to give entertainment to things delectable, but patiently to lack what flesh and blood doth desire, and by virtue to forbear what by nature we covet, this no man attaineth unto but with labour and long practice.

[17.] From hence it riseth that in former ages abstinence and fasting more than ordinary was always a special branch of their praise in whom it could be observed and known, were they such as continually gave themselves to austere life; or men that took often occasions in private virtuous respects to lay Solomon's counsel aside [91], "Eat thy "bread with joy," and to be followers of David's example which saith [92] "I humbled "my soul with fasting;" or but they who otherwise worthy of no great commendation have made of hunger some their gain, some their physic, some their art, that by mastering sensual appetites without constraint, they might grow able to endure hardness whensoever need should require. For the body accustomed to emptiness pineth not away so soon as having still used to fill itself.

Many singular effects there are which should make fasting even in public considerations the rather to be accepted. For I presume we are not altogether without experience how great their advantage is in martial enterprises that lead armies of men trained in a school of abstinence. It is therefore noted at this day in some that patience of hunger and thirst hath given them many victories; in others that because

[82] 1 Tim. iv. 8.

[83] Eccles. xii. 13; Isai. lviii. 6. 7; Rom. xiv. 17; James i. 27; Heb. xii. 14; Ephes. ii. 10.

[84] Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. v. c. 23.

[85] Matt. ix. 14.

[86] Col. ii. 16.

[87] Matt. v. 4.

[88] Eccles. vii. 2, 4.

[89] Job i. 5.

[90] Ἐν παντὶ δὲ μάλιστα φυλακτέον τὸ ἡδὺ καὶ τὴν ἡδονήν· οὐ γὰρ ἀδέκαστοι κρίνομεν αὐτήν. Arist. Eth. ii. cap. 9.

[91] Eccles. ix. 7.

[92] Psalm xxxv. 13.

if they want there is no man able to rule them, nor they in plenty to moderate themselves, he which can either bring them to hunger or overcharge them is sure to make them their own overthrow [93]. What nation soever doth feel these dangerous inconveniences may know that sloth and fulness in peaceable times at home is the cause thereof, and the remedy a strict observation of that part of Christian discipline which teacheth men in practice of ghostly warfare against themselves those things that afterwards may help them justly assaulting or standing in lawful defence of themselves against others.

[18.] The very purpose of the Church of God both in the number and in the order of her fasts, hath been not only to preserve thereby throughout all ages the remembrance of miseries heretofore sustained, and of the causes in ourselves out of which they have arisen, that men considering the one might fear the other the more, but farther also to temper the mind lest contrary affections coming in place should make it too profuse and dissolute, in which respect it seemeth that fasts have been set as ushers of festival days for prevention of those disorders as much as might be, wherein notwithstanding the world always will deserve, as it hath done, blame [94], because such evils being not possible to be rooted out, the most we can do is in keeping them low; and (which is chiefly the fruit we look for) to create in the minds of men a love towards frugal and severe life, to undermine the palaces of wantonness, to plant parsimony as nature where riotousness hath been study, to harden whom pleasure would melt, and to help the tumours which always fulness breedeth, that children as it were in the wool of their infancy dyed with hardness may never afterwards change colour; that the poor whose perpetual fasts are necessity, may with better contentment endure the hunger which virtue causeth others so often to choose and by advice of religion itself so far to esteem above the contrary; that they which for the most part do lead sensual and easy lives, they which as the prophet David describeth them [95], "are not plagued like other men," may by the public spectacle of all be still put in mind what themselves are; finally that every man may be every's man's daily guide and example as well by fasting to declare humility as by praise to express joy in the sight of God, although it have herein befallen the Church as sometimes David, so that the speech of the one may be truly the voice of the other [96], "My soul fasted, and "even that was also turned to my reproof."

LXXIII. In this world there can be no society durable otherwise than only by propagation. Albeit therefore single life be a thing more angelical and divine, yet sith the replenishing first of earth with blessed inhabitants and then of heaven with saints everlastingly praising God did depend upon conjunction of man and woman, he which made all things complete and perfect saw it could not be good to leave man without a helper unto the fore-alleged end.

The celebration of Matrimony. T. C. lib. i. p. 199.

[2.] In things which some further end doth cause to be desired choice seeketh rather proportion than absolute perfection of goodness. So that woman being created for man's sake to be his helper in regard to the end before-mentioned, namely the having and the bringing up of children, whereunto it was not possible they could concur unless they were subalternation between them, which subalternation is naturally grounded upon inequality, because things equal in every respect are never willingly directed one by another: woman therefore was even in her first estate framed by nature not only after in time but inferior in excellency also unto man, howbeit in so due and sweet proportion as being presented before our eyes, might be sooner perceived than defined. And even herein doth lie the reason why that kind of love which is the perfectest ground of wedlock is seldom able to yield any reason of itself.

[3.] Now that which is born of man must be nourished with far more travail, as being of greater price in nature and of slower pace to perfection, than the offspring of any other creature besides. Man and woman being therefore to join themselves for such a purpose, they were of necessity to be linked with some strait and insoluble knot. The bond of wedlock hath been always more or less esteemed of as a thing religious and sacred. The title which the very heathens themselves do thereunto oftentimes give is *holy* [97]. Those rites and orders which were instituted in the solemnization of marriage, the Hebrews term by the name of conjugal *Sanctifications* [98].

[93] [The overthrow of the German Protestant army in France, A. D. 1587, might possibly be in Hooker's mind when he wrote this sentence. Davila says, "Più che tutte le fatiche, e tutte l' in- "dustrie del Duca di Guisa nuoceva agli Aleman- "ni l' abbondanza di vini, di uve, di frutte, e di "carnaggi, de' quali sono copiose quelle provin- "cie." lib. viii. p. 365.]

[94] "Valde absurdum est nimia saturitate velle "honorare martyrem quem scias Deo placuisse je- "juniis. [Ita tibi semper comedendum est, ut "cibum et oratio sequatur et lectio."] Hier. Epist. ad Eust. [i. 132.]

[95] Psalm lxxiii. 5.

[96] Psalm lxix. 10.

[97] Τοὺς ἱεροὺς γάμους. Dionys. Antiq. lib. ii. [c. 25.]

[98] Kidduschin in Rituali Heb. de benediction

[4.] Amongst ourselves because sundry things appertaining unto the public order of matrimony are called in question by such as know not from whence those customs did first grow, to shew briefly some true and sufficient reason of them shall not be superfluous, although we do not hereby intend to yield so far unto enemies of all church orders saving their own, as though every thing were unlawful the true cause and reason whereof at the first might hardly perhaps be now rendered.

Wherefore to begin with the times wherein the liberty of marriage is restrained [99]. "There is," saith Solomon [1], "a "time for all things, a time to laugh and a "time to mourn." That duties belonging unto marriage and offices appertaining to penance are things unsuitable and unfit to be matched together, the [2] Prophets and [3] Apostles themselves do witness. Upon which ground as we might right well think it marvellous absurd to see in a church a wedding on the day of a public fast, so likewise in the selfsame consideration our predecessors thought it not amiss to take away the common liberty of marriages during the time which was appointed for the preparation unto and for exercise of general humiliation by fasting and praying, weeping for sins [4].

[5.] As for the delivering up of the woman either by her father or by some other, we must note that in ancient times [5] all women which had not husbands nor fathers to govern them had their tutors, without whose authority there was no act which they did warrantable [6]. And for this cause they were in marriage delivered unto their husbands by others. Which custom retained hath still this use, that it putteth women in mind of a duty whereunto the very imbecility of their nature and sex doth bind them, namely to be always directed, guided and ordered by others, although our positive laws do not tie them now as pupils.

[6.] The custom of laying down money seemeth to have been derived from the Saxons, whose manner was to buy their wives [7]. But seeing there is not any great

nuptiarum. ["Apud Rabbinos קדש synecdochice "dicitur de consecratione sponsæ ad conjugium, "pro 'desponsare, despondere, spondere,' קדושים "'sanctificationes:' item 'desponsationes, sponsa-"lia;' de quibus integer liber extat apud Talmud-"icos sic vocatus." Buxt. Lex. Hebr. et Talm. col. 1978, 1980. Comp. Wolf. Bibl. Hebr. ii. 747. The tract "Kidduschin" is the seventh title of the third series in the Mischna, ed. Surenhus. t. iii. 359, &c.]

[99] [1 Adm. 16. ed. 1617. "We speak not of li-"cences granted out of this court to marry in for-"bidden times, as in Lent, in Advent, in the "gange week, when the priest in his surplice, "singing gospels and making crosses, rangeth "about in many places, upon the ember days, and "to forbidden persons, and in exempt places." (Todd, Johnson's Dict. "*Gang week.* Rogation "week, when processions are made to lustrate the "bounds of parishes. This name is still retained "in the north of England.") In Strype, Ann. ii. 1. 382, is the following among other articles, "pro-"pounded and divulged" by Cartwright at Cambridge, 1570. "xx. Matrimonium certis quibusdam "anni temporibus interdicere, papisticum est." See Bp. Cooper's Admonition, p. 103—107. "'The bishops .... prohibit marriage at certain "times, most contrary to God's word: that is,' "say they, 'a papistical practice, to fill the cler-"gy's purse: yea it is a doctrine of Antichrist "and of the Devil himself, prohibiting marriage "even in laymen.'.....This must needs be thought "a captious and rigorous interpretation, to say that "a stay of marriage for certain days and weeks "is an unchristian forbidding of marriage.....For "then it is a popish disorder also, and Antichris-"tian corruption, to stay marriage for three weeks, "until the banns be asked... But ... I think it "not a matter of such necessity, neither is it so "greatly pressed, as they pretend. I think there "is no law remaining, that is so little executed, "as that is."]

[1] [Eccles. iii. 1.] [2] Joel ii. 16.
[3] 1 Cor. vii. 5.

[4] [Con. Laod. can. 52; see above, c lxxii. §. 15, note 80. Lyndwood ap. Gibs. Codex 518. "So-"lennisatio non potest fieri a ima. Dominica Ad-"ventus usque ad Octavas Epiphaniæ exclusive; "et a Dominica lxx usque ad primam Dom. post "Pascha inclusive; et a prima die Rogationis us-"que ad septimum diem Pentecostes inclusive." Bishop Gibson "I find no prohibitions express-"ed or plainly supposed in our Constitutions or "Canons." Strype, Ann. 1562, has preserved a paper which seems to have been intended for consideration in convocation that year, of which one article is, "That it shall be lawful to marry at any "time of the year without dispensation, except it "be on Christmas day, Easter day, and six days "going before, and upon Pentecost Sunday." Bishop Gibson, ubi sup. says, "In parliament, 17 "Eliz. a bill was depending, entitled, *An act de-"claring Marriages lawful at all times:* and in "convocation, 1575, the last article presented to "the Queen for confirmation (but by her rejected) "was, that the Bishops shall take order, that it be "published and declared in every church before "1 May, that marriage may be solemnized at all "times of the year."]

[5] "Mulieres antiquo jure tutela perpetua contine-"bat. Recedebant vero a tutoris potestate quæ "in manum convenissent." Boet. in Topic. Cic. [lib. ii. p. 781. ed. Basil. 1570.]

[6] "Nullam ne privatam quidem rem fœminas sine auctore agere majores nostri voluerunt" Liv. lib. [xxxiv. c. 2.] The reason yielded by Tully this, "propter infirmatatem consilii." Cic. pro Mur. [c. 12.]

[7] Vide Leg. Saxon. tit. 6. et 17, ap. Herold Germ. Antiq. p. 124. tit. vi. 3. 4. "Qui viduam "ducere velit, offerat tutori pretium emptionis ejus, "consentientibus ad hoc propinquis ejus. Si tu-"tor abnuerit, convertat se ad proximos ejus et "eorum consensu accipiat illam, paratam habens "pecuniam, ut tutori ejus, si forte aliquid dicere "velit, dare possit, hoc est solid. ccc." and tit.

cause wherefore the memory of that custom should remain, it skilleth not much although we suffer it to lie dead, even as we see it in a manner already worn out.

The ring hath been always used as an especial pledge of faith and fidelity. Nothing more fit to serve as a token of our purposed endless continuance in that which we never ought to revoke. This is the cause wherefore the heathens themselves did in such cases use the ring, whereunto Tertullian alluding saith, that in ancient times "No woman was permitted to wear gold "saving only upon one finger, which her "husband had fastened unto himself with "that ring which was usually given for assurance of future marriage [8]." The cause why the Christians use it, as some of the fathers think, is [9]either to testify mutual love or rather to serve for a pledge of conjunction in heart and mind agreed upon between them. But what rite and custom is there so harmless wherein the wit of man bending itself to derision may not easily find out somewhat to scorn and jest at? He that should have beheld the Jews [10] when they stood with a four cornered garment spread over the head of espoused couples while their espousals were in making, he that should have beheld their praying over a cup and their delivering the same at the marriage feast with set forms of benediction [11] as the order amongst them was, might being lewdly affected take thereat as just occasion of scornful cavil as at the use of the ring in wedlock among Christians [12].

[7.] But of all things the most hardly taken is the uttering those words, "With "my body I thee worship [13]," in which

xvii. "Lito Regis liceat uxorem emere ubicun-"que voluerit. Sed non liceat ullam fœminam "vendere." p. 126. Basil. 1557. ("*Litus*, ad-"scriptitius, servus glebæ." Ducange.) First Prayer Book of King Edw. VI. Rubric in Off. of Matrim. fol. cxlviii. "The man shall give unto "the woman a ring, *and other tokens of spousage*, "*as gold and silver*, laying the same upon the "book:" ap. Wheatly, c. x. §. v. 4. whom see on this subject. "Venale illud [matrimonium] fa-"cere aliquando intolerabilius etiam est." Cart-"wright, ap. Strype, ubi sup.]

[8] "Aurum nulla norat præter unico digito quem "sponsus oppignerasset pronubo annulo." Tertull. Apol. cap. 6.

[9] Isidor. de Eccles. Offic. l. ii. c. 19. ["Illud "vero quod imprimis annulus a sponso sponsæ da-"tur, fit hoc nimirum vel propter mutuæ fidei sig-"num, vel propter id magis, ut eodem pignore "eorum corda jungantur."]

[10] Elias Thesb. in dict. Hhupha. ["We call "the garment which they spread over the head of "the bridegroom and the bride, with four staves, "at the time of espousals, חפה; from the Scrip-"ture expression," (Isaiah iv.) Upon all the glo-"ry there (is) חפה a defence" or ("canopy of "light:") and (Psalm xix.) "As a bridegroom "cometh out of his חפה chamber:" (or "from under "his bridal canopy.") Ed. Fagii, 1531. p. 119.]

[11] In Ritual. de benedict. nuptiarum. [Comp. Selden, Uxor Hebr. lib. ii. c. 7. "Solitus benedi-"cendi hic ritus ex majorum instituto fieri, adhib-"ito vini, si adsit, alteriusve potus qui in usu po-"culo, cui etiam sua pro more præit benedictio . . . "Solennis poculi vini pleni benedictio est, Bene-"dictus sis Dominus Deus noster Rex mundi qui "creasti fructum vitis. Benedictione peracta, gus-"tatum a benedicente poculum sponsis traditur, "aut a sponso sponsæ, ubi is tam benedicit quam "prægustat. Mahanil, fol. 83. et Machazor Ger-"man. fol. 336. partis I^mae."]

[12] [Adm. ap. Whitg. Def. 723. "As for matri-"mony, that also hath corruptions too many. It "was wont to be counted a sacrament, and there-"fore they use yet a sacramental sign to which "they attribute the virtue of wedlock, I mean the "wedding ring, which they foully abuse and dally "withal, in taking it up and laying it down In "putting it on they abuse the name of the Trini-"ty." Whitg. Answ. ibid. "I know it is not "material whether the ring be used or no, for it is "not of the substance of matrimony; neither yet "a sacramental sign, no more than the sitting at "communion is: but only a ceremony of the "which M. Bucer . . . . saith on this sort; . . . "'This ceremony is very profitable if the people "be made to understand what is thereby signi-"fied: as that the ring and other things first laid "upon the book and afterward by the minister "given to the bridegroom to be delivered to the "bride, do signify that we ought to offer all that "we have to God before we use them, and to ac-"knowledge that we receive them at his hand to "be used to his glory. The putting of the ring "upon the fourth finger of the woman's left hand, "to the which, as it is said, there cometh a sinew "or string from the heart, doth signify that the "heart of the wife ought to be united to her hus-"band; and the roundness of the ring doth signi-"fy, that the wife ought to be joined to her hus-"band with a perpetual band of love, as the ring "itself is without end.'" T. C. 159. (al. 199.) "If "it be M. Bucer's judgment which is here alleged "for the ring, I see that sometimes Homer sleep-"eth. For first of all I have shewed that it is not "lawful to institute new signs or sacraments, and "then it is dangerous to do it, especially in this "which confirmeth the false and popish opinion "of a sacrament. And thirdly, to make such fond "allegories of the laying down of the money, of "the roundness of the ring, and of the mystery of "the fourth finger, is (let me speak it with his "good leave) very ridiculous and far unlike him-"self. And fourthly, that he will have the minis-"ter to preach upon these toys, surely it savour-"eth not of the learning and sharpness of the "judgment of M. Bucer."]

[13] [Adm. ap. Whitg. Def. 723. "They make "the new-married man according to the popish "form to make an idol of his wife, saying, 'With "this ring I thee wed, with my body I thee wor-"ship.'" &c. Whitg. Answer, ibid. "Yet S. "Peter, 1 ep. c. iii. speaking to the husband saith, "'Ye husbands, dwell with them as men of know-"ledge giving honor unto the woman,'" &c. T. C. i. 160. al. 199. "M. Doctor . . . must understand "that it is one thing with us to worship and an-"other thing to honour." Whitg. Def. ubi sup

words when once they are understood there will appear as little cause as in the rest for any wise man to be offended. First therefore inasmuch as unlawful copulation doth pollute and dishonour[14] both parties, this protestation that we do worship and honour another with our bodies may import a denial of all such lets and impediments to our knowledge as might cause any stain, blemish, or disgrace that way, which kind of construction being probable would easily approve that speech to a peaceable and quiet mind. Secondly in that the Apostle[15] doth so expressly affirm that parties married have not any longer entire power over themselves, but each hath interest in other's person, it cannot be thought an absurd construction to say that worshipping with the body is the imparting of that interest in the body unto another which none before had save only ourselves. But if this was the natural meaning the words should perhaps be as requisite to be used on the one side as on the other, and therefore a third sense there is which I rather rely upon. Apparent it is that the ancient difference between a lawful wife and a concubine was only[16] in the different purpose of man betaking himself to the one or the other. If his purpose were only fellowship, there grew to the woman by this mean no worship at all but the contrary. In professing that his intent was to add by his person honour and worship unto hers, he took her plainly and clearly to wife. This is it which the Civil Law doth mean when it maketh a wife to differ from a concubine in dignity[17]; a wife to be taken where[18] conjugal honour and affection doth go before. The worship that grew unto her being taken with declaration of this intent was that her children became by this mean legitimate and free; herself was made a mother over his family; last of all she received such advancement of state as things annexed unto his person might augment her with, yea a right of participation was thereby given her both in him and even in all things which were his. This doth somewhat the more plainly appear by adding also that other clause, "With all my worldly goods I thee endow." The former branch having granted the principal, the latter granteth that which is annexed thereunto.

[8.] To end the public solemnity of marriage with receiving the blessed Sacrament is a custom so religious and so holy, that if the church of England be blameable[19] in this respect it is not for suffering it to be so much but rather for not providing that it may be more put in ure. The laws of Romulus concerning marriage[20] are therefore extolled above the rest amongst the heathens which were before, in that they established the use of certain special solemnities, whereby the minds of men were drawn to make the greater conscience of wedlock, and to esteem the bond thereof a thing which could not be without impiety dissolved. If there be any thing in Chris-

"This word, *worship*, when it is spoken of one "man towards another, can have no other signifi- "cation than *reverence and duty*, which is required "by the law of God, of nature, of civility." Comp. S. Luke xiv. 10. "Thou shalt have *worship* in "the presence of them that sit at meat with thee."]

[14] Rom. i. 24. [15] 1 Cor. vii. 4.

[16] L. penult. D. de concub. [Digest. lib. xxv. tit. 7. l. 4. "Concubinam ex sola animi destinatione "æstimari oportet."]

[17] L. item legato. sect. penult. D. de legat. 3. ["Parvi refert, uxori an concubinæ quis leget . . . "sane enim, *nisi dignitate*, nihil interest." Dig. "lib. xxxii. l. 49. 4.]

[18] L. donationes. D. de donationibus. ["An "maritalis honor et affectio pridem præcesserit, per- "sonis comparatis, vitæ conjunctione considerata, "perpendendum esse respondi: neque enim tabu- "las facere matrimonium." Digest. lib. xxxix. tit. 6. l. 31.]

[19] [Adm. ap. Whitg. Def. 723. "Because in "Popery no holy action may be done without a "mass, they enjoin the new married persons to "receive the communion, as they do their Bishops "and Priests when they are made." Answ. ibid. "Truly I marvel what you mean, so wickedly to "revile so godly and so holy a law. Well, I will only set down M. Bucer's judgment of this thing "also . . . 'Est illud ad modum pie ordinatum, ut "novi conjuges una quoque de mensa Domini "communicent, nam non nisi in Christo Domino "debent Christiani inter se matrimonio jungi.'" T. C. i. 160. al. 199. "As for the receiving of the "communion when they be married, that it is not "to be suffered, unless there be a general receiv- "ing, I have before at large declared; and as for "the reason that is fathered of M. Bucer, (which "is, that those that be Christians may not be join- "ed in marriage but in Christ,) it is very slender "and cold: as if the Sacrament of the Supper were "instituted to declare any such thing; or they "could not declare their joining together in "Christ by no means but by receiving the Sup- "per of the Lord."

Compare the following passage in the Life of Kettlewell, compiled from Hickes and Nelson's papers. "He was married at Whitchurch, Oxon, "Oct. 4, 1685, on a Lord's day, and there was a "sacrament on purpose to communicate the new- "married couple; whereby they solemnly plight- "ed their troth to their Lord and Saviour, as well "as to one another; a practice though so much "neglected, yet piously recommended by the "Church, whom all ought in this to hear: but "sure both by their advices to others, and by "their own examples, none should be so fit to re- "trieve a custom so recommended, as our spirit- "ual guides, according to this pattern here set "them." Prefixed to Kettlewell's Works, i. 42. ed. 1719.]

[20] Οὗτος ὁ νόμος τὰς τε γυναῖκας ἠνάγκασε τὰς γαμετὰς οἷα μηδεμίαν ἐχούσας ἑτέραν ἀποστροφὴν πρὸς ἕνα τὸν τοῦ γεγαμηκότος ζῆν τρόπον, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς ἀναγκαίου τε καὶ ἀναφαιρέτου χρήματος τῆς γυναικὸς κρατεῖν. Dionys. Hal. Antiq. lib. ii. [c. 25.]

tian religion strong and effectual to like purpose it is the Sacrament of the holy Eucharist, in regard of the force whereof Tertullian breaketh out into these words concerning matrimony therewith sealed; "[21] Unde sufficiam ad enarrandam felicita-"tem ejus matrimonii quod Ecclesia con-"ciliat et confirmat oblatio? "—'I know not 'which way I should be able to shew the 'happiness of that wedlock the knot where-'of the Church doth fasten and the Sacra-'ment of the Church confirm.' Touching marriage therefore let thus much be sufficient.

Churching of Women.

LXXIV. The fruit of marriage is birth, and the companion of birth travail, the grief whereof being so extreme, and the danger always so great, dare we open our mouths against the things that are holy and presume to censure it as a fault in the Church of Christ, that women after their deliverance do publicly shew their thankful minds unto God? But behold what reason there is against it! Forsooth[22], "if there "should be solemn and express giving of "thanks in the Church for every benefit "either equal or greater than this which "any singular person in the Church doth "receive, we should not only have no "preaching of the word nor ministering of "the sacraments, but we should not have "so much leisure as to do any corporal or "bodily work, but should be like those "Massilian heretics[23] which do nothing else "but pray." Surely better a great deal to be like unto those heretics which do nothing else but pray, than those which do nothing else but quarrel. Their heads it might haply trouble somewhat more than as yet they are aware of to find out so many benefits greater than this or equivalent thereunto, for which if so be our laws did require solemn and express thanksgiving in the church the same were like to prove a thing so greatly cumbersome as is pretended. But if there be such store of mercies even inestimable poured every day upon thousands (as indeed the earth is full of the blessings of the Lord which are day by day renewed without number and above measure) shall it not be lawful to cause solemn thanks to be given unto God for any benefit, than which greater or whereunto equal are received, no law binding men in regard thereof to perform the like duty? Suppose that some bond there be which tieth us at certain times to mention publicly the names of sundry our benefactors[25]. Some of them it may be are such that a day would scarcely serve to reckon up together with them the catalogue of so many men besides as we are either more or equally beholden unto. Because no law requireth this impossible labour at our hands, shall we therefore condemn that law whereby the other being possible and also dutiful is enjoined us? So much we owe to the Lord of Heaven that we can never sufficiently praise him nor give him thanks for half those benefits for which this sacrifice were most due. Howbeit God forbid we should cease performing this duty when public order doth draw us unto it, when it may be so easily done, when it hath been so long executed by devout and virtuous people; God forbid that being so many ways provoked in this case unto so good a duty, we should omit it, only because there are other cases of like nature wherein we cannot so conveniently or at leastwise do not perform the same most virtuous office of piety.

[2.] Wherein we trust that as the action itself pleaseth God so the order and manner thereof is not such as may justly offend any. It is but an overflowing of gall which causeth the woman's absence from the church during the time of her lying-in to be traduced[26], and interpreted as though she

[21] Tertul. lib. ii. ad Uxor. [c. 9.]

[22] T. C. lib. i. p. 150. [119.]

[23] [S. Aug. de Hæres. 57. t. viii. 19. "Postre-"mam ponit Epiphanius Massalianorum hæresin "... Græce autem dicuntur εὐχῖται, ab orando sic "appellati. ... Nam cum Dominus dixerit, Opor-"tet semper orare &c. ... quod sanissime sic ac-"cipitur, ut nullo die intermittantur certa tempo-"ra orandi; isti ita nimis hoc faciunt, ut hinc "judicarentur inter hæreticos nominandi." Epiph. Hær. lxxx. §. 3. 4. Theod. Hæret. Fab. iv. 11.]

[25] [This passage clearly alludes to the academical custom of mentioning the names of founders and benefactors, in bidding prayer before sermons.]

[26] [Adm. ap. Whitg. Def. 535. "Jewish purify-"ings" are reckoned among the things contained in the Prayer Book contrary to God's word. And p. 537. "Churching of women after child birth "smelleth of Jewish purification: their other rites "and customs in their lying-in and coming to "church is foolish and superstitious as it is used." T. C. lib. i. 118. al. 150. "The Churching of "women: in which title yet kept there seemeth to "be hid a great part of the Jewish purification: "for like as in the old law she that had brought "forth a child was holden unclean, until such "time as she came to the temple to shew herself "".....so this term of churching can seem to im-"port nothing else than a banishment, and as it "were a certain excommunication from the church "during the space that is between the time of her "delivery and of her coming unto the church. For "what doth else this churching imply but a res-"toring her unto the Church, which cannot be "without some bar or shutting forth presupposed?" Whitg. Def. 534. "Now, sir, you see that the "proper title is this; The Thanksgiving of Wo-"men after childbirth. The other is the common "name customably used of the common people, "who will not be taught to speak by you or any "man, but keep their accustomed names and "terms: therefore they call the Lord's Day Sun-"day, and the next unto it Monday, profane and

were so long judged *unholy*, and were thereby shut out or sequestered from the house of God according to the ancient Levitical Law. Whereas the very canon law itself doth not so hold, but directly professeth the contrary [27]; she is not barred from thence in such sort as they interpret it, nor in respect of any unholiness forbidden entrance into the church, although her abstaining from public assemblies, and her abode in separation for the time be most convenient [28].

[3.] To scoff at the manner of attire [29] than which there could be nothing devised for such a time more grave and decent, to make it a token of some folly committed for which they are loth to shew their faces, argueth that great divines are sometimes more merry than wise. As for the women themselves, God accepting the service which they faithfully offer unto him, it is no great disgrace though they suffer pleasant witted men a little to intermingle with zeal scorn.

[4.] The name of Oblations [30] applied not only here to those small and petit payments which yet are a part of the minister's right, but also generally given unto all such allowances as serve for their needful maintenance, is both ancient and convenient. For as the life of the clergy is spent in the service of God, so it is sustained with his revenue. Nothing therefore more proper than to give the name of Oblations to such payments in token that we offer unto him whatsoever his ministers receive.

LXXV. But to leave this, there is a duty which the Church doth owe to the faithful departed, wherein forasmuch as the church of England is said [31] to do those things which

Of the rites of burial.

" ethnical names, and yet nothing derogating from " the days and times.....The absence of the " woman after her delivery is neither banishment " nor excommunication, but a withdrawing of the " party from the church by reason of that infirmi- " ty and danger that God hath laid upon woman- " kind in punishment of the first sin, which dan- " ger she knoweth not whether she shall escape or " no: and therefore after she hath not only escap- " ed it but also brought a child into the world, to " the increase of God's people, and after such time " as the comeliness of nature may bear, she com- " eth first into the church to give thanks for the " same, and for the deliverance by Christ from " that sin, whereof that infirmity is a perpetual " testimony. And this being done not Jewishly " but Christianly, not of custom but of duty, not " to make the act of lawful matrimony unclean " but to give thanks to God for deliverance from " so manifold perils; what Christian heart can " for the name's sake thus disallow of it as you do."]

[27] Dict. v. cap. Hæc quæ. [in Corp. Jur. Canon. p. 3.] " In lege præcipiebatur ut mulier si mas- " culum pareret, 40, si fœminam, 80 diebus a tem- " pli cessaret ingressu. Nunc autem statim post " partum ecclesiam ingredi non prohibetur" [The rubric in the Use of Sarum on the Purification of Women runs thus: " Nota quod mulieres " post prolem emissam quandocunque ecclesiam " intrare voluerunt gratias acturæ purificari pos- " sunt, et nulla proinde peccati mole gravantur, " nec ecclesiarum aditus est eis denegandus; ne " pœna illis verti videatur in culpam. Si tum ex " veneratione voluerint aliquamdiu abstinere, de- " votionem eam non credimus improbandam." The service at that time was read at the church door, and after it the priest took her hand and led her into the church, saying, " Enter into the tem- " ple of God, that thou mayest receive eternal life, " and endure through all ages. Amen."]

[28] Leo Const. xvii. [Corp. Jur. Civ. p. 244.] " Quod profecto non tam propter muliebrem im- " munditiem quam ob alias causas in intima legis " ratione reconditas et veteri prohibitum esse lege " et gratiæ tempus traditionis loco suscepisse " puto. Existimo siquidem sacram legem id præ- " scripsisse quo protervam eorum qui intemperan- " ter viverent concupiscentiam castigaret, que- " madmodum et alia multa per alia præcepta or- " dinantur et præscribuntur quo indomitus quo- " rundam in mulieres stimulus retundatur. Quin " et hæc providentiæ quæ legem constituit volun- " tas est, ut partus a depravatione liberi sint. " Quia enim quicquid natura supervacaneum est " idem corruptivum est et inutile, quod hic san- " guis superfluus sit, quæ illi obnoxiæ essent, in " immunditie ad id temporis vivere illa [illas] lex " jubet, quo ipso etiam nominis sono lascivi [lasci- " va] concupiscentia ad temperantiam redigatur, " ne ex inutili et corrupta materia ipsum animans " coagmentetur."

[29] [Adm. ap. Whitg. Def. 537. " She must " come .... covered with a vail, as ashamed of " some folly." Bishop Gibson (Codex, 1, 373, tit. xviii. ch. 12.) has the following note on the words " decently apparelled" in the rubric on this subject. " In the reign of King James I. an order " was made by the chancellor of Norwich, that " every woman who came to be churched should " come covered with a white vail: a woman refus- " ing to conform was excommunicated for con- " tempt, and prayed a prohibition; alleging, that " such order was not warranted by any custom " or canon of the Church of England. The judges " desired the opinion of the Archbishop of Can- " terbury, who convened divers bishops to consult " thereupon; and they certifying that it was the " ancient usage of the Church of England, for " women who came to be churched to come " *veiled*, a prohibition was denied."]

[30] [T. C. i. 118. al. 150. " To pass by that, that " it will have them come as nigh the communion " table as may be, as they came before to the " high altar;" (the rubric till the last review directed that it should be " nigh unto the place " where the table standeth;") " that of all other " is most Jewish, and approacheth nearest to the " Jewish purification, that she is commanded to " offer accustomed offerings, wherein besides that " the very word carried with it a strong scent and " suspicion of a sacrifice . . . it cannot be with- " out danger that the book maketh the custom of " the popish church, which was so corrupt to be " the rule and measure of this offering."]

[31] T. C. lib. iii. p. 236. [In the table of contents this head is thus referred to: " Of the *inconven- " ience*, not of the *unlawfulness*, of the ceremo- " nies in burial."]

are though "not unlawful" yet "inconvenient," because it appointeth a prescript form of service at burials, suffereth mourning apparel to be worn, and permitteth funeral sermons [32], a word or two concerning this point will be necessary, although it be needless to dwell long upon it.

[2.] The end of funeral duties is first to shew that love towards the party deceased which nature requireth; then to do him that honour which is fit both generally for man and particularly for the quality of his person; last of all to testify the care which the Church hath to comfort the living, and the hope which we all have concerning the resurrection of the dead.

For signification of love towards them that are departed mourning is not denied to be a thing convenient. As in truth the Scripture every where doth approve lamentation made unto this end. The Jews by our Saviour's tears therefore gathered in this case that his love towards Lazarus was great [33]. And that as mourning at such times is fit, so likewise that there may be a kind of attire suitable to a sorrowful affection and convenient for mourners to wear how plainly doth David's [34] example shew, who being in heaviness went up to the mount with his head covered and all the people that were with him in like sort? White garments being fit to use at marriage feasts and such other times of joy, whereunto Solomon alluding when he requireth continual cheerfulness of mind speaketh in this sort [35], "Let thy garments "be always white;" what doth hinder the contrary from being now as convenient in grief as this heretofore in gladness hath been? "If there be no sorrow" they say "it is hypocritical to pretend it, and if there "be to provoke it" by wearing such attire "is dangerous [36]." Nay if there be, to shew it is natural, and if there be not, yet the signs are meet to shew what should be, especially sith it doth not come oftentimes to pass that men are fain to have their mourning gowns pulled off their backs for fear of killing themselves with sorrow that way nourished [37].

[3.] The honour generally due unto all men maketh a decent interring of them to be convenient even for very humanity's sake. And therefore so much as is mentioned in the burial of the widow's son [38], the carrying of him forth upon a bier and the accompanying of him to the earth, hath been used even amongst infidels, all men accounting it a very extreme destitution [39] not to have at the least this honour done them. Some man's estate may require a great deal more according as the fashion of the country where he dieth doth afford. And unto this appertained the ancient use of the Jews to embalm the corpse with sweet odours [40], and to adorn the sepulchres of certain [41].

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[32] [Adm. ap. Whitg. Def. 727. "They appoint "a prescript kind of service to bury the dead: and "that which is the duty of every Christian they "tie alone to the minister, whereby prayer for the "dead is maintained, and partly gathered out "of some of the prayers, where we pray that "we with this our brother, and all other departed "in the true faith of thy holy name, may have our "perfect consummation and bliss, both in body "and soul. We say nothing of the threefold peal, "because that it is rather licensed by injunction," (see Injunctions, 1564; in Sparrow's Collection, 125.) "than commanded in the book, nor of their "strange mourning by changing their garments, "which if it be not hypocritical, yet it is superstitious and heathenish, because it is used only of "custom; nor of burial sermons, which are put "in the place of trentals, whereout spring many "abuses, and therefore in the best reformed "churches are removed."]

[33] John xi. 35, 36.

[34] 2 Sam. xv. 30.

[35] Eccles. ix. 8.

[36] [T. C. i. 201. al. 161. "For the mourning "apparel, the Admonition saith not simply it is "evil, because it is done of custom, but proveth "that it is hypocritical oftentimes, for that it pro-"ceedeth not from any sadness of mind, which it "doth pretend, but worn only of custom, there be-"ing under a mourning gown oftentimes a merry "heart. And considering that where there is sor-"row indeed for the dead, there it is very hard "for a man to keep a measure that he do not la-"ment too much; we ought not to use these "means whereby we might be further provoked to "sorrow, and so a great way beyond the measure "which the Apostle appointeth in mourning: (1 "Thess. iv.) any more than it was lawful for the "Jews in the Gospel (S. Matt. ix. 23, 24.) to pro-"voke weeping and sorrow for their dead by some "doleful noise, or sound of instrument, or than it "was lawful for Mary Lazarus' sister to go to her "brother's grave, thereby to set the print of her "sorrow deeper in her mind. Seeing therefore if "there be no sorrow it is hypocritical to pretend it "and if there be, it is very dangerous to provoke it, "or to carry the notes of remembrance of it, it "appeareth that this use of mourning apparel "were much better laid away than kept." See Whitg. Def. 731. T. C. iii. 238.]

[37] [T. C. quotes S. Cyprian de Mortal. c. xiv. for the contrary sentiment. "Nobis quoque ipsis min-"imis et extremis quoties revelatum est quam fre-"quenter atque manifeste de Dei dignatione præ-"ceptum est, ut contestarer assidue et publice "prædicarem fratres nostros non esse lugendos "accersitione Dominica de seculo liberatos ... nec "accipiendas esse hic atras vestes, quando illi ibi "indumenta alba jam sumpserint: occasionem "dandam non esse gentilibus ut nos merito ac "jure reprehendant, quod quos vivere apud Deum "dicimus, ut extinctos et perditos lugeamus." Would it not seem that he speaks rather with an eye to that trying time in particular, than as censuring universally the custom of wearing mourning? But see Bingham, Antiq. xxiii. 3. 21.]

[38] Luke vii. 12.

[39] Psalm lxxix. 3.

[40] John xix. 40.

[41] Matt. xxiii. 27.

In regard of the quality of men it hath been judged fit to commend them unto the world at their death amongst the heathen in funeral orations, amongst the Jews in sacred poems [42]; and why not in funeral sermons also amongst Christians [43]? Us it sufficeth that the known benefit hereof doth countervail millions of such inconveniences as are therein surmised [44], although they were not surmised only but found therein. The life and the death of saints is precious in God's sight. Let it not seem odious in our eyes if both the one and the other be spoken of then especially when the present occasion doth make men's minds the more capable of such speech. The care no doubt of the living both to live and to die well must needs be somewhat increased, when they know that their departure shall not be folded up in silence but the ears of many be made acquainted with it. Moreover when they hear how mercifully God hath dealt with their brethren in their last need, besides the praise which they give to God and the joy which they have or should have by reason of their fellowship and communion with saints, is not their hope also much confirmed against the day of their own dissolution? Again the sound of these things doth not so pass the ears of them that are most loose and dissolute in life but it causeth them one time or other to wish, "O that I might die the "death of the righteous and that my end "might be like his!" Thus much peculiar good there doth grow at those times by speech concerning the dead, besides the benefit of public instruction common unto funeral with other sermons.

For the comfort [45] of them whose minds are through natural affection pensive in such cases no man can justly mislike the custom which the Jews had to end their burials with funeral banquets [46], in reference whereunto the prophet Jeremy spake concerning the people whom God had appointed unto a grievous manner of destruction, saying [47] that men should not "give "them the cup of consolation to drink for "their father or for their mother," because it should not be now with them as in peaceable times with others, who bringing their ancestors unto the grave with weeping eyes have notwithstanding means wherewith to be recomforted. "Give wine," saith Solomon, "unto them that have grief of "heart [48]." Surely he that ministereth unto them comfortable speech [49] doth much more than give them wine.

[4.] But the greatest thing of all other about this duty of Christian burial is an outward testification of the hope which we have touching the resurrection of the dead. For which purpose let any man of reasonable judgment examine, whether it be more convenient for a company of men as it were in a dumb show [50] to bring a corse to the place of burial, there to leave it covered with earth, and so end, or else to have the exequies devoutly performed with solemn recital of such lectures, psalms, and prayers, as are purposely framed for the stirring up of men's minds unto a careful consideration of their estate both here and hereafter.

Whereas therefore it is objected that neither the people of God under the Law, nor the Church in the Apostles' times did use any form of service in burial of their dead, and therefore that this order is taken up without any good example or precedent followed therein [51]: first while the world

[42] 2 Sam. i. 19.

[43] [Funeral orations, at least for illustrious persons, were usual in the fourth century, and so were set forms of funeral psalmody and prayer. Bingham (xxiii. 3. 8, 11—13.) gives instances from the Apostolical Constitutions, vi. 30; and from Dionysius de Eccles. Hierarch. c. vii.]

[44] [Namely, first, that the funeral sermon "nour-"isheth an opinion that the dead are the better for "it, which doth appear in that there are none "more desirous of funeral sermons than the pa-"pists." Secondly, "forasmuch as the minister "is driven oftentimes by this means to preach "upon a sudden, the word of God thereby is neg-"ligently handled." Thirdly, "considering that "these funeral sermons are at the request of rich "men, and those which are in authority, and are "very seldom at the burial of the poor, there is "brought into the church contrary to the word of "God, an acceptation of persons, which ought not "to be."]

[45] [This seems to refer to a complaint of T. C. (i. 162) that "this device of man's brain . . . dri-"veth quite away a necessary duty of the minis-"ter, which is to comfort with the word of God "the parties which be grieved at the death of "their friends." See Def. 735; T. C. iii. 240.]

[46] [See Buxtorf, Synag. Judaic. c. 35. p. 504: from which it appears that the materials of the funeral banquet must all be presents from friends: it being unlawful during so many days for the mourner to taste any thing of his own.]

[47] Jer. xvi. 7.

[48] Prov. xxxi. 6.

[49] 1 Chron. xix. 2; Job. ii. 11.

[50] [Form of Common Prayer used by the English at Geneva (in Phœnix i. 257). "The corpse "is reverently brought to the grave, accompanied "by the congregation, without any further cere-"monies; which being buried, the minister, if he "be present and required, goeth to the church, if "it be not far off, and maketh some comfortable "exhortation to the people touching death and "resurrection."]

[51] [T. C. i. 200. al. 161. "Another general fault "that these ceremonies are taken up without any "example either of the churches under the Law, "or of the purest churches under the Gospel. . . . "For when the Scripture describeth the ceremo-"nies or rites of burial amongst the people of God "so diligently, that it maketh mention of the "smallest things, there is no doubt but the Holy

doth stand they shall never be able to prove that all things which either the one or the other did use at burial are set down in holy Scripture, which doth not any where of purpose deliver the whole manner and form thereof, but toucheth only sometime one thing and sometime another which was in use, as special occasions require any of them to be either mentioned or insinuated. Again if it might be proved that no such thing was usual amongst them, hath Christ so deprived his Church of judgment that what rites and orders soever the later ages thereof have devised the same must needs be inconvenient?

Furthermore, that the Jews before our Saviour's coming had any such form of service although in Scripture it be not affirmed, yet neither is it there denied; (for the forbidding of priests to be present at burials[52] letteth not but that others might discharge that duty, seeing all were not priests which had rooms of public function in their synagogues;) and if any man be of opinion that they had no such form of service, thus much there is to make the contrary more probable. The Jews at this day have, as appeareth in their form of funeral prayers[53] and in certain of their funeral sermons published[54], neither are they so affected towards Christians, as to borrow that order from us, besides that the form thereof is such as hath in it sundry things which the very words of the Scripture itself do seem to allude unto, as namely after departure from the sepulchre unto the house whence the dead was brought it sheweth the manner of their burial feast[55], and a consolatory form of prayers appointed for the master of the synagogue thereat to utter[56], albeit I may not deny but it hath also some things which are not perhaps so ancient as the Law and the Prophets.

But whatsoever the Jews' custom was before the days of our Saviour Christ, hath it once at any time been heard of that either church or Christian man of sound belief did ever judge this a thing unmeet, undecent, unfit for Christianity, till these miserable days, wherein under the colour of removing superstitious abuses the most effectual means both to testify and to strengthen true religion are plucked at, and in some places even pulled up by the very roots? Take away this which was ordained to shew at burials the peculiar hope of the Church of God concerning the dead, and in the manner of those dumb funerals what one thing is there whereby the world may perceive we are Christian men?

LXXVI. I come now unto that function which undertaketh the public ministry of holy things according to the laws of Christian religion. And because the nature of things consisting as this doth in action is known by the object whereabout they are conversant, and by the end or scope whereunto they are referred, we must know that the object of this function is both God and men; God in that he is

Of the nature of that Ministry which serveth for performance of divine duties in the Church of God, and how happiness not eternal only but also temporal both depend upon it.

" Ghost doth thereby shew us a pattern, where-
" by we should also frame our burials. And
" therefore for so much as neither the Church un-
" der the Law nor under the Gospel, when it was
" in the greatest purity, did ever use any prescript
" form of service in the burial of their dead, it
" could not be but dangerous to take up any such
" custom; and in the time of the law it was not
" only not used but utterly forbidden; for when
" the law did forbid that the priest should not be
" at the burial, which ought to say or conceive
" the prayers there, it is clear that the Jews might
" not have any such prescript form."]

[52] [Lev. xxi. 1. " Speak unto the priests the
" sons of Aaron, and say unto them, There shall
" none be defiled for the dead among his people."
ap. T. C. i. 161.]

[53] [Of which a specimen was translated into Latin by Genebrard, from the Machazor or Prayer Book of the Roman Jews, and published 1575. It may be found among the Opuscula at the end of his Chronographia, Paris, 1600, p. 77—81.]

[54] [Leo of Modena, (al. R. Jehuda Arje,) published in 1598, at Venice, several funeral orations and some elegies and epitaphs, under the title of " the Desert of Judah." The same writer in 1637 published in Italian a History of the Customs of the Jews of his time, from the translation of which, Lond. 1650, c. ix. p. 242, the following is taken: " At the month's or year's end, if he
" were a rabbin that is dead, or a person of qual-
" ity, they then have sermons or funeral orations,
" which they call הספד, made for him." Cf. Wolf. Bibl. Hebr. i. 414, 15, and iv. 1170.]

[55] [Buxtorf. Synag. Jud. 504.]

[56] [" Hascaba, a שכב, *jacuit, dormiit,*] i. e. Ora-
" tio pro defunctis, quam Hazan sive Minister
" Synagogæ recitat ad sepulcrum, itemque in syn-
" agogis. . . . . Hanc sæpiuscule minister repetit
" prout rogatur a diversis flagitantibus sibi dari
" *Hascaba* pro anima N. Sic enim loquuntur.
" Unde posset juxta ecclasiasticam loquendi for-
" mulam appellari 'Requiem' vel 'Libera' He-
" bræorum.

" 'Melius est ire in domum luctus, quam in do-
" mum convivii; in qua est finis omnium homi-
" num. Quod vivens in cor inducat suum. Fi-
" nem verbi omnes audiamus; Deum time et
" mandata ejus serva. Nam istud est omnis
" hominis.

" 'Requies firma in superna habitatione sub
" alis Numinis, in gradu sanctorum et purorum,
" tanquam splendor firmamenti, collucentium ful-
" gentiumque; permutatio ossium, propitiatio de-
" lictorum, remotio prævarications, accessio sa-
" lutis, indulgentia et miseratio a conspectu in-
" habitantis cæleste domicilium, pars denique
" bona in vita venturi sæculi ibi sit portio, tectum-
" que ac habitatio celebris animæ sapientis hujus,
" intelligentia præditi, gloriæ magistri, vel domini.

" 'Spiritus Domini quiescere faciat eum in

publicly worshipped of his Church, and men in that they are capable of happiness by means which Christian discipline appointeth. So that the sum of our whole labour in this kind is to honour God and to save men.

For whether we severally take and consider men one by one, or else gather them into one society and body, as it hath been before declared [57] that every man's religion is in him the wellspring of all other sound and sincere virtues, from whence both here in some sort and hereafter more abundantly their full joy and felicity ariseth, because while they live they are blessed of God and when they die their works follow them: so at this present we must again call to mind how the very worldly peace and prosperity, the secular happiness, the temporal and natural good estate both of all men and of all dominions hangeth chiefly upon religion, and doth evermore give plain testimony that as well in this as in other considerations the priest is a pillar of that commonwealth wherein he faithfully serveth God. For if these assertions be true, first that nothing can be enjoyed in this present world against his will which hath made all things; secondly that albeit God doth sometime permit the impious to *have*, yet impiety permitteth them not to *enjoy* no not temporal blessings on earth; thirdly that God hath appointed those blessings to attend as handmaids upon religion; and fourthly that without the work of the ministry religion by no means can possibly continue, the use and benefit of that sacred function even towards all men's worldly happiness must needs be granted.

[2.] Now the first being a theorem both understood and confessed of all [58], to labour in proof thereof were superfluous.

The second perhaps may be called in question except it be perfectly understood. By good things temporal therefore we mean length of days, health of body, store of friends and well-willers, quietness, prosperous success of those things we take in hand, riches with fit opportunities to use them during life, reputation following us both alive and dead, children or such as instead of children we wish to leave successors and partakers of our happiness. These things are naturally every man's desire, because they are good. And on whom God bestoweth the same [59], them we confess he graciously blesseth.

Of earthly blessings the meanest is wealth, reputation the chiefest. For which cause we esteem the gain of honour an ample recompense for the loss of all other worldly benefits.

[3.] But forasmuch as in all this there is no certain perpetuity of goodness, nature hath taught to affect these things not for their own sake but with reference and relation to somewhat independently good, as is the exercise of virtue and speculation of truth. None whose desires are rightly ordered would wish to live, to breathe and move, without performance of those actions which are beseeming man's excellency. Wherefore having not how to employ it we wax weary even of life itself. Health is precious because sickness doth breed that pain which disableth action. Again why do men delight so much in the multitude of friends, but for that the actions of life being many do need many helping hands to further them? Between troublesome and quiet days we should make no difference if the one did not hinder and interrupt the other uphold our liberty of action. Furthermore if those things we do succeed, it rejoiceth us not so much for the benefit we thereby reap as in that it probably argueth our actions to have been orderly and well guided [60]. As for riches, to him which hath and doth nothing with them they are a contumely. Honour is commonly presumed a sign of more than ordinary virtue and merit, by means whereof when ambitious minds thirst after it, their endeavours are testimonies how much it is in the eye of nature to possess that body the very shadow whereof is set at so high a rate. Finally such is the pleasure and comfort which we take in doing, that when life forsaketh us, still our desires to continue action and to work though not by ourselves yet by them whom we leave behind us, causeth us providently to resign into other men's hands the helps we have gathered for that purpose, devising also the best we can to make them perpetual. It appeareth therefore how all the parts of temporal felicity are only good in relation to that which useth them as instruments, and that they

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" horto Eden, et societur ei pax, quemadmodum " scribitur in Esaia: veniat pax, quiescat in eu- " bilibus suis ambulans ante ipsam, ipse ac om- " nes defuncti Israelis ipsius misericordia et pro- " pitiatione. Amen.' " Genebrard, p. 80. See Bp. Taylor, Pref. to Rule of Holy Dying.

[57] [See above c. i. §. 2—5.]

[58] " Si creatura Dei merito et dispensatio Dei " sumus. Quis enim magis diligit quam ille qui " fecit? Quis autem ordinatius regit quam is qui " et fecit et diligit? Quis vero sapientius et for- " tius ordinare et regere facta potest quam qui et " facienda providit, et provisa perfecit? Qua- " propter omnem potestatem a Deo esse omnem- " que ordinationem et qui non legerunt sentiunt, et " qui legerunt cognoscunt." Paul. Oros. Hist. advers. Pagan. lib. ii. [c. 1.]

[59] Οὗτοι τὰ χρῆματ' ἴδια κέκτηνται βροτοῖ,
Τὰ τῶν θεῶν δ' ἔχοντες ἐπιμελούμεθα.
Eurip. Phœniss. [565.]

[60] ——————οἰδόμεσθα γὰρ
Τὸν εὐτυχοῦντα πάντ' ἐπίστασθαι καλῶς. Eurip. Herac. [741.]

are no such good as wherein a right desire doth ever stay or rest itself.

[4.] Now temporal blessings are enjoyed of those which have them, know them, *esteem them according to that they are in their own nature.* Wherefore of the wicked whom God doth hate his usual and ordinary speeches are, that "blood-thirsty and "deceitful men shall not live out half their "days[61];" that God shall cause "a pesti-"lence to cleave[62]" unto the wicked, and shall strike them with consuming grief, with fevers, burning diseases, and sores which are past cure; that when the impious are fallen, all men shall tread them down and none shew countenance of love towards them as much as by pitying them in their misery; that the sins of the ungodly shall bereave them of peace; that all counsels, complots, and practices against God shall come to nothing; that the lot and inheritance of the unjust is beggary; that the name of unrighteous persons shall putrefy[63], and the posterity of robbers starve. If any think that iniquity and peace, sin and prosperity can dwell together, they err, because they distinguish not aright between the matter, and that which giveth it the form of happiness, between possession and fruition, between the having and the enjoying of good things. The impious cannot enjoy that they have, partly because they receive it not as at God's hands, which only consideration maketh temporal blessings comfortable, and partly because through error placing it above things of far more price and worth they turn that to poison which might be food, they make their prosperity their own snare, in the nest of their highest growth they lay foolishly those eggs out of which their woful overthrow is afterwards hatched. Hereby it cometh to pass that wise and judicious men observing the vain behaviours of such as are risen to unwonted greatness have thereby been able to prognosticate their ruin. So that in very truth no impious or wicked man doth prosper on earth but either sooner or later the world may perceive easily how at such time as others thought them most fortunate they had but only the good estate which fat oxen have above lean, when they appeared to grow their climbing was towards ruin[64].

The gross and bestial conceit of them which want understanding is only that the fullest bellies are happiest[65]. Therefore the greatest felicity they wish to the commonwealth wherein they live is that it may but abound and stand, that they which are riotous may have to pour out without stint, that the poor may sleep and the rich feed them, that nothing unpleasant may be commanded, nothing forbidden men which themselves have a lust to follow, that kings may provide for the ease of their subjects and not be too curious about their manners, that wantonness, excess, and lewdness of life may be left free, and that no fault may be capital besides dislike of things settled in so good terms. But be it far from the just to dwell either in or near to the tents of these so miserable felicities.

[5.] Now whereas we thirdly affirm that religion and the fear of God as well inducеth secular prosperity as everlasting bliss in the world to come, this also is true. For otherwise godliness could not be said to have the promises of both lives, to be that ample revenue wherein there is always suf-

[61] Psalm lv. 23

[62] Deut. xxviii. 21, 22, 27.

[63] Prov. x. 7.

[64] "Ante ruinam elatio." Prov. xvi. 18. Φιλέει ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολούειν. οὐ γὰρ ἔα φρονέειν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον ἢ ἑωυτόν. Herod. lib. vii. [c. 10, 5.]

[65] [S. Aug. de Civ. Dei, ii. 20. "Tales cultores "et dilectores Deorum istorum, quorum etiam imitatores in sceleribus et flagitiis se esse lætantur, "nullo modo curant pessimam ac flagitiosissim-"am non esse remp. 'Tantum stet,' inquiunt, "'tantum floreat copiis referta, victoriis gloriosa; "vel quod est felicius, pace secura sit. Et quid "ad nos? immo id ad nos magis pertinet, si divi-"tias quisque semper augeat, quæ quotidianis ef-"fusionibus suppetant, per quas sibi etiam infirm-"iores subdat quisque potentior. Obsequantur di-"vitibus pauperes causa saturitatis, atque ut eo-"rum patrociniis quieta inertia perfruantur, divi-"tes pauperibus ad clientelas et ad ministerium sui "fastus abutantur. Populi plaudant, non consul-"toribus utilitatum suarum, sed largitoribus vol-"uptatum. Non jubeantur dura, non prohibean-"tur impura. Reges non curent quam bonis sed "quam subditis regnent. Provinciæ regibus non "tanquam rectoribus morum, sed tanquam rerum "dominatoribus et deliciarum suarum provisori-"bus serviant: cosque non sinceriter honorent, sed "nequiter ac serviliter timeant. Quid alienæ viti "potius quam quid suæ vitæ quisque noceat, legi-"bus advertatur. Nullus ducatur ad judices, nisi "qui alienæ rei, domui, saluti, vel cuiquam invito "fuerit importunus aut noxius: cæterum de suis, "vel cum suis, vel cum quibusque volentibus faci-"at quisque quod libet. Abundent publica scor-"ta, vel propter omnes quibus frui placuerit, vel "propter eos maxime, qui privata habere non pos-"sunt. Exstruantur amplissimæ atque ornatissi-"mæ domus, opipara convivia frequententur, ubi "cuique libuerit et potuerit die noctuque ludatur, "bibatur, vomatur, diffluatur. Saltationes undi-"que concrepent, theatra inhonestæ lætitiæ voci-"bus, atque omni genere sive crudelissimæ sive "turpissimæ voluptatis exæstuent. Ille sit publi-"cus inimicus, cui hæc felicitas displicet: quis-"quis eam mutare vel auferre tentaverit, eam libe-"ra multitudo avertat ab auribus, evertat e sedi-"bus, auferat a viventibus. Illi habeantur dii ve-"ri, qui hanc adipiscendam populis procuraverint "adeptamque servaverint. Colantur ut voluerint, "ludos exposcant quales voluerint, quos cum suis "vel de suis possint habere cultoribus: tantum "efficiant, ut tali felicitati nihil ab hoste, nihil a "peste, nihil ab ulla clade timeatur."]

ficiency, and to carry with it a general discharge of want, even so general that David himself should protest he "never saw the "just forsaken [65]."

Howbeit to this we must add certain special limitations: as first that we do not forget how crazed and diseased minds (whereof our heavenly Physician must judge) receive oftentimes most benefit by being deprived of those things which are to others beneficially given, as appeareth in that which the wise man hath noted concerning them whose lives God mercifully doth abridge lest wickedness should alter their understanding [65]; again that the measure of our outward prosperity be taken by proportion with that which every man's estate in this present life requireth. External abilities are instruments of action. It contenteth wise artificers to have their instruments proportionable to their work, rather fit for use than huge and goodly to please the eye. Seeing then the actions of a servant do not need that which may be necessary for men of calling and place in the world, neither men of inferior condition many things which greater personages can hardly want, surely they are blessed in worldly respects that have wherewith to perform sufficiently what their station and place asketh, though they have no more [66]. For by reason of man's imbecility and proneness to elation of mind, too high a flow of prosperity is dangerous [67]; too low an ebb again as dangerous, for that the virtue of patience is rare, and the hand of necessity stronger than ordinary virtue is able to withstand. Solomon's discreet and moderate desire we all know, "Give me O Lord "neither riches nor penury [68]." Men over high exalted either in honour or in power or in nobility or in wealth; they likewise that are as much on the contrary hand sunk either with beggary or through dejection or by baseness, do not easily give ear to reason, but the one exceeding apt unto outrages and the other unto petty mischiefs [69]. For greatness delighteth to shew itself by effects of power, and baseness to help itself with shifts of malice. For which cause a moderate indifferent temper between fulness of bread and emptiness hath been evermore thought and found (all circumstances duly considered) the safest and happiest for all estates, even for kings and princes themselves.

Again we are not to look that these things should always concur no not in them which are accounted happy, neither that the course of men's lives or of public affairs should continually be drawn out as an even thread (for that the nature of things will not suffer) but a just survey being made, as those particular men are worthily reputed good whose virtues be great and their faults tolerable, so him we may register for a man fortunate, and that for a prosperous or happy state, which having flourished doth not afterwards feel any tragical alteration such as might cause them to be a spectacle of misery to others.

Besides whereas true felicity consisteth in the highest operations of that nobler part of man which sheweth sometime greatest perfection not in using the benefits which delight nature but in suffering what nature can hardliest endure, there is no cause why either the loss of good if it tend to the purchase of better, or why any misery the issue whereof is their greater praise and honour that have sustained it should be thought to impeach that temporal happiness wherewith religion we say is accompanied, but yet in such measure, as the several degrees of men may require by a competent estimation, and unless the contrary do more advance, as it hath done those most heroical saints whom afflictions have made glorious. In a word not to whom no calamity falleth, but whom neither misery nor prosperity is able to move from a right mind them we may truly pronounce fortunate, and whatsoever doth outwardly happen without that precedent improbity for which it appeareth in the eyes of sound and impartial judges to have proceeded from divine revenge, it passeth in the number of human casualties whereunto we are all alike subject. No misery is reckoned more than common or human if God so dispose that we pass through it and come safe to shore, even as contrariwise men do not use to think those flourishing days happy which do end with tears.

[6.] It standeth therefore with these cautions firm and true, yea ratified by all men's unfeigned confessions drawn from the very heart of experience, that whether we compare men of note in the world with others of like degree and state, or else the same men with themselves; whether we confer one dominion with another or else the different times of one and the same dominion, the manifest odds between their very outward condition as long as they steadfastly

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[65] [Ps. xxxvii. 25.]

[65] [See Wisd. iv. 11.]

[66] Ἐπεὶ τάγ' ἀρκοῦν θ' ἱκανὰ τοῖς γε σώφροσιν. Eurip. Phœniss. [564.]

[67] Ταπεινοτέρων ὁ λογισμὸς ἴσως, ἀλλ' οὖν ἀσφαλεστέρων, ἴσον ἀπέχειν καὶ ὕψους καὶ πτώματος. Greg. Nazian. Apol. 3. [t. i. p. 134. D.] "They may seem "haply to be the most deject but they are the wis- "est for their own safety which fear climbing no "less than falling."

[68] [Prov. xxx. 8.]

[69] Vid. Arist. Polit. lib. iv. cap. 11. [Ὑπέρκαλον, ἢ ὑπερίσχυρον, ἢ ὑπερευγενῆ, ἢ ὑπερπλοῦσιον· ἢ τἀναντία τούτοις, ὑπέρπτωχον, ἢ ὑπερασθενῆ, καὶ σφόδρα ἄτιμον, χαλεπὸν τῷ λόγῳ ἀκολουθεῖν. γίγνονται γὰρ οἱ μὲν ὑβρισταὶ καὶ μεγαλοπόνηροι μᾶλλον· οἱ δὲ κακουργοι καὶ μικροπόνηροι λίαν.]

were observed to honour God and their success being fallen from him, are remonstrances more than sufficient how all our welfare even on earth dependeth wholly upon our religion.

Heathens were ignorant of true religion. Yet such as that little was which they knew, it much impaired or bettered always their worldly affairs, as their love and zeal towards it did wane or grow.

Of the Jews did not even their most malicious and mortal adversaries all acknowledge that to strive against them it was in vain as long as their amity with God continued, that nothing could weaken them but apostasy? In the whole course of their own proceedings did they ever find it otherwise, but that during their faith and fidelity towards God every man of them was in war as a thousand strong, and as much as a grand senate for counsel in peaceable deliberations, contrariwise that if they swerved, as they often did, their wonted courage and magnanimity forsook them utterly, their soldiers and military men trembled at the sight of the naked sword; when they entered into mutual conference, and sate in council for their own good, that which children might have seen their gravest senators could not discern, their prophets saw darkness instead of visions, the wise and prudent were as men bewitched, even that which they knew (being such as might stand them in stead) they had not the grace to utter, or if any thing were well proposed it took no place, it entered not into the minds of the rest to approve and follow it, but as men confounded with strange and unusual amazements of spirit they attempted tumultuously they saw not what; and by the issues of all tempts they found no certain conclusion but this, "God and "heaven are strong against us in all we "do." The cause whereof was secret fear which took heart and courage from them, and the cause of their fear an inward guiltiness that they all had offered God such apparent wrongs as were not pardonable.

[7.] But it may be the case is now altogether changed, and that in Christian religion there is not the like force towards temporal felicity. Search the ancient records of time, look what hath happened by the space of these sixteen hundred years, see if all things to this effect be not luculent and clear, yea all things so manifest that for evidence and proof herein we need not by uncertain dark conjectures surmise any to have been plagued of God for contempt, or blest in the course of faithful obedience towards true religion, more than only them whom we find in that respect on the one side guilty by their own confessions, and happy on the other side by all men's acknowledgment, who beholding the prosperous estate of such as are good and virtuous impute boldly the same to God's most especial favour, but cannot in like manner pronounce that whom he afflicteth above others with them he hath cause to be more offended. For virtue is always plain to be seen, rareness causeth it to be observed, and goodness to be honoured with admiration. As for iniquity and sin it lieth many times hid, and because we be all offenders it becometh us not to incline towards hard and severe sentences touching others, unless their notorious wickedness did sensibly before proclaim that which afterwards came to pass.

[8.] Wherefore the sum of every Christian man's duty is to labour by all means towards that which other men seeing in us may justify, and what we ourselves must accuse, if we fall into it, that by all means we can to avoid, considering especially that as hitherto upon the Church there never yet fell tempestuous storm the vapours whereof were not first noted to rise from coldness in affection and from backwardness in duties of service towards God, so if that which the tears of antiquity have uttered concerning this point should be here set down, it were assuredly enough to soften and to mollify an heart of steel. On the contrary part although we confess with St. Augustine [70] most willingly, that the chief-

[70] [De Civit. Dei, v. 24. "Neque enim nos "Christianos quosdam imperatores ideo felices di- "cimus quia vel diutius imperarunt, vel imperan- "tes filios morte placida reliquerunt, vel hostes "reipubl. domuerunt, vel inimicos cives adversus "se insurgentes et cavere et opprimere potuerunt. "Hæc et alia vitæ hujus ærumnosæ vel munera vel "solatia quidam etiam cultores dæmonum accipere "meruerunt, qui non pertinent ad regnum Dei, quo "pertinent isti; et hoc ipsius misericordia factum "est, ne ab illo ista, qui in eum crederent, velut "summa bona desiderarent. Sed felices eos dici- "mus, si juste imperant, si inter linguas sublimi- "ter honorantium et obsequia nimis humiliter sal- "utantium non extolluntur, sed se homines esse "meminerunt; si suam potestatem, ad Dei cultum "maxime dilatandum, majestati ejus famulam fa- "ciunt; si Deum timent, diligunt, colunt; si plus "amant illud regnum, ubi non timent habere con- "sortes; si tardius vindicant, facile ignoscunt; "si eandem vindictam pro necessitate regendæ "tuendæque reip. non pro saturandis inimicitia- "rum odiis exserunt; si eandem veniam non ad "impunitatem iniquitatis, sed ad spem correc- "tionis indulgent; si quod aspere coguntur pler- "umque decernere, misericordiæ lenitate et bene- "ficiorum largitate compensant; si luxuria tanto "eis est castigatior, quanto posset esse liberior; si "malunt cupiditatibus pravis, quam quibuslibet "gentibus imperare; et si hæc omnia faciunt, non "propter ardorem inanis gloriæ, sed propter cari- "tatem felicitatis æternæ; si pro suis peccatis, "humilitatis et miserationis et orationis sacrificium "Deo suo vero immolare non negligunt. Tales "Christianos imperatores dicimus esse felices in- "terim spe, postea reipsa futuros, cum id quod ex- "pectamus advenerit." t. vii. p. 141.]

est happiness for which we have some Christian kings in so great admiration above the rest is not because of their long reign, their calm and quiet departure out of this present life, the settled establishment of their own flesh and blood succeeding them in royalty and power, the glorious overthrow of foreign enemies, or the wise prevention of inward dangers and of secret attempts at home; all which solaces and comforts of this our unquiet life it pleaseth God oftentimes to bestow on them which have no society or part in the joys of heaven, giving thereby to understand that these in comparison are toys and trifles far under the value and price of that which is to be looked for at his hands; but in truth the reason wherefore we most extol their felicity is if so be they have virtuously reigned, if honour have not filled their hearts with pride, if the exercise of their power hath been service and attendance upon the majesty of the Most High, if they have feared him as their own inferiors and subjects have feared them, if they have loved neither pomp nor pleasure more than heaven, if revenge hath slowly proceeded from them and mercy willingly offered itself, if so they have tempered rigour with lenity that neither extreme severity might utterly cut them off in whom there was manifest hope of amendment, nor yet the easiness of pardoning offences embolden offenders, if knowing that whatsoever they do their potency may bear it out they have been so much the more careful not to do any thing but that which is commendable in the best rather than usual with greatest personages, if the true knowledge of themselves hath humbled them in God's sight no less than God in the eyes of men hath raised them up; I say albeit we reckon such to be the happiest of them that are mightiest in the world, and albeit those things alone are happiness, nevertheless considering what force there is even in outward blessings to comfort the minds of the best disposed, and to give them the greater joy when religion and peace, heavenly and earthly happiness are wreathed in one crown, as to the worthiest of Christian princes it hath by the providence of the Almighty hitherto befallen: let it not seem to any man a needless and superfluous waste of labour that there hath been thus much spoken to declare how in them especially it hath been so observed, and withal universally noted even from the highest to the very meanest, how this peculiar benefit, this singular grace and preeminence religion hath, that either it guardeth as an heavenly shield from all calamities, or else conducteth us safe through them, and permitteth them not to be miseries; it either giveth honours, promotions, and wealth, or else more benefit by wanting them than if we had them at will; it either filleth our houses with plenty of all good things, or maketh a salad of green herbs more sweet than all the sacrifices of the ungodly.

[9.] Our fourth proposition before set down was that religion without the help of spiritual ministry is unable to plant itself, the fruits thereof not possible to grow of their own accord. Which last assertion is herein as the first that it needeth no farther confirmation. If it did I could easily declare how all things which are of God he hath by wonderful art and wisdom sodered as it were together with the glue of mutual assistance, appointing the lowest to receive from the nearest to themselves what the influence of the highest yieldeth. And therefore the Church being the most absolute of all his works was in reason to be also ordered with like harmony, that what he worketh might no less in grace than in nature be effected by hands and instruments duly subordinated unto the power of his own Spirit. A thing both needful for the humiliation of man which would not willingly be debtor to any but to himself, and of no small effect to nourish that divine love which now maketh each embrace other not as men but as angels of God.

[10.] Ministerial actions tending immediately unto God's honour and man's happiness are either as contemplation, which helpeth forward the principal work of the ministry; or else they are parts of that principal work of administration itself, which work consisteth in doing the service of God's house [71] and in applying unto men the sovereign medicines of grace, already spoken of the more largely to the end it might thereby appear that we owe to the guides of our souls [72] even as much as our souls are worth, although the debt of our temporal blessings should be stricken off.

LXXVII. The ministry of things divine is a function which as God did himself institute, so neither may men undertake the same but by authority and power given them in lawful manner. That God which is in no way deficient or wanting unto man in necessaries, and hath therefore given us the light of his heavenly truth, because without that inestimable benefit we must needs have wandered in darkness to our endless perdition and woe, hath in the like abundance of mercies ordained certain to attend upon the due execution of requisite parts and offices therein prescribed for the good of the whole world, which men

Of power given unto men to execute that heavenly office; of the gift of the Holy Ghost in ordination; and whether conveniently the power of order may be sought or sued for.

[71] Luke xii. 42; 1 Cor. iv. 1; Tit. i. 7; 1 Pet. iv. 10; Ephes. iii. 2.

[72] Καὶ σεαυτόν μοι προσοφείλεις. Epist. ad Philem. [ver. 19.]

thereunto assigned do hold their authority from him, whether they be such as himself immediately or as the Church in his name investeth, it being neither possible for all nor for every man without distinction convenient to take upon him a charge of so great importance. They are therefore ministers of God, not only by way of subordination as princes and civil magistrates whose execution of judgment and justice the supreme hand of divine providence doth uphold, but ministers of God as from whom their authority is derived, and not from men. For in that they are Christ's ambassadors and his labourers, who should give them their commission but he whose most inward affairs they manage? Is not God alone the Father of spirits? Are not souls the purchase of Jesus Christ? What angel in Heaven could have said to man as our Lord did unto Peter, "Feed my sheep: "Preach: Baptize: Do this in remem- "brance of me: Whose sins ye retain they "are retained: and their offences in heaven "pardoned whose faults you shall on earth "forgive?" What think we? Are these terrestrial sounds, or else are they voices uttered out of the clouds above? The power of the ministry of God translateth out of darkness into Glory, it raiseth men from the earth and bringeth God himself down from heaven, by blessing visible elements it maketh them invisible grace, it giveth daily the Holy Ghost, it hath to dispose of that flesh which was given for the life of the world and that blood which was poured out to redeem souls, when it poureth malediction upon the heads of the wicked they perish, when it revoketh the same they revive. O wretched blindness if we admire not so great power, more wretched if we consider it aright and notwithstanding imagine that any but God can bestow it!

[2.] To whom Christ hath imparted power both over that mystical body which is the society of souls, and over that natural which is himself for the knitting of both in one; (a work which antiquity doth call [73] the making of Christ's body;) the same power is in such not amiss both termed a kind of mark or character and acknowledged to be indelible. Ministerial power is a mark of separation, because it severeth them that have it from other men, and maketh them a special *order* consecrated unto the service of the Most High in things wherewith others may not meddle. Their difference therefore from other men is in that they are a distinct *order*. So Tertullian calleth them [74]. And St. Paul himself dividing the body of the Church of Christ into two moieties nameth the one part ἰδιώτας [75], which is as much as to say the Order of the Laity, the opposite part whereunto we in like sort term the Order of God's Clergy, and the spiritual power which he hath given them the power of their Order, so far forth as the same consisteth in the bare execution of holy things called properly the affairs of God [76]. For of the power of their jurisdiction over men's persons we are to speak in the books following.

[3.] They which have once received this power may not think to put it off and on like a cloak as the weather serveth, to take it, reject and resume it as oft as themselves list, of which profane and impious contempt these latter times have yielded as of all other kinds of iniquity and apostasy strange examples; but let them know which put their hands unto this plough, that once consecrated unto God they are made his peculiar inheritance for ever. Suspensions may stop, and degradations utterly cut off the use or exercise of power before given: but voluntarily it is not in the power of man to separate and pull asunder what God by his authority coupleth. So that although there may be through misdesert degradation as there may be cause of just separation after matrimony [77], yet if (as sometime it doth) restitution to former dignity or reconciliation after breach doth happen, neither doth the one nor the other ever iterate the first knot.

Much less is it necessary which some have urged concerning the reordination of such as others in times more corrupt did consecrate heretofore [78]. Which error already quelled by St. Jerome [79] doth not now require any other refutation.

[4.] Examples I grant there are which make for restraint of those men from admittance again into rooms of spiritual function, whose fall by heresy or want of constancy in professing the Christian faith hath been once a disgrace to their calling [80].

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[73] [E. g. S. Jerome, Ep. xiv. § 8. t. i. 33; and Ep. cxlvi. §. 1. p. 1075. ed. Vallarsii. Hooker seems to have approved of the view of Remigius of Auxerre, for which see Bibl. Patr. Colon. v. pars iii. 884; and comp. Waterland, Works, viii. 250.]

[74] T[ertull.] de Adhort. Castit. [c. 7. "Differen-

"tiam inter ordinem et plebem constituit Ecclesiæ "auctoritas, et honor per ordinis consessum sanc- "tificatus a Deo."]

[75] [1 Cor. xiv. 16, 23, 24. Ὁ ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τοπον τοῦ ἰδιώτου. S. Chrys. in loc. ἰδιώτην, τὸν λαϊκον λέγει.] [76] Heb. ii. 17. [τὰ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν.]

[77] Matt. xix. [4—9.]

[78] [Eccl. Disc. fol. 16. "Papisticos sacerdotes "eos dico qui nulla unquam nova ordinatione ad "legitimum ministerium delecti sunt, sed tantum "horrendis illis sacris freti, &c." See also fol. 80—82.]

[79] [In his Dialogue against the Luciferians.]

[80] [Can. Apost. 62 al. 54. Εἴ τις κληρικὸς διὰ φόβον ἀνθρώπινον, Ἰουδαίου, ἢ Ἕλληνος, ἢ αἱρετικοῦ, ἀρνήσηται, εἰ μὲν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀφοριζέσθω· εἰ δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κληρικοῦ, καθαιρείσθω· μετανοήσας δὲ, ὡς λαϊκὸς δεχθήτω. ap Coteler. PP. Apost. i. 450. S. Petr. Alex. Can. 10. ap. Routh, Rel. Sacr. iii. 333. Οὐκ ἔστιν εὔλογον οὐδὲ

Nevertheless as there is no law which bindeth so there is no case that should always lead to shew one and the same severity towards persons culpable. Goodness of nature itself more inclineth to clemency than rigour. And we in other men's offences do behold the plain image of our own imbecility. Besides also, them that wander out of the way [80] it cannot be unexpedient to win with all hopes of favour, lest strictness used towards such as reclaim themselves should make others more obstinate in error. Wherefore after that the church of Alexandria had somewhat recovered itself from the tempests and storms of Arianism [81], being in consultation about the reestablishment of that which by long disturbance had been greatly decayed and hindered, the ferventer sort [82] gave quick sentence that touching them which were of the clergy and had stained themselves with heresy there should be none so received into the Church again as to continue in the order of the clergy. The rest which considered how many men's cases it did concern thought it much more safe and consonant to bend somewhat down towards them which were fallen, to shew severity upon a few of the chiefest leaders, and to offer to the rest a friendly reconciliation without any other demand saving only the abjuration of their error [83]; as in the gospel that wasteful young man which returned home to his father's house was with joy both admitted and honoured, his elder brother hardly thought of for repining thereat, neither commended so much for his own fidelity and virtue as blamed for not embracing him freely whose unexpected recovery ought to have blotted out all remembrance of misdemeanours and faults past. But of this sufficient.

[5.] A thing much stumbled at in the manner of giving orders is our using those memorable words of our Lord and Saviour Christ, "Receive the Holy Ghost." The [84]

τοὺς ἀπὸ κλήρου αὐτομολήσαντας ἐκπεπτωκότας τε καὶ ἀναπαλαίσαντας ἔτι ἐν τῇ λειτουργίᾳ εἶναι. S. Cypr. Ep. 55. t. ii. p. 105. "Redeunte ad Ecclesiam "Trophimo, et satisfaciente, et pœnitentia depre- "cationis errorum pristinum confitente, et frater- "nitatem, quam nuper abstraxerat, cum plena "humilitate et satisfactione revocante, auditæ "sunt ejus preces.... Sic tamen admissus est "Trophimus, ut laicus communicet, non secun- "dum quod ad te malignorum literæ pertulerunt, "quasi locum sacerdotis usurpet."]

[80] "In XII. Tabulis cautum est, ut idem juris "esset sanatibus quod fortibus, id est bonis et qui "nunquam defecerunt a populo Romano." Fest. in ver. Samnites. ["*Sanates* dicti sunt, qui supra "infraque Romam habitaverunt, quia, cum dese- "cissent a Romanis, brevi post redierunt in ami- "citiam quasi *sanata mente*." Festus, (or rather Paulus Diaconus, his epitomizer,) ubi sup.]

[81] Ruffin. Hist. Eccles. lib. x. cap. 28. ["Quo "pacto post hereticorum procellas et perfidiæ tur- "bines tranquillitas revocaretur Ecclesiæ, omni "cura et liberatione discutiunt. Aliis videbatur "fidei calore ferventibus, nullum debere ultra in "sacerdotium recipi, qui se utcunque hæreticæ "communionis contagione maculasset. Sed qui "imitantes Apostolum quærebant non quod sibi "utile esset sed quod pluribus, ... dicebant melius "esse humiliari paululum propter dejectos, .. et "ideo rectum sibi videri, ut tantum perfidiæ auc- "toribus amputatis, reliquis sacerdotibus daretur "optio, si forte velint, abjurato errore perfidiæ, ad "fidem patrum statutaque converti, . quia et "ille evangelicus junior filius, paternæ depopula- "tor substantiæ, in semet ipsum reversus, non so- "lum suscipi meruit, sed et dignus paternis com- "plexibus deputatur, et annulum fidei recipit, et "stola circumdatur: per quam quid aliud quam "sacerdotii declarantur insignia? Nec probabilis "extitit apud patrem senior filius, quod invidit re- "cepto; nec tantum meriti habuit non delinquen- "do, quantum notæ contraxit non indulgendo "germano."]

[82] [That is,the Luciferians. See St. Jerome's Dialogue against them: and the account of the origin of their schism in Socr. iii. 5, 6, 9; Sozom. v. 12, 13; Theodoret. iii. 4, 5.]

[83] [See the proceedings of the council of Alexandria, assembled on the return of St. Athanasius, A. D. 362. the synodical letter of that council drawn up by Athanasius, in his works, t. i. p. 770: and Newman on the Arians of the 4th Century, c. v. §. 1.]

[84] "Papisticus quidam ritus stulte quidem ab "illis et sine ullo Scripturæ fundamento institu- "tus, et a disciplinæ nostræ auctoribus (pace illo- "rum dixerim) non magno primum judicio ac- "ceptus, minore adhuc in Ecclesiæ nostra retine- "tur." Ecclesiast. Discip. p. 53. [69 of Cartwright's Translation. See also Adm. ap. Whitg. Def. 227. "That ridiculous, and (as they use it "to their new creatures) blasphemous saying, "'Receive &c.'" Answ. ibid. "No more ridic- "ulous and blasphemous, than it is to use the "words that our Saviour used in the Supper..... "The Bishop by speaking these words doth not "take upon him to give the Holy Ghost, no more "than he doth to remit sins, when he pronoun- "ceth the remission of sins.... He doth shew the "principal duty of a minister, and assureth him "of the assistance of God's Holy Spirit, if he la- "bour in the same accordingly." T. C. i. 44. "These words, 'Receive,' &c. are the imperative "mood, and do expressly signify a commandment. "And, the Bishop may as well say to the sea, "when it rageth and swelleth, Peace, be quiet; "as to say, 'Receive, &c.'" Whitg. Def. ibid. "The words .... because they signify that God "doth pour His Spirit upon those whom he calleth "to that function, are most aptly used of the "Bishop (who is God's instrument in that busi- "ness) in the ordaining of ministers. St. Paul "speaking to Timothy, 1 Tim. iv. saith, 'Neg- "lect not the gift that is in thee, which was given "thee of prophecy, with the laying on of the "hands of the eldership.' In which words the "Apostle signifieth that God doth bestow his "gifts and Spirit upon such as be called to the "ministry of the word, whereof imposition of "hands is a token, or rather a confirmation." T. C. ii. 292. "The place of Timothy is utterly imperti- "nent. For it is not question whether God doth

Holy Ghost they say we cannot give, and therefore we "foolishly" bid men receive it. Wise men for their authority's sake must have leave to befool them whom they are able to make wise by better instruction. Notwithstanding if it may please their wisdom as well to hear what fools can say as to control that which they do, thus we have heard some wise men teach, namely that the "Holy Ghost" may be used to signify not the Person alone but the gifts of the Holy Ghost [85], and we know that spiritual gifts are not only abilities to do things miraculous, as to speak with tongues which were never taught us, to cure diseases without art, and such like, but also that the very authority and power which is given men in the Church to be ministers of holy things, this is contained within the number of those gifts whereof the Holy Ghost is author, and therefore he which giveth this power may say without absurdity or folly "Receive the Holy Ghost," such power as the Spirit of Christ hath endued his Church withal, such power as neither prince nor potentate, king nor Cæsar on earth can give. So that if men alone had devised this form of speech thereby to express the heavenly wellspring of that power which ecclesiastical ordinations do bestow, it is not so foolish but that wise men might bear with it.

[6.] If then our Lord and Saviour himself have used the selfsame form of words and that in the selfsame kind of action, although there be but the least show of probability, yea or any possibility that his meaning might be the same which ours is, it should teach sober and grave men not to be too venturous in condemning that of folly which is not impossible to have in it more profoundness of wisdom than flesh and blood should presume to control. Our Saviour after his resurrection from the dead gave his Apostles their commission saying [86], "All power is given me in Heaven "and in earth: Go therefore and teach all "nations Baptizing them in the name of "the Father and the Son and the Holy "Ghost, teaching them to observe all things "whatsoever I have commanded you." In sum, "As my Father sent me, so send I "you." Whereunto St. John doth add farther that "having thus spoken he breath-"ed on them and said, Receive the Holy "Ghost [87]." By which words he must of likelihood understand some gift of the Spirit which was presently at that time bestowed upon them, as both the speech of actual delivery in saying *Receive*, and the visible sign thereof his breathing did shew. Absurd it were to imagine our Saviour did both to the ear and also to the very eye express a real donation, and they at that time receive nothing.

[7.] It resteth then that we search what especial grace they did at that time receive. Touching miraculous power of the Spirit, most apparent it is that as then they received it not, but the promise thereof was to be shortly after performed. The words of St. Luke concerning that power are therefore set down with signification of the time to come [88]: "*Behold I will send* the "promise of my Father upon you, but tar-"ry you in the city of Jerusalem until ye "be endued with power from on high." Wherefore undoubtedly it was some other effect of the Spirit, the Holy Ghost in some other kind which our Saviour did then bestow. What other likelier than that which himself doth mention as it should seem of purpose to take away all ambiguous constructions, and to declare that the Holy Ghost which he then gave was a holy and a ghostly authority, authority over the souls of men, authority a part whereof consisteth in power to remit and retain sins [89]? "Re-"ceive the Holy Ghost: *whose sins soever* "*ye remit they are remitted; whose sins* "*ye retain they are retained.*" Whereas therefore the other Evangelists had set down that Christ did before his suffering promise to give his Apostles the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and being risen from the dead promise moreover at that time a miraculous power of the Holy Ghost, St. John addeth that he also invested them even then with the power of the Holy Ghost for castigation and relaxation of sin, wherein was fully accomplished that which the promise of the Keys did import.

Seeing therefore that the same power is now given, why should the same form of words expressing it be thought foolish? The cause why we breathe not [90] as Christ

"give his gifts to them which he calleth, or no; "but whether he giveth them by this means, of "saying, 'Receive, &c.'"]

[85] Eccles. Discip. fol. 52. p. 2. lin. 8. ["Spiritum "Sanctum, i. e. varia atque multiplicia illa dona "Spiritus"... And p. 68 of Cartwright's Transl. "As for Barnabus, St. Luke doth plainly witness "that he was full of the Holy Ghost (*whereby I "understand the extraordinary gifts*) and of "faith."]

[86] Matt. xxviii. 18.

[87] John xx. 22.

[88] Luke xxiv. 49.

[89] John xx. 23.

[90] [T. C. i. 44. al. 63. "If you think it so good "reason to use this in the making of ministers, be-"cause you use the words of our Saviour Christ, "why may you not as well blow upon them as he "did.....You are much to blame to leave out the "outward sign or sacrament of breath." Whitg. Def. 228. "Christ when he breathed upon them "did an action proper unto himself, for he thereby "signified that he had authority to give unto them "his Holy Spirit, and that the same Spirit did not "only proceed from the Father but from himself "also: when he spake these words, he made a

did on them unto whom he imparted power is for that neither Spirit nor spiritual authority may be thought to proceed from us, which are but delegates or assigns to give men possession of his graces.

[8.] Now, besides that the power and authority delivered with those words is itself χάρισμα, a gracious donation which the Spirit of God doth bestow, we may most assuredly persuade ourselves that the hand which imposeth upon us the function of our ministry doth under the same form of words so tie itself thereunto, that he which receiveth the burden is thereby for ever warranted to have the Spirit with him and in him for his assistance [91], aid, countenance and support in whatsoever he faithfully doth to discharge duty. Knowing therefore that when we take ordination we also receive the presence of the Holy Ghost, partly to guide, direct and strengthen us in all our ways, and partly to assume unto itself for the more authority those actions that appertain to our place and calling, can our ears admit such a speech uttered in the reverend performance of that solemnity, or can we at any time renew the memory and enter into serious cogitation thereof but with much admiration and joy? Remove what these foolish words do imply, and what hath the ministry of God besides wherein to glory? Whereas now, forasmuch as the Holy Ghost which our Saviour in his first ordinations gave doth no less concur with spiritual vocations throughout all ages, than the Spirit which God derived from Moses to them that assisted him in his government [92] did descend from them to their successors in like authority and place, we have for the least and meanest duties performed by virtue of ministerial power, that to dignify, grace and authorize them, which no other offices on earth can challenge. Whether we preach, pray, baptize, communicate, condemn, give absolution, or whatsoever, as disposers of God's mysteries, our words, judgments, acts and deeds, are not ours but the Holy Ghost's. Enough, if unfeignedly and in heart we did believe it, enough to banish whatsoever may justly be thought corrupt, either in bestowing, or in using, or in esteeming the same otherwise than is meet. For profanely to bestow, or loosely to use, or vilely to esteem of the Holy Ghost we all in show and profession abhor.

[9.] Now because the ministry is an office of dignity and honour, some [93] are doubtful whether any man may seek for it without offence, or to speak more properly doubtful they are not but rather bold to accuse our discipline in this respect, as not only permitting but requiring also ambitious suits and other oblique ways or means whereby to obtain it. Against this they plead that our Saviour did stay till his Father sent him, and the Apostles till he them; that the ancient Bishops in the Church of Christ were examples and patterns of the same modesty. Whereupon in the end they infer, "Let us therefore at the "length amend that custom of repairing "from all parts unto the bishop at the day "of ordination, and of seeking to obtain or-"ders; let the custom of bringing commen-"datory letters be removed; let men keep "themselves at home, expecting there the "voice of God and the authority of such as "may call them to undertake charge [94]."

[10.] Thus severely they censure and control ambition, if it be ambition which they take upon them to reprehend. For of that there is cause to doubt. Ambition as we understand it hath been accounted a vice which seeketh after honours inordinately. Ambitious minds esteeming it their greatest happiness to be admired, reverenced, and adored above others, use all means lawful and unlawful which may bring them to high rooms. But as for the power of order considered by itself and as in this case it must be considered, such reputation

"perpetual promise that all such should receive "his Spirit, as from time to time were by him call-"ed to the office of the ministry." T.C. ii. 293. "If "because he instituted a ministry by those words "they are to be used, then the breathing must "likewise, considering that he used that for the "confirmation of the words."]

[91] "Etsi necessarium est trepidare de merito, re-"ligiosum est tamen gaudere de dono: quoniam "qui mihi oneris est auctor ipse fiet administra-"tionis adjutor, et ne magnitudine gratiæ succum-"bat infirmus, dabit virtutem qui contulit dignita-"tem." Leo. ser. 1. in anniver. die Assumpt. Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔθετο ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην. Greg. Nazian. [Orat. 5. ad fin.]

[92] Numb. xi. 17.

[93] Auct. Libel. de Discip. Ecclesiast. [fol. 25—27, or p. 35, of Cartwright's Translation.]

[94] [Eccl. Disc. fol. 25. "Neque vero hic quis-"quam dona et suam dignitatem ostentet; quibus "fretus tanquam candidatus honores ambiat... "Neque vero hic illud Apostoli nobis opponant, "cum qui episcopatum desiderat rem præclaram "appetere, ut candidatoriæ petitionis ambitionem "confirment.... Christum... delituisse legimus, "et Patris sui vocem expectasse.... Similiter fa-"ciunt Apostoli.... Eadem modestia in veteris "Ecclesiæ Episcopis apparet.... Corrigamus ali-"quando morem illum ad diem ordinationum "Episcopi ex omnibus partibus confluendi, ordi-"nationem et ordines (trito Papistis vocabulo fere "appellant) petendi atque ambiendi, commenda-"titias amicorum aut dominorum literas afferendi, "omnem denique corrumpendæ vocationis ration-"em quærendi; ac tandem (quod jam diu factum "oportuit) ex Dei verbo statuamus, ne quis ampli-"us ullam in Ecclesia Dei vocationem ambiat, "domi omnes sese contineant, operam suam mod-"estius offerant, illic Dei vocem et eligentium auc-"toritatem ad Ecclesiam capessendam expec-"tent."]

it hath in the eye of this present world, that they which affect it rather need encouragement to bear contempt than deserve blame as men that carry aspiring minds. The work whereunto this power serveth is commended, and the desire thereof allowed by the Apostle for good[95]. Nevertheless because the burden thereof is heavy and the charge great, it cometh many times to pass that the minds even of virtuous men are drawn into clean contrary affections, some in humility declining that by reason of hardness which others in regard of goodness only do with fervent alacrity covet. So that there is not the least degree in this service but it may be both in reverence shunned[96], and of very devotion longed for.

If, then, the desire thereof may be holy religious and good, may not the profession of that desire be so likewise? We are not to think it so long good as it is dissembled and evil if once we begin to open it.

And allowing that it may be opened without ambition, what offence I beseech you is there in opening it there where it may be furthered and satisfied in case they to whom it appertaineth think meet? In vain are those desires allowed the accomplishment whereof it is not lawful for men to seek.

Power therefore of ecclesiastical order may be desired, the desire thereof may be professed, they which profess themselves that way inclined may endeavour to bring their desires to effect, and in all this no necessity of evil. Is it the bringing of testimonial letters wherein so great obliquity consisteth? What more simple, more plain, more harmless, more agreeable with the law of common humanity than that men where they are not known use for their easier access the credit of such as can best give testimony of them? Letters of any other construction our church discipline alloweth not, and these to allow is neither to require ambitious suings nor to approve any indirect or unlawful act.

[11.] The prophet Esay receiving his message at the hands of God and his charge by heavenly vision heard the voice of the Lord saying, "Whom shall I send; "who shall go for us[97]?" Whereunto he recordeth his own answer, "Then I said, "Here Lord I am, send me." Which in effect is the rule and canon whereby touching this point the very order of the church is framed. The appointment of times for solemn ordination is but the public demand of the Church in the name of the Lord himself, "Whom shall I send, who shall go "for us?" The confluence of men whose inclinations are bent that way is but the answer thereunto, whereby the labours of sundry being offered, the Church hath freedom to take whom her agents in such case think meet and requisite.

[12.] As for the example of our Saviour Christ who took not to himself this honour to be made our high priest, but received the same from him which said, "Thou art "a Priest for ever after the order of Mel- "chisedec[98]," his waiting and not attempting to execute the office till God saw convenient time may serve in reproof of usurped honours, forasmuch as we ought not of our own accord to assume dignities, whereunto we are not called as Christ was. But yet it should be withal considered that a proud usurpation without any orderly calling is one thing, and another the bare declaration of willingness to obtain admittance, which willingness of mind I suppose did not want in him whose answer was to the voice of his heavenly calling, "Behold I am come "to do thy will[99]." And had it been for him as it is for us expedient to receive his commission signed with the hands of men, to seek it might better have beseemed his humility than it doth our boldness to reprehend them of pride and ambition that make no worse kind of suits than by letters of information.

[13.] Himself in calling his Apostles prevented all cogitations of theirs that way, to the end it might truly be said of them, "Ye "chose not me, but I of my own voluntary "motion made choice of you[1]." Which kind of undesired nomination to ecclesiastical places befell divers of the most famous amongst the ancient Fathers of the Church in a clean contrary consideration. For our Saviour's election respected not any merit or worth, but took them which were furthest off from likelihood of fitness, that afterwards their supernatural ability and performance beyond hope might cause the greater admiration; whereas in the other mere admiration of their singular and rare virtues was the reason why honours were enforced upon them, which they of meekness and modesty did what they could to avoid. But did they ever judge it a thing unlawful to wish or desire the office, the only charge and bare function of the ministry? Towards which labour what doth the blessed Apostle else but encourage saying, "He which desireth it is desirous of "a good work[2]?" What doth he else by such sentences but stir, kindle, and inflame ambition, if I may term that desire ambi-

[95] 1 Tim. iii. 1.

[96] Τῶν παλαιῶν τοὺς εὐδοκιμωτάτους ἀνασκοπῶν εὑρίσκω, ὅσους πώποτε εἰς ἐπισασίαν ἢ προφητείαν ἡ χάρις προὐβάλετο, τοὺς μὲν εἴξαντας προθύμως τῇ κλήσει τοὺς δὲ ἀναβαλλομένους τὸ χάρισμα, καὶ οὐδετέρων μεμπτὴν οὖτε τῶν ὑποχωρησάντων τὴν δειλίαν οὔτε τῶν ὁρμησάντων τὴν προθυμίαν, οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῆς διακονίας τὸ μέγεθος ηὐλαβήθησαν, οἱ δὲ τῷ καλοῦντι πιστεύσαντες ἠκολούθησαν. Greg. Nazian. Apologet. [p. 44.]

[97] Isaiah vi. 8.

[98] Heb. v. 6.

[99] Heb. x. 9.

[1] [S. John xv. 16.]

[2] [1 Tim. iii. 1.]

tion, which coveteth more to testify love by painfulness in God's service, than to reap any other benefit?

[14.] Although of the very honour itself, and of other emoluments annexed to such labours, for more encouragement of man's industry, we are not so to conceive neither, as if no affection could be cast towards them without offence. Only as the wise man giveth counsel[3], "Seek not to be made "a judge, lest thou be not able to take "away iniquity, and lest thou fearing the "person of the mighty shouldest commit an "offence against thine uprightness;" so it always behoveth men to take good heed, lest affection to that which hath in it as well difficulty as goodness sophisticate the true and sincere judgment which beforehand they ought to have of their own ability, for want whereof many forward minds have found instead of contentment repentance. But forasmuch as hardness of things in themselves most excellent cooleth the fervency of men's desires, unless there be somewhat naturally acceptable to incite labour, (for both the method of speculative knowledge doth by things which we sensibly perceive conduct to that which is in nature more certain though less sensible, and the method of virtuous actions is also to train beginners at the first by things acceptable unto the taste of natural appetite, till our minds at the length be settled to embrace things precious in the eye of reason, merely and wholly for their own sakes,) howsoever inordinate desires do hereby take occasion to abuse the polity of God and nature, either affecting without worth, or procuring by unseemly means, that which was instituted and should be reserved for better minds to obtain by more approved courses; in which consideration the emperors Anthemius and Leo did worthily oppose against such ambitious practices that ancient famous constitution[4] wherein they have these sentences: "Let not a prelate "be ordained for reward or upon request, "who should be so far sequestered from all "ambition that they which advance him "might be fain to search where he hideth "himself, to entreat him drawing back, and "to follow him till importunity have made "him yield; let nothing promote him but "his excuses to avoid the burden; they are "unworthy of that vocation which are not "thereunto brought unwillingly:" notwithstanding we ought not therefore with the odious name of ambition to traduce and draw into hatred every poor request or suit wherein men may seem to affect honour; seeing that ambition and modesty do not always so much differ in the mark they shoot at as in the manner of their prosecutions.

Yea even in this may be error also, if we still imagine them least ambitious which most forbear to stir either hand or foot towards their own preferments. For there are that make an idol of their great sufficiency, and because they surmise the place should be happy that might enjoy them, they walk every where like grave pageants observing whether men do not wonder why so small account is made of so rare worthiness, and in case any other man's advancement be mentioned they either smile or blush at the marvellous folly of the world which seeth not where dignities should offer themselves.

Seeing therefore that suits after spiritual functions may be as ambitiously forborne as prosecuted, it remaineth that the evenest line of moderation between both is[5] neither to follow them *without conscience*, nor *of pride* to withdraw ourselves utterly from them.

Of Degrees, whereby the power of order is distinguished; and concerning the attire of ministers.

LXXVIII. It pleased Almighty God to choose to himself[6] for discharge of the legal ministry one only tribe out of twelve others, the tribe of Levi, not all unto every divine service, but Aaron and his sons to one charge, the rest of that sanctified tribe to another. With what solemnities they were admitted into their functions, in what manner Aaron and his successors the high priests ascended every Sabbath and festival day, offered, and ministered in the temple; with what sin-offering once every year they reconciled first themselves and their own house, afterwards the people unto God; how they confessed all the iniquities of the children of Israel, laid all their trespasses upon the head of a sacred goat, and so carried them out of the city; how they purged the holy place from all uncleanness, with what reverence they entered within the veil, presented themselves before the mercy seat, and consulted with the oracle of God: What service the other priests did

[3] Eccles. vii. 6.

[4] [Cod. Justin. i. tit. iii. de Episcop. et Cler. l. 31. A. D. 469. "Nec pretio, *sed* precibus, ordi-"netur Antistes. Tantum ab ambitu debet esse "sepositus, ut quæratur cogendus, rogatus rece-"dat, invitatus effugiat, sola illi suffragetur neces-"sitas excusandi. Profecto enim indignus est sa-"cerdotio, nisi fuerit ordinatus invitus." Accursius' note however on the present reading is, "Sic "omnes MSS. recte: i. e. 'orandus est Deus ut "det optimum:' vel ut alii exponunt, 'orandus "est is qui refugit hoc onus.' Alii legunt 'nec "precibus.'"]

[5] Μέσος εἰμί τις τῶν τε ἄγαν τολμηρῶν καὶ τῶν λίαν δειλῶν, τῶν μὲν πάσαις ἐπιπηδώντων (προσταιαις) δειλότερος, τῶν δὲ φευγόντων πάσας θαρσαλεώτερος. Greg. Nazian. Apologet. [p. 43]

[6] Πρὸς διατήρησιν καὶ φυλακὴν ὁσιότητος καὶ εὐσεβείας καὶ λειτουργιῶν αἳ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ τιμὴν ἀναφέρονται. Philo, p. 297. [ed. Paris, 1552.]

continually in the holy place, how they ministered about the lamps, morning and evening, how every Sabbath they placed on the table of the Lord those twelve loaves with pure incense in perpetual remembrance of that mercy which the fathers the twelve tribes had found by the providence of God for their food, when hunger caused them to leave their natural soil and to seek for sustenance in Egypt; how they employed themselves in sacrifice day by day; finally what offices the Levites discharged, and what duties the rest did execute, it were a labour too long to enter into if I should collect that which Scriptures and other ancient records do mention.

Besides these there were indifferently out of all tribes from time to time, some called of God as Prophets foreshewing them things to come, and giving them counsel in such particulars as they could not be directed in by the law; some chosen of men to read, study, and interpret the Law of God, as the sons or scholars of the old Prophets, in whose room afterwards Scribes and expounders of the law succeeded.

And because where so great a variety is, if there should be equality, confusion would follow, the Levites were in all their service at the appointment and direction of the sons of Aaron or priests, they subject to the principal guides and leaders of their own order, and they all in obedience under the high priest. Which difference doth also manifest itself in the very titles that men for honour's sake gave unto them, terming Aaron and his successors High or Great; the ancients over the companies of priests, arch-priests; prophets, fathers; scribes and interpreters of the Law, masters.

[2.] Touching the ministry of the Gospel of Jesus Christ; the whole body of the Church being divided into laity and clergy, the clergy are either presbyters or deacons.

I rather term the one sort Presbyters than Priests[7], because in a matter of so small moment I would not willingly offend their ears to whom the name of Priesthood is odious[8] though without cause. For as things are distinguished one from another by those true essential forms which being really and actually in them do not only give them the very last and highest degree of their natural perfection, but are also the knot, foundation and root whereupon all other inferior perfections depend, so if they that first do impose names did always understand exactly the nature of that which they

[7] "For so much as the common and usual speech "of England is to note by the word *Priest* not a "minister of the Gospel but a sacrificer, which the "minister of the Gospel is not, therefore we ought "not to call the ministers of the Gospel *Priests*. "And that this is the English speech, it appeareth "by all the English translations, which translate "always ἱερεῖς which were sacrificers *Priests*; "and do not on the other side for any that ever I "read translate πρεσβύτερος *a Priest*. Seeing there- "fore a Priest with us and in our tongue doth sig- "nify both by the papists' judgment in respect of "their abominable mass, and also by the judgment "of the protestants in respect of the beasts which "were offered in the law, a sacrificing office, which "the minister of the Gospel neither doth nor can "execute; it is manifest that it cannot be without "great offence so used." T. C. lib. i. p. 198. [159. and p. 61, al. 82. "Who can abide that a minis- "ter of the Gospel should be called by the name "of a Levite or sacrificer, unless it be he which "would not care much if the remembrance of the "death and resurrection of our Saviour Christ were "plucked out of his mind?"]

[8] [Adm. ap. Whitg. Def. 721. "We speak not "of the name of Priest, wherewith he defaceth the "minister of Christ.....seeing the office of priest- "hood is ended, Christ being the last priest that "ever was. To call us therefore Priests as touch- "ing our office, is either to call back again the old "priesthood of the law, which is to deny Christ to "be comen, or else to keep a memory of the po- "pish priesthood of abomination still amongst us. "As for the first, it is by Christ abolished, and for "the second it is of Antichrist, and therefore we "have nothing to do with it. Such ought to have "no place in the Church, neither are they minis- "ters of Christ sent to preach His gospel, but "priests of the pope to sacrifice for the quick and "the dead; that is, to tread under their feet the "blood of Christ. Such ought not to have place "among us, as the Scriptures manifestly teach. "Besides that, we never read in the New Testa- "ment, that this word Priest, as touching office, "is used in the good part." Whitg. Answ. ibid. "The name of Priest need not be so odious unto "you, as you would seem to make it. I suppose "it cometh of this word *Presbyter*, not of *Sacer- "dos*, and then the matter is not great." T. C. i. 159. al. 198. "Although it will be hard for you "to prove that this word *Priest* cometh of the "Greek word πρεσβύτερος, yet that is not the "matter but the case standeth in this; that for- "asmuch as the common and usual speech," &c. as in the preceding note. Whitg. Def. 722. "I am "not greatly delighted with the name, nor so de- "sirous to maintain it: but yet a truth is to be "defended. I read in the old Fathers, that these "two names, Sacerdos and Presbyter be confound- "ed. I see also that the learned and the best of "our English writers, such I mean as write in "these our days, translate the word Presbyter so; "and the very word itself as it is used in our "English tongue, soundeth the word Presbyter. "As heretofore use hath made it to be taken for a "sacrificer, so will use now alter that signification, "and make it to be taken for a minister of the "Gospel. But it is mere vanity to contend for the "name, when we agree of the thing." T. C. iii. 264. "The abuse of the ancient writers herein "may easily appear, in that, in this too great lib- "erty of speech, they also used to call the holy "Supper of the Lord a sacrifice, and the commu- "nion table an Altar: if he allow of the one, he "must allow of the other. But if these kind of "speeches have given occasion of falling unto many, "then it is manifest that this defence is naught."]

nominate, it may be that then by hearing the terms of vulgar speech we should still be taught what the things themselves most properly are. But because words have so many artificers by whom they are made, and the things whereunto we apply them are fraught with so many varieties, it is not always apparent what the first inventors respected, much less what every man's inward conceit is which useth their words. For any thing myself can discern herein, I suppose that they which have bent their study to search more diligently such matters do for the most part find that names advisedly given had either regard unto that which is naturally most proper; or if perhaps to some other specialty, to that which is sensibly most eminent in the thing signified; and concerning popular use of words that which the wisdom of their inventors did intend thereby is not commonly thought of, but by the name the thing altogether conceived in gross, as may appear in that if you ask of the common sort what any certain word, for example, what a Priest doth signify, their manner is not to answer, a Priest is a clergyman which offereth sacrifice to God, but they shew some particular person whom they use to call by that name. And, if we list to descend to grammar, we are told by masters in those schools that the word *Priest* hath his right place [9] *ἐπὶ τοῦ ψιλῶς προεστῶτος τῆς θεραπείας τοῦ Θεοῦ*, "in him whose mere function or charge is "the service of God." Howbeit because the most eminent part both of heathenish and Jewish service did consist in sacrifice, when learned men declare what the word *Priest* doth *properly* signify *according to the mind of the first imposer* of that name, their ordinary scholies do well expound it to imply sacrifice [10].

Seeing then that sacrifice is now no part of the church ministry how should the name of Priesthood be thereunto rightly applied? Surely even as St. Paul applieth the name of Flesh [11] unto that very substance of fishes which hath a proportionable correspondence to flesh, although it be in nature another thing. Whereupon when philosophers will speak warily, they make a difference between flesh in one sort of living creatures [12] and that other substance in the rest which hath but a kind of analogy to flesh: the Apostle contrariwise having matter of greater importance whereof to speak nameth indifferently both flesh. The Fathers of the Church of Christ with like security of speech call usually the ministry of the Gospel *Priesthood* in regard of that which the Gospel hath *proportionable* to ancient sacrifices, namely the Communion of the blessed Body and Blood of Christ, although it have properly now no sacrifice [13]. As for the people when they hear the name it draweth no more *their minds* to any cogitation of sacrifice, than the name of a senator or of an alderman causeth them to think upon old age or to imagine that every one so termed must needs be ancient because years were respected in the first nomination of both.

[3.] Wherefore to pass by the name, let them use what dialect they will, whether we call it a Priesthood, a Presbytership, or a Ministry it skilleth not: Although in truth the word *Presbyter* doth seem more fit, and in propriety of speech more agreeable than *Priest* with the drift of the whole Gospel of Jesus Christ. For what are they that embrace the Gospel but sons of God? What are churches but his families? Seeing therefore we receive the adoption and state of sons by their ministry whom God hath chosen out for that purpose, seeing also that when we are the sons of God, our continuance is still under their care which were our progenitors, what better title could there be given them than the reverend name of *Presbyters* or fatherly guides? The Holy Ghost throughout the body of the New Testament making so much mention of them doth not any where call them Priests. The prophet Esay I grant doth [14]; but in such sort as the ancient fathers, by way of analogy. A presbyter according to the proper meaning of the New Testament is "he unto "whom our Saviour Christ hath communi- "cated the power of spiritual procrea- "tion [15]." Out of twelve patriarchs issued the whole multitude of Israel according to

[9] Etym. magn. [s. v. ἱερεύς.]

[10] Ἱερεῦσαι, θυσιάσαι. Hesych. [s. v. ἱερεῦσαι.] "Christus homo dicitur quia natus est; Prophcta "quia futura revelavit; Sacerdos quia pro nobis "hostiam se obtulit." Isid. Orig. lib. vii. cap. 2. [p. 55. E. ed. Du Breul.]

[11] 1 Cor. xv. 39.

[12] Ἔχει δ' ἀπορίαν τί τὸ αἰσθητήριον τὸ τοῦ ἁπτοῦ ἁπτικόν, πότερον ἡ σὰρξ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ ἀνάλογον, ἢ οὔ. Arist. de Anim. lib. ii. c. 11. [no. 1.]

[13] ["Mr. Hooker feared not to say that 'sacri- "fice is now no part of the Church ministry,' and "that we have 'properly now no sacrifice.' I pre- "sume he meant by *proper* sacrifice, *propitiatory*, "according to the sense of the Trent Council," (sess. xxii. can. 1, 3.) "or of the new definitions. "In such a sense as that, he might justly say that "sacrifice is no part of the Church ministry, or "that the Christian Church has no sacrifice. But "I commend not the use of such new language, "be the meaning ever so right: the Fathers never "used it." Waterland, Charge, 1738. Works, viii. 168. Oxf. 1823.]

[14] Isaiah lxvi. 21.

[15] [Epiph. i. 908. A. hær. 75. c. 4. ὅτι μὲν ἀφροσύνης ἐστὶ τὸ πᾶν ἔμπλεων, τοῖς σύνεσιν κεκτημένοις, τοῦτο δῆλον. τὸ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπον καὶ πρεσβύτερον ἴσον εἶναι· καὶ πῶς ἔσται τοῦτο δυνατόν; ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ πατέρων γεννητικὴ τάξις· πατέρας γὰρ γεννᾷ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· ἡ δὲ πατέρας μὴ δυναμένη γεννᾶν, διὰ τοῦ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας τέκνα γεννᾷ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐ μὴν πατέρας ἢ διδασκάλους.]

the flesh: And according to the mystery of heavenly birth our Lord's Apostles we all acknowledge to be the patriarchs of his whole Church. St. John therefore beheld sitting about the throne of God in heaven four and twenty Presbyters, the one half fathers of the old, the other of the new Jerusalem [16]. In which respect the Apostles likewise gave themselves the same title [17], albeit that name were not proper but common unto them with others.

[4.] For of presbyters some were greater some less in power, and that by our Saviour's own appointment; the greater they which received fulness of spiritual power, the less they to whom less was granted. The Apostles' peculiar charge was to publish the Gospel of Christ unto all nations, and to deliver them his ordinances received by *immediate revelation from himself* [18]. Which preeminence excepted, to all other offices and duties incident into their order it was in them to ordain and consecrate whomsoever they thought meet, even as our Saviour did himself assign seventy other of his own disciples inferior presbyters, whose commission to preach and baptize was the same which the Apostles had. Whereas therefore we find that the very first sermon which the Apostles did publicly make was the conversion of above three thousand souls [19], unto whom there were every day more and more added, they having no open place permitted them for the exercise of Christian religion, think we that twelve were sufficient to teach and administer sacraments in so many private places as so great a multitude of people did require? This harvest our Saviour no doubt foreseeing provided accordingly labourers for it beforehand. By which means it came to pass that the growth of that church being so great and so sudden, they had notwithstanding in a readiness presbyters enough to furnish it. And therefore the history doth make no mention by what occasion presbyters were instituted in Jerusalem, only we read of things which they did, and how the like were made afterwards elsewhere.

[5.] To these two degrees appointed of our Lord and Saviour Christ his Apostles soon after annexed deacons. Deacons therefore must know, saith Cyprian [20], that our Lord himself did elect Apostles, but deacons after his ascension into heaven the Apostles ordained. Deacons were stewards of the Church, unto whom at the first was committed the distribution of church goods, the care of providing therewith for the poor, and the charge to see that all things of expense might be religiously and faithfully dealt in. A part also of their office was attendance upon their presbyters at the time of divine service. For which cause Ignatius [21] to set forth the dignity of their calling saith, that they are in such case to the bishop as if angelical powers did serve him.

These only being the uses for which deacons were first made, if the Church hath sithence extended their ministry farther than the circuit of their labour at the first was drawn, we are not herein to think the ordinance of Scripture violated except there appear some prohibition which hath abridged the Church of that liberty. Which I note chiefly in regard of them to whom it seemeth a thing so monstrous that deacons should sometime be licensed to preach, whose institution was at the first to another end [22]. To charge them for this as men not contented with their own vocations and as breakers into that which appertaineth unto others is very hard [23]. For when they

[16] Rev. iv. 4; xxi. 14; Matt. xix. 28.

[17] 1 Peter v. 1.

[18] Οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν θεοπαραδότως νομοθέται. Dionys. Areop. p. 110. [de Eccl. Hier. 1, 5.]

[19] Acts ii. 41, 47.

[20] Cypr. Ep. ix. l. 3. ad Rogatianum. [al. Ep. 3. t. ii. p. 6. "Meminisse Diaconi debent, quoniam "Apostolos, i. e. Episcopos et Præpositos Dominus "elegit; Diaconos autem post ascensum Domini "in cœlos Apostoli sibi constituerunt, episcopatus "sui et Ecclesiæ ministros."]

[21] Ignat. Epist. ad Tral. [c. 7. (from the interpolated portion) τί δὲ διάκονοι, ἀλλ' ἢ μιμηταὶ τῶν ἀγγελικῶν δυναμέων, λειτουργοῦντες αὐτῳ λειτουργίαν καθαρὰν καὶ ἄμωμον, ὡς Στέφανος ὁ ἅγιος Ἰακώβῳ τῳ μακαρίῳ, καὶ Τιμόθεος καὶ Λῖνος Παύλῳ, καὶ Ἀνέγκλητος καὶ Κλήμης Πέτρῳ.]

[22] [Adm. ap. Whitg. Def. 584. "Touching dea- "cons, though their names be remaining, yet is "the office finally perverted and turned upside "down; for their duty in the primitive Church "was to gather the alms diligently and to distribute "it faithfully; also for the sick and impotent per- "sons to provide painfully, having ever a diligent "care that the charity of godly men were n "wasted upon loiterers and idle vagabonds. Now "it is the first step to the ministry, nay rather a "mere order of priesthood." Whitg. Answ. ibid. "It is true that in the primitive Church the office "of a deacon was to collect and provide for the "poor; but not only, for it was also their office to "preach and to baptize. For Stephen and Philip "being Deacons did preach the Gospel: and Philip "did baptize the eunuch. Justinus Martyr saith," (Apol. p. 98. E. ἡ διάδοσις καὶ ἡ μετάληψις ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστηθέντων ἑκάστῳ γίνεται, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσι διὰ τῶν διακόνων πέμπεται) "that in the administra- "tion of the Supper, the deacons did distribute the "bread and wine to the people." T. C. i. 128. al. 162. "He affirmeth St. Stephen to have preach- "ed. But I deny it: for all that long oration which "he hath in the seventh of the Acts, is no sermon, "but a defence of himself.....Philip baptized, not "in that he was a deacon, but for that he was an "Evangelist." Comp. Whitg. Def. ubi sup. and T. C. iii. 89...115.

[23] [The Admonition in the passage above had quoted Rom. xii. 8. ὁ μεταδιδοὺς, ἐν ἁπλότητι, (as

are thereunto once admitted, it is a part of their own vocation, it appertaineth now unto them as well as others, neither is it intrusion for them to do it being in such sort called, but rather in us it were temerity to blame them for doing it. Suppose we the office of teaching to be so repugnant unto the office of deaconship that they cannot concur in one and the same person? What was there done in the Church by deacons which the Apostles did not first discharge being teachers?

Yea but the Apostles found the burden of teaching so heavy that they judged it meet to cut off that other charge and to have deacons which might undertake it[24]. Be it so. The multitude of Christians increasing in Jerusalem and waxing great, it was too much for the Apostles to teach and to minister unto tables also. The former was not to be slacked that this latter might be followed. Therefore unto this they appointed others. Whereupon we may rightly ground this axiom, that when the subject wherein one man's labours of sundry kinds are employed doth wax so great that the same men are no longer able to manage it sufficiently as before, the most natural way to help this is by dividing their charge into slips and ordaining of under officers, as our Saviour under twelve Apostles seventy Presbyters, and the Apostles by his example seven deacons to be under both. Neither ought it to seem less reasonable, that when the same men are sufficient both to continue in that which they do and also to undertake somewhat more, a combination be admitted in this case, as well as division in the former. We may not therefore disallow it in the Church of Geneva, that Calvin and Beza were made both pastors and readers of divinity, being men so able to discharge both. To say they did not content themselves with their pastoral vocations, but brake into that which belonged to others; to allege against them, "He that "exhorteth in exhortation[25]," as against us "He that distributeth in simplicity" is alleged in great dislike of granting license for deacons to preach[26], were very hard.

The ancient custom of the Church was to yield the poor much relief especially widows. But as poor people are always querulous and apt to think themselves less respected than they should be, we see that when the Apostles did what they could without hinderance to their weightier business yet there were which grudged that others had too much and they too little, the Grecian widows shorter commons than the Hebrews. By means whereof the Apostles saw it meet to ordain deacons. Now tract of time having clean worn out those first occasions for which the deaconship was then most necessary[27], it might the better be afterwards extended to other services, and so remain as at this present day a degree in the clergy of God which the Apostles of Christ did institute[28].

That the first seven deacons were chosen out of the seventy disciples is an error in Epiphanius[29]. For to draw men from places of weightier unto rooms of meaner

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the Puritans commonly did) to prove the office of Deacon. T. C. i. 152. al. 190, adds, "St. Paul "speaketh there against those which not content-"ing themselves with their own vocations did "break into that which appertained unto others." See also Adm. ap. Whitg. Def. 692. "The dea-"conship must not be confounded with the minis-"try, nor the collectors for the poor may not usurp "the deacon's office: but he that hath an office "must look to his office, and every man must keep "himself within the bounds and limits of his own "vocation."]

[24] [T. C. i. 152. al. 190. "If the Apostles which "have such excellent and passing gifts did find "themselves (preaching of the word and attending "to prayer) not able to provide for the poor; but "thought it necessary to discharge themselves of "that office, to the end they might do the other "effectually and fruitfully; he that shall do both "now must either do none well and profitably, or "else he must have greater gifts than the Apostles "had." Whitg. Def. 688. "The Apostles were "occupied in planting Churches, in going from "place to place to spread abroad the word of God, "and therefore they could not so conveniently pro-"vide for the poor: but the deacons having no "such occasion of travelling and removing from "place to place, might very well both preach the "Gospel and provide for the poor."]

[25] Rom. xii. 8.

[26] ["Whether a doctor may be the master of an "hospital, which is the Deacon's office, is a great "question; for they say that Th. Cartwright will "rather suffer this confusion of members of the "Church, than give over his hospital." Sutcliffe, False Semblant, &c. p. 26.]

[27] [Whitg. Def. 688. "If you speak of deacons "now, I say unto you, that under a Christian "prince in the time of peace that part of their of-"fice to provide for the poor is not necessary."]

[28] [See Sutcliffe, False Semblant, &c. p. 109. "Wherein is proved that the deacon's office is an "holy ministry about the word and sacraments "and attendance of bishops: First, by the words "of the Apostle" (1 Tim. iii. 13,) "that maketh "it *βαθμὸν*, 'a decree,' and indueth it with *παρρησία*, "'liberty of speech:' Secondly, for that the same "resembleth the Levites' office, which taught and "ministered; which is confirmed by Jerome's "opinion: Thirdly, by the examples of Stephen "and Philip: Fourthly, for that the deacons had "the gifts of the Holy Ghost, which to distribute "alms were not so necessary:" (see especially 1 Tim. iii. 9:) "Lastly, for that the Fathers with "one consent make the same an holy ministry, "conversant about the things aforesaid, and never "did profane it in mere collection of alms."]

[29] Epiph. lib. i. c. 21. [t i. p. 50. D. *ἀπέστειλε δὲ καὶ ἄλλους ἑβδομηκονταδυὸ κηρύσσειν, ἐξ ὧν ἦσαν οἱ ἑπτὰ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν χηρῶν τεταγμένοι . . . πρὸ τούτων δὲ Ματθίας, ὁ ἀντὶ Ἰούδα συμψηφισθεὶς μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων.*]

labour had not been fit. The Apostles to the end they might follow teaching with more freedom committed the ministry of tables unto deacons. And shall we think they judged it expedient to choose so many out of those seventy to be ministers unto tables, when Christ himself had before made them teachers?

It appeareth therefore how long these three degrees of ecclesiastical order have continued in the Church of Christ, the highest and largest that which the Apostles, the next that which Presbyters, and the lowest that which Deacons had.

[6.] Touching Prophets, they were such men as having otherwise learned the Gospel had from above bestowed upon them a special gift of expounding Scriptures and of foreshewing things to come. Of this sort Agabus [30] was and besides him in Jerusalem sundry others, who notwithstanding are not therefore to be reckoned with the clergy, because no man's gifts or qualities can make him a minister of holy things, unless ordination do give him power. And we no where find Prophets to have been made by ordination, but all whom the Church did ordain were either to serve as presbyters or as deacons.

[7.] Evangelists were presbyters of principal sufficiency whom the Apostles sent abroad and used as agents in ecclesiastical affairs wheresoever they saw need. They whom we find to have been named in Scripture Evangelists as Ananias [31], Apollos [32], Timothy [33] and others were thus employed. And concerning Evangelists afterwards in Trajan's days, the history ecclesiastical noteth [34] that many of the Apostles' disciples and scholars which were then alive and did with singular love of wisdom affect the heavenly word of God, to shew their willing minds in executing that which Christ first of all required at the hands of men, they sold their possessions, gave them to the poor, and betaking themselves to travel undertook the labour of Evangelists, that is they painfully preached Christ and delivered the Gospel to them who as yet had never heard the doctrine of faith.

Finally whom the Apostle nameth Pastors and Teachers what other were they than Presbyters also, howbeit settled in some certain charge and thereby differing from Evangelists?

[8.] I beseech them therefore which have hitherto troubled the Church with questions about degrees and offices of ecclesiastical calling, because they principally ground themselves upon two places [35], that all partiality laid aside they would sincerely weigh and examine whether they have not misinterpreted both places, and all by surmising incompatible offices where nothing is meant but sundry graces, gifts, and abilities which Christ bestowed. To them of Corinth his words are these: "[36] God placed in the "Church first of all some Apostles, second-"ly Prophets, thirdly teachers, after them "powers, then gifts of cures, aids, govern-"ments, kinds of languages. Are all "Apostles? Are all Prophets? Are all "Teachers? Is there power in all? Have "all grace to cure? Do all speak with "tongues? Can all interpret? But be "you desirous of the better graces." They which plainly discern first that some *one general* thing there is which the Apostle doth here divide into all these branches, and do secondly conceive that general to be church offices, besides a number of other difficulties, can by no means possibly deny but that many of these might concur in one man, and peradventure in some one all, which mixture notwithstanding their form of discipline doth most shun. On the other side admit that *communicants of special infused grace*, for the benefit of members knit into one body, the Church of Christ, are here spoken of, which was in truth the plain drift of that whole discourse, and see if every thing do not answer in due place with that fitness which sheweth easily what is likeliest to have been meant. For why are Apostles the first but because unto them was granted the revelation of all truth from Christ immediately? Why Prophets the second, but because they had of some things knowledge in the same manner? Teachers the next, because whatsoever

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30 Acts xxi. 10; xi. 27.

31 Acts. ix. 17.

32 Acts xviii. 24.

33 2 Tim. iv. 5, 9; 1 Tim. iii. 15; v. 14; ii. 8.

34 Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. iii. c. 38. [Πλεῖστοι τῶν τότε μαθητῶν, σφοδροτέρῳ φιλοσοφίας ἔρωτί πρὸς τοῦ θείου λόγου τὴν ψυχὴν πλητ τόμενοι, τὴν Σωτῆρος πρότερον ἀπεπλήρουν παρακέλευσιν, ἐνδέεσι νέμοντες τὰς οὐσίας· ἔπειτα δὲ ἀποδημίας στελλόμενοι, ἔργον ἐπετέλουν εὐαγγελιστῶν, τοῖς ἔτι πάμπαν ἀνηκόοις τοῦ τῆς πίστεως λόγου κηρύττειν τὸν Χριστὸν φιλοτιμούμενοι, καὶ τὴν τῶν θείων εὐαγγελίων παραδιδόναι γραφήν.]

35 [2 Adm. 44. ed. 1617. "In the ministry "therefore, after rehearsal made of those rare and "extraordinary functions of Apostles, Prophets, "and Evangelists, there is declared in the last "place those ordinary functions of shepherds and "teachers, which endure in every well ordered "Church. Eph. iv. 11—13." T. C. i. 63. al. 85. "That without these ministeries the Church may "be complete, it appeareth by that which is in the "Ephesians," &c. Id. ii. 454. "The Archbishop-"rick seeing it is an ecclesiastical function, either "must be planted by one of these places, or die in "the Church: considering that there is no eccle-"siastical function which is not here set forth." See also Decl. of Disc. 137; Eccl. Disc. fol. 102. "Quum dubium non sit, Apostolum ad Ephesios "omnia munera quibus ministerii opus continetur, "et per quæ Christus Ecclesiam suam ædificari "voluit, recensuisse."]

36 1 Cor. xii. 28.

was known to them it came by hearing, yet God withal made them able to instruct, which every one could not do that was taught. After gifts of education there follow general abilities to work things above nature, grace to cure men of bodily diseases, supplies against occurrent defects and impediments, dexterities to govern and direct by counsel, finally aptness to speak or interpret foreign tongues. Which graces not poured out equally but diversely sorted and given, were a cause why not only they all did furnish up the whole body but each benefit and help other.

[9.] Again the same Apostle otherwhere in like sort[37], "To every one of us is given "grace according to the measure of the "gift of Christ. Wherefore he saith, When "he ascended up on high he led captivity "captive and gave gifts unto men. He "therefore gave some Apostles and some "Prophets and some Evangelists and some "Pastors and Teachers, for the gathering "together of saints, for the work of the "ministry, for the edification of the body "of Christ." In this place none but gifts of instruction are expressed. And because of teachers some were Evangelists which neither had any part of their knowledge by revelation as the Prophets and yet in ability to teach were far beyond other Pastors, they are as having received one way less than Prophets and another way more than Teachers set accordingly between both. For the Apostle doth in neither place respect what any of them were by office or power given them through ordination, but what by grace they all had obtained through miraculous infusion of the Holy Ghost. For in Christian religion this being the ground of our whole belief, that the promises which God of old had made by his Prophets concerning the wonderful gifts and graces of the Holy Ghost, wherewith the reign of the true Messias should be made glorious, were immediately after our Lord's ascension performed, there is no one thing whereof the Apostles did take more often occasion to speak. Out of men thus endued with gifts of the Spirit upon their conversion to Christian faith the Church had her ministers chosen, unto whom was given ecclesiastical power by ordination. Now because the Apostle in reckoning degrees and varieties of grace doth mention Pastors and Teachers, although he mention them not in respect of their ordination to exercise the ministry, but as examples of men especially enriched with the gifts of the Holy Ghost, divers learned and skilful men have so taken it as if those places did intend to teach what orders of ecclesiastical persons there ought to be in the Church of Christ, which thing we are not to learn from thence but out of other parts of Holy Scripture, whereby it clearly appeareth that churches apostolic did know but three degrees in the power of ecclesiastical order, at the first Apostles, Presbyters, and Deacons, afterwards instead of Apostles Bishops, concerning whose order we are to speak in the seventh book.

[10.] There is an error which beguileth many who much entangle both themselves and others by not distinguishing Services, Offices, and Orders ecclesiastical, the first of which three and in part the second may be executed by the laity, whereas none have or can have the third but the clergy. Catechists, Exorcists, Readers, Singers, and the rest of like sort, if the nature only of their labours and pains be considered, may in that respect seem clergymen, even as the Fathers for that cause term them usually Clerks[38]; as also in regard of the end whereunto they were trained up, which was to be ordered when years and experience should make them able. Notwithstanding inasmuch as they no way differed from others of the laity longer than during that work of service which at any time they might give over, being thereunto but admitted not tied by irrevocable ordination, we find them always exactly severed from that body whereof those three before rehearsed orders alone are natural parts.

[11.] Touching Widows, of whom some men are persuaded, that if such as St. Paul[39] describeth may be gotten we ought to retain them in the Church for ever[40];

[37] Ephes. iv. 7, 8. 11, 12; Psalm lxviii. 18.

[38] [See Bingham, Antiq. i. 5. 7.]

[39] 1 Tim. v. 9.

[40] T. C. lib. i. p. 191. [153. "Although there is "not so great use of these widows with us, as there "was in those places where the Churches were "first founded, and in that time wherein this order "of widows was instituted; part of the which ne- "cessity grew both by the multitude of strangers "in the persecution, and by the great heat of those "east countries, whereupon the washing and sup- "pling of their feet was required; yet for so much "as there are poor and sick in every Church, I do "not see how a better or more convenient order "can be devised.....then.....that there should be "(if there can be any gotten) godly poor widows "of the age which St. Paul appointeth.....I con- "clude that if such may be gotten we ought also "to keep that order of widows in the Church still. "I know that there be learned men which think "otherwise: but I stand upon the authority of "God's word, and not upon the opinions of men "be they never so well learned." Bancroft, Survey, 177. "There is a second sort of disciplinary "widowists, that are grown very far past Cart- "wright's *ifs*. One that writeth 'the Defence of "the godly Ministers' hath in that treatise framed "ten arguments of a wonderful power.....wherein "he always comprehendeth the widows, and "nameth them as necessary parts of the form of "that church-government which Christ and his "Apostles have appointed to be *the ordinary and*

certain mean services there were of attendance, as about women at the time of their baptism, about the bodies of the sick and dead, about the necessities of travellers, wayfaring men, and such like, wherein the Church did commonly use them when need required, because they lived of the alms of the Church, and were fittest for such purposes. St. Paul doth therefore to avoid scandal require that none but women well experienced and virtuously given, neither any under threescore year of age should be admitted of that number. Widows were never in the Church so highly esteemed as Virgins. But seeing neither of them did or could receive ordination, to make them ecclesiastical persons were absurd.

[12.] The ancientest therefore of the Fathers mention those three degrees of ecclesiastical order specified and no more. "When your captains," saith Tertullian [41], "that is to say the Deacons, Presbyters "and Bishops fly, who shall teach the laity "that they must be constant?" Again, "What should I mention laymen [42]," saith Optatus, "yea or divers of the ministry "itself? To what purpose Deacons which "are in the third, or Presbyters in the "second degree of priesthood, when the "very heads and princes of all even cer"tain of the Bishops themselves were con"tent to redeem life with the loss of heav"en?" Heaps of allegations in a case so evident and plain are needless. I may securely therefore conclude that there are at this day in the church of England no other than the same degrees of ecclesiastical order, namely Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, which had their beginning from Christ and his blessed Apostles themselves.

As for Deans, Prebendaries, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, Archdeacons, Chancellors, Officials, Commissaries and such other the like names, which being not found in Holy Scripture, we have been thereby through some men's error thought to allow of ecclesiastical degrees not known nor ever heard of in the better ages of former times; all these are in truth but titles of office whereunto partly ecclesiastical persons, and partly others are in sundry forms and conditions admitted as the state of the Church doth need, degrees of order still continuing the same they were from the first beginning.

[13.] Now what habit or attire doth beseem each order to use in the course of common life both for the gravity of his place and for example's sake to other men is a matter frivolous to be disputed of. A small measure of wisdom may serve to teach them how they should cut their coats. But seeing all well-ordered polities have ever judged it meet and fit by certain special distinct ornaments to sever each sort of men from other when they are in public, to the end that all may receive such compliments of civil honour as are due to their rooms and callings even where their persons are not known, it argueth a disproportioned mind in them whom so decent orders displease [43].

"*perpetual platform* for guiding and governing "his Church until the end of the world: and "maketh them, by such force as his arguments "have, as necessary for the ordinary continuance "of them, as either Pastor, Doctor, Elders, or Men"Deacons."]

[41] Tertull. de. Persecut. [c. 11. "Quum ipsi "auctores, i. e. ipsi Diaconi, Presbyteri et Epis"copi fugiunt; quomodo Laicus intelligere poterit, "qua ratione dictum, Fugite de civitate in civita"tem?.....Cum duces fugiunt, quis de gregario "numero sustinebit ad gradum in acie figendum "suadere?" &c.]

[42] Optat. lib. i. [c. 13. "Quid commemorem "Laicos, qui tunc in Ecclesia nulla fuerant digni"tate suffulti? quid ministros plurimos? quid Dia"conos in tertio, quid Presbyteros in secundo "sacerdotio constitutos? Ipsi apices et principes "omnium, aliqui Episcopi, ut damno æternæ vi"tæ.....lucis moras brevissimas compararent, in"strumenta divinæ legis impie tradiderunt."]

[43] [Adm. ap. Whitg. Def. 261. "Ministers..... "in those days known by voice, learning, and "doctrine; now they must be discerned from other "by popish and Antichristian apparel, as cap, gown, "tippet," &c. And Eccl. Disc. fol. 97—101. "Certum vestimenti genus, forma, modus, nus"quam non modo in communi vita sed ne in sac"ris quidem in Evangelio præcipitur...Conquera"mur ex nostris aliquos inventos esse, qui quum "totus Papatus execrandus erat, et hæc Roma "Jerichuntanæ illius urbis anathemate devovenda, "Babylonicæ vestis specie et splendore capti, eam "in Israelitica castra transtulerunt. Cur enim "cappam et superpelliceum in sacris, in communi "vita liripipium, [*tippet*] (quod appellant) et quad"ratum pileum gerenda esse præcipiunt, nisi quod "hæc auctoritatem quandam apud populum ha"bere .....existiment." &c. The regulations objected to are to be found in Queen Elizabeth's "Advertisements," 25 January, 1564-5. See Sparrow's Collection, p. 126.]

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